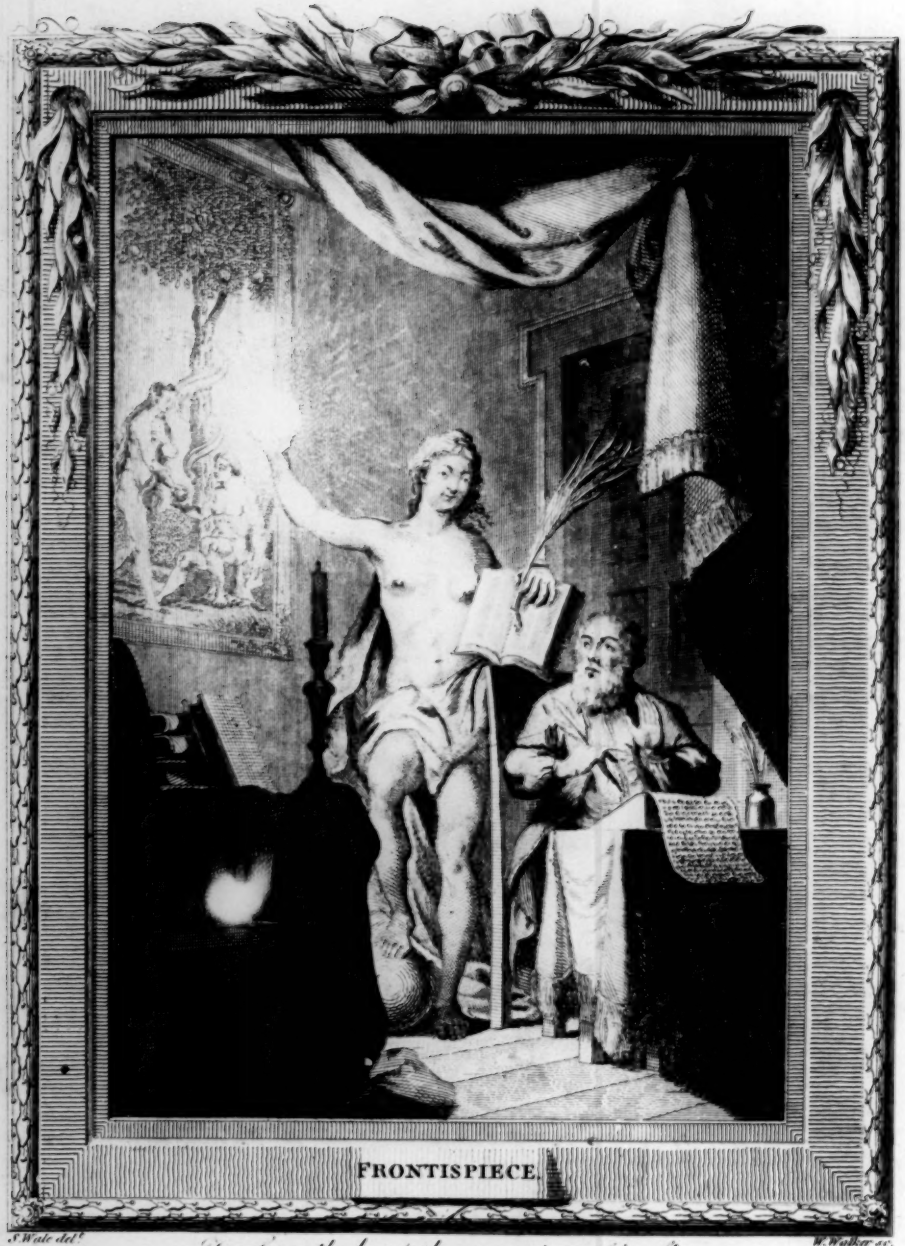
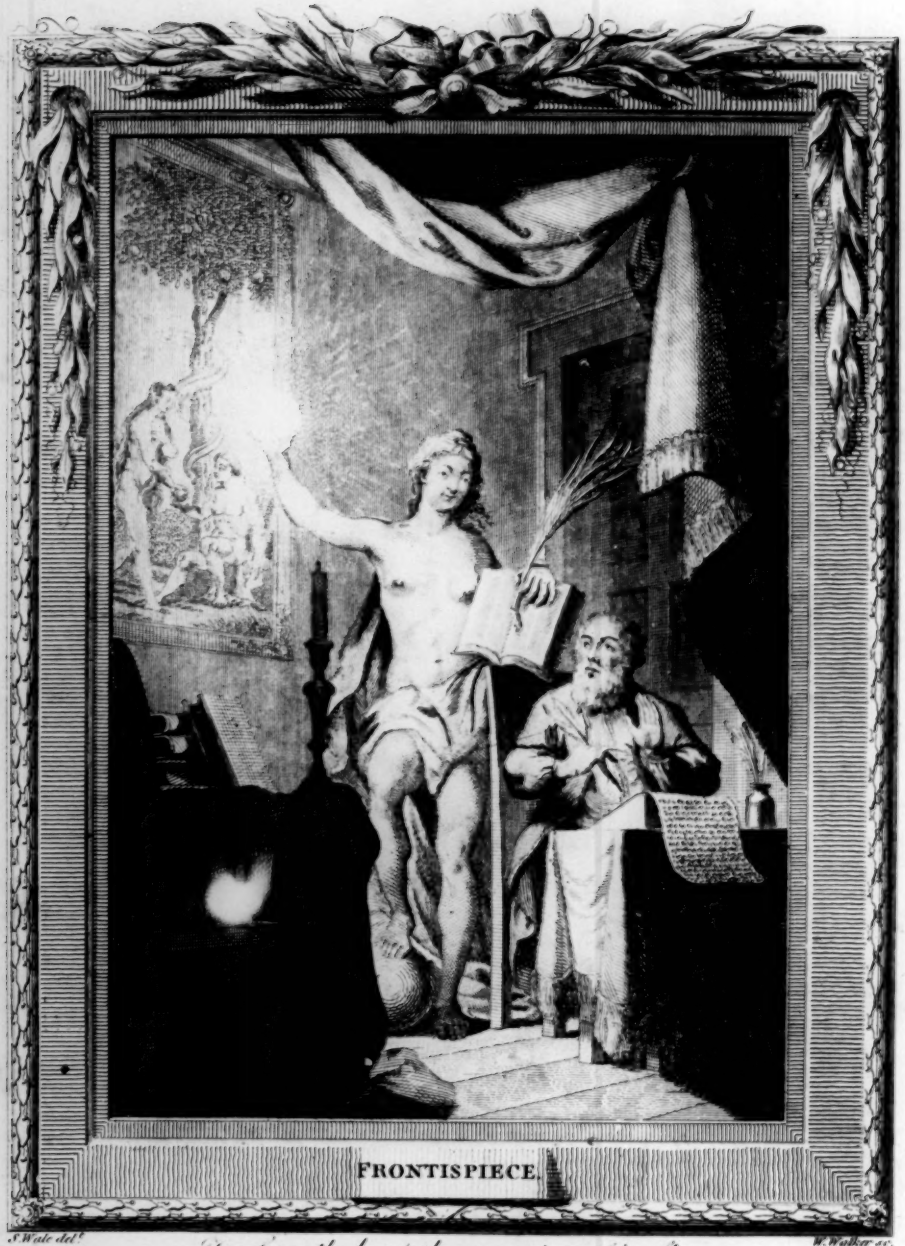


FRONTISPIECE.

S. Wale del.

W. Walker sc.

Pour from the heart the warm impression flows,
In lines unstudyid, holy truths to tell:—
Let every Christian, while his bosom glows,
Think of our pious few;—and live as well.



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THE

WHOLE WORKS

OF

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS:

CONTAINING

I. The ANTIQUITIES of the JEWISH PEOPLE, in Twenty Books.

II. The WARS of the JEWS with the ROMANS, from their Commencement to the final Deſtruction of JERUSALEM, by TITUS, in the Reign of VESPASIAN. In Seven Books.

III. The Two Books of JOSEPHUS, in DEFENCE of the JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, againſt APION.

IV. The MARTYRDOM of the MACCABEES.

V. ACCOUNT of PHILO's EMBASSY from the JEWS of ALEXANDRIA to the EMPEROR CAIUS CALIGULA.

VI. The LIFE of FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS, as written by HIMSELF.

VII. The TESTIMONIES of JOSEPHUS, concerning Our Bleſſed SAVIOUR, St. JOHN the BAPTIST, *&c. &c. &c.*

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

A CONTINUATION

OF THE

HISTORY OF THE JEWS,

FROM THE DEATH OF JOSEPHUS TO THE PRESENT TIME.

ALSO,

NOTES—*Explanatory, Hiſtorical, Biographical, Claſſical, Critical, and Geographical,*

WITH MARGINAL REFERENCES AND COPIOUS INDEXES.

LIKEWISE TABLES OF THE JEWISH COINS, WEIGHTS, MEASURES, &c.

THE WHOLE NEWLY TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL GREEK.

BY EBENEZER THOMPSON, D. D. and WM. CHAS. PRICE, LL. D.

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THE EDITORS

PREFACE.

THE HISTORY OF THE JEWS, as written by FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS, has been not only held in the greateſt eſtimation, ſince tranſlated, but has in a great meaſure contributed in promoting the Truths of Chriſtianity. Its authenticity has been univerſally acknowledged, and the ſacred Scriptures thereby fully corroborated. This learned and ancient Hiſtorian has frequently been the means of convincing many obſtinate diſbelievers, who, notwithſtanding their mockery of Religion, have been ſtruck ſo forcibly with the accounts herein given, and their correſpondence to the Holy Bible, that they have not only allowed its great merit, but afterwards, with penitential rapture, acknowledged themſelves converts to the WORD OF GOD.

The utility, therefore, of a Work, which conveys ſuch ſalutary inſtruction—ſuch agreeable conviction—muſt certainly be obvious to every ſerious thinker.—It is a work that ſhould never die as its tends to an examination of the Chriſtian ſyſtem. A laudable wiſh to preſerve ſo invaluable a treaſure, inclined us with peculiar attention to furniſh the Public with a New Edition—an Edition hitherto unequalled for correctneſs, and neceſſary additions—in order to render it convenient for every claſs of people, as every claſs of people ſhould read it, we have endeavoured to unite two Volumes in one; and inſtead of contracting or mutilating the former edition, which is too often the caſe with many a reprinted work, under pretence of making it an eaſy purchaſe, we have abſolutely improved and added thereto—though ſtrange as this may ſeem at firſt ſight, yet when we explain the means we have adopted, aſtoniſhment will not only ceaſe, but the truth of this aſſertion fully appear. In the firſt place, one of our pages contains very near double of any of the former editions, which affords ample room for many neceſſary Annotations.—We have alſo divided our books into fewer chapters, as, it muſt be acknowledged, there were ſeveral unmeaning diviſions in the books of former editions, and ſeveral of thoſe chapters, thus divided, ſcarcely exceeding, notwithſtanding a ſtrong connection both to the preceding and ſucceeding ones, a dozen lines, and yet bearing heads of contents, which promiſed a much larger portion of matter —We have kept within reaſonable bounds—made ſuch diviſions as the ſenſe allowed, and were abſolutely proper for the relief of our readers—given a brief ſummary of each chapter, and yet have peculiarized ſuch particular paſſages by marginal heads, that references may be made almoſt immediately.

The

The Life of Joſephus, which has hitherto preceded his Hiſtory, in this edition ſucceeds it—as it was preſumed, our Readers, when made acquainted with the writings of the man, and had entered fully into the ſpirit of his work, would be more deſirous then to read his life and character.—Among our ADDITIONS is, a Vindication of the Teſtimonies of Joſephus, concerning Our Bleſſed Saviour, John the Baptiſt, and James the Juſt. Alſo Remarks and Obſervations from theſe foregoing teſtimonies concerning Jeſus Chriſt. Reflections on the Accounts of Tacitus and Suetonius, concerning divers Events relative to the Jewiſh Nation, and above all, the Hiſtory of the Jews, continued from the time of Joſephus to the preſent Period, including a ſpace of many centuries.—Alſo the Predictions of the principal Prophets, whoſe names occur in the works of Flavius Joſephus.—A Liſt of the Jewiſh Meaſures, and a Geographical Index, deſcriptive of the principal Places mentioned in the Works of Flavius Joſephus, without which it is impoſſible to peruſe his works with due attention, or even the holy Scriptures as we ought.

In order to correct many errors which crept into former editions, through the inadvertency of compoſitors, we have conſulted books of Antiquity in various Languages, and the occaſional Comments of the moſt ingenious Tranſlators of this work: particularly Boyer, Sir Roger L'Eſtrange, &c. whoſe aſſiſtance had been formerly of ſo much uſe—thus we have not only been enabled to rectify ſeveral typographical miſtakes, but likewiſe to elucidate ſuch paſſages as were before doubtful and intricate: and thus have we enhanced the value of an invaluable undertaking, and, it is hoped, rendered the preſent edition far ſuperior to any of the former.

The acknowledged utility of this Work is a ſufficient plea for this republication, and we preſume when the ſeveral advantages of this Edition are conſidered, and above all, the elegant Embelliſhments with which it is accompanied, that it will become the happy inſtrument of extenſive knowledge, and agreeable inſtruction, and that in conſideration of thoſe peculiar Alterations and Additions already intimated, it will have the preference of all former Tranſlations, and reſpective Editions, and be admitted into every family as the bulwark of Religion and Inſtruction.

It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that hitherto the works of our celebrated Author have been promiſcuouſly printed, without any regularity or due order; the particular care which we have taken of the arrangement of the matter, will be ſufficient, we hope, to eſtabliſh the ſuperiority of this Edition—for inſtance, the Hiſtory of the Martyrdom of the Maccabees, which formerly preceded the Hiſtory of the Wars of the Jews againſt the Romans, in the preſent Edition ſucceeds it—it being abſolutely neceſſary, firſt of all, to be acquainted with theſe Wars, which were the moſt conſiderable that ever occurred, and more intereſting and important than any contentions now upon record—the propriety, therefore, of their immediately following the Jewiſh Antiquities, muſt certainly be obvious to every Reader.

We ſhall no longer obtrude upon the Public any further introductory Remarks,—The neceſſity, utility, and advantage of this Re-publication appear ſo evident, that words are entirely needleſs to expatiate thereon, nor can we ſpare room indeed for any unneceſſary preamble:—neither expence nor attention have been omitted to render this undertaking the moſt complete of the kind: we cannot, therefore, be accuſed of intereſted motives, but a laudable ambition to excel.

THE EDITORS.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS's

PREFACE

TO HIS

HISTORY

OF THE

ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

I WILL not dwell on the motives by which hiſtorians are generally induced to tranſmit to poſterity their records of paſt events, but I will venture to aſſert, that the work which I have entered upon will appear worthy the attention of the world, as it comprehends an Hiſtory of the Antiquities, Policy, and Government of our Nation, faithfully tranſlated from the Hebrew writings.

It was my chief intention, when I began the Hiſtory of the WARS in that work, to explain the Origin and Antiquities of the Jews, the viciſſitudes of fortune they underwent, and to delineate the character of their Legiſlator; but, as I proceeded, I found the ANTIQUITIES a ſubject too copious to be treated in connection with any other: I therefore determined to detach it from the Hiſtory of the Wars, and direct my attention to the Antiquities, previous to the Wars, and other ſucceeding events. Yet (as is frequently the caſe with thoſe who engage in arduous purſuits) I was diſcouraged to perſevere, as the work proved laborious, and my progreſs ſeemed retarded in proportion to its prolixity. Some, however, from a laudable deſire of acquiring knowledge, encouraged me to proceed, and eſpecially EPAPHRODITUS *, a man who had a propenſity to literature in general, and to hiſtory in particular; and had himſelf held very conſiderable employments, experienced many changes of fortune, and manifeſted throughout the whole an integrity and magnanimity never excelled, and rarely equalled.

I was thus prevailed on by the perſuaſion of ſo zealous a patron, and diſdaining an ignominious ſloth to the proſecution of a laudable undertaking, I reſumed my taſk with a determination of

* He was Maſter of Requeſts to the Emperor Nero: he was condemned to die by the Emperor Domitian, becauſe he had aſſiſted Nero in deſtroying himſelf.

completing

completing it with all convenient ſpeed. Beſides, when I reflected that King PTOLEMY II.* (a ſovereign who greatly favoured learning, and was deſirous of obtaining literary information, even at immenſe charge) procured a Greek tranſlation of our code of laws, conſtitution, and government; and that ELEAZAR, our high prieſt, a man inferior to none of his predeceſſors in knowledge or virtue, could not deny to that prince the participation of the inſtruction and entertainment to be derived from ſuch a work, as he knew it was the cuſtom of our anceſtors not to conceal that which might be uſeful to mankind in general; I held it my incumbent duty to imitate the liberality of our high prieſt—and the more ſo, as I am perſuaded there are now many perſons as much attached to literature, and as anxiouſly deſirous of obtaining knowledge, as that prince was in his day.

We are aſſured that King Ptolemy did not obtain all our writings; thoſe which related to the Law only were preſented to him by the interpreters at Alexandria; whereas the ſubjects compriſed in the ſacred writings are innumerable, ſince they contain the hiſtory of near four thouſand years; a hiſtory replete with ſurpriſing events reſpecting the various fortunes of war, the glorious achievements of heroes, and the extraordinary revolutions of ſtates and kingdoms.

It is my earneſt wiſh that by the authenticity of the Moſaic writings my works may be proved; conſcious that nothing will be found therein derogatory to the dignity of the Supreme Being, or repugnant to his gracious deſigns towards men; but that, on the other hand, they will appear a diſplay of his perfections, and a comment on his benevolence; as well as demonſtrate, that all things are diſpoſed in exact conformity to the laws of univerſal nature, to principles of the ſublimeſt rectitude, and to the pureſt dictates of unerring truth.

Moſes has amply diſcuſſed theſe important points: where it is requiſite, his language is plain and explicit; in other parts, it abounds with allegorical figures, to inveſtigate which, requires the aid of philoſophical diſquiſition. But diſmiſſing this ſubject for the preſent, I ſhall apply myſelf to the work I have undertaken, and begin with the creation of the world; after making a few neceſſary obſervations, by way of introduction to the whole.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

* He was King of Egypt, and ſon of PTOLEMY I. ſurnamed LAGUS, and who, though only a ſoldier in Alexander's army, at his death got the kingdom to himſelf.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS:

His HISTORY of the

ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

JEWS.

BOOK I.

Containing the TRANSACTIONS of 2230 YEARS, from the CREATION of the WORLD, to the DEATH of ISAAC the PATRIARCH.

INTRODUCTION. *

THOSE hiſtorians, who have borne an active part in the actions which they record, conſider themſelves as under peculiar obligations, from that very circumſtance, to bear evidence to all ſuch matters as fell within their cognizance: they are, moreover, induced to take up the pen from a generous deſire of tranſmitting to poſterity ſuch actions as, for the general good of mankind, ought to be univerſally publiſhed, and not be ſuffered to lie buried in a diſgraceful obſcurity or oblivion. Under the influence of the above conſiderations, I have undertaken my preſent taſk; for, as I was privy to every tranſaction in the war between our people the Jews, and the Romans, I deem it my duty to publiſh to the world a true ſtate of all that paſſed during the above period, and to expoſe the falſehoods and miſrepreſentations which have been introduced into the relations of other writers upon the ſubject.

The Author's deſign.

It has been part of my deſign to trace the origin of the Jews, and to treat of their various fortunes, and of their excellent legiſlator, by whom they were trained up in the practice of ſuch exemplary virtue and piety; and alſo to relate the incidents of the various wars in which they were engaged for ſo many ages, particularly of the laſt, which they were compelled, however averſe to it they were, to maintain againſt the Romans. I was led to this reſolution by the reflection that our anceſtors had always manifeſted the greateſt readineſs to communicate ſuch matters to the natives of the neighbouring countries; and that the Greeks themſelves had repeatedly expreſſed an affectionate inquiſitiveneſs relative to the hiſtory of our nation.

A ſuitable diſpoſition in the reader enjoined.

In the peruſal of this hiſtory, there is one circumſtance more particularly deſerving the reader's attention; which is, that they who reſign themſelves to the will, and obey the ordinances of the Almighty, proſper even beyond belief in all their undertakings, and enjoy, beſides, the promiſe of ecſtatic and eternal bliſs in a life to come; whereas the ungodly, on the other hand, are defeated in all their deſigns, how feaſible ſoever they may appear, and are plunged

* The *Editor*, in arranging the introductory matters to the different parts of this Work, has carefully attended to the original Verſions in the Hebrew and Greek, for it was firſt written in the former language by order of *Veſpaſian*, and then tranſlated into the latter. He has therefore, in producing this Edition, endeavoured to diſpoſe of the diviſion of Books, Chapters, Contents, &c. according to the Author's original intention, and in the moſt œconomical manner, in order to bring the whole into the moſt moderate compaſs poſſible, carefully avoiding all interpolations of former Tranſlators and Editors, who have uſed ſuch means merely to extend their Editions to an unreaſonable length and unneceſſary expence.

into endleſs miſery and woe. Let the reader, therefore, conform himſelf, in all things, to the divine will, and maturely reflect on what Moſes, our legiſlator, has ſaid reſpecting the nature of God, and the correſpondence which ſubſiſts among all the works of his hands; obſerving, at the ſame time, how free the narrative of our great lawgiver is from thoſe fictions which abound in the relations of other writers. Yet, when the diſtance of time in which he wrote is conſidered, it will appear plain, that he might have impoſed upon us whatever falſities he had pleaſed, without any danger of detection; as our hiſtory commences above two thouſand years prior to the fabulous narrations of the ancient poets: neither have the heathens themſelves the audacity to trace ſo far back the origin of their falſe gods, the boaſted actions of their heroes, or the codes of their legiſlators. But as the authenticity of the narrative depends, in a great degree, on the authority of what Moſes in his wiſdom thought fit to deliver, it will be neceſſary to premiſe ſomething concerning Moſes himſelf, in order to prevent all cavils; as my readers will naturally be ſurpriſed to find ſo many philoſophical digreſſions in a work which, in the title, promiſes nothing more than a plain narration of hiſtorical facts.

Honourable teſtimony of Moſes.

It muſt be obſerved, that this excellent perſon contends, that every man, who would live virtuouſly himſelf, or promulge laws for the regulation of the lives of others, muſt, in the firſt place, ſedulouſly apply himſelf to obtain all poſſible intelligence as to the nature of the Divine Being, and, as far as the weakneſs of his condition will permit, to form himſelf on that perfect model. Without this application, no legiſlator can ſupport the character he aſſumes; neither can he profit others by his writings, unleſs he convinces them, in the firſt place, that God is the Father and Lord of every thing that has exiſtence; that nothing is concealed from his knowledge; and that he rewardeth the godly man, and ſeverely puniſheth thoſe who wander from the right path. Theſe were the doctrines which Moſes taught the people committed to his care. He did not, like other legiſlators, begin with enacting laws for the preſervation of their rights and properties, nor with regulating the forms of ſtipulations, contracts, and the like; but his firſt care was, to give them a juſt idea of the power of God in the creation of the world, and of the ſuperior excellence of man over all other earthly beings: and having poſſeſſed their minds with a due reverence of the Almighty, he found them likewiſe ſuſceptible of every other laudable impreſſion. But the lawgivers of the heathens, who were guided ſolely by the fabulous traditions handed down to them, have, with the utmoſt freedom, imputed to their gods ſuch lewdneſs as would diſgrace the moſt laſcivious of men, and thus, by theſe examples, have they authorized and incited mankind to the commiſſion of every ſpecies of wickedneſs imaginable. Our legiſlator, on the contrary, having, in the firſt place, repreſented to us that God is the very eſſence of holineſs and purity, proceeds to demonſtrate, that every man is bound to exert his utmoſt endeavours to render himſelf a partaker, in ſome degree at leaſt, of the ſanctity of that Divine Original; denouncing, finally, a rigid ſentence againſt the unbelievers, and ſuch as will not admit theſe truths.

I preſume that every reader, who examines this work by the foregoing ſtandard, will find each part thereof perfectly conſonant with reaſon, and with the goodneſs and majeſty of the Divine Being. It will be ſeen that I have varied my mode of treating on the different matters mentioned by our great legiſlator; ſlightly touching only upon ſome, illuſtrating others by apt illuſions, and, with reſpect to ſuch paſſages as were moſt wo[illegible] of a thorough inveſtigation, I have rendered the ſenſe of them as perſpicuous as language will admit.

CHAP. I.

The World created in ſix Days, with the diſtinct Operations of each Day. The ſeventh Day, a Sabbath. Formation of Adam and Eve, and the Etymology of their Names. The Garden of Eden planted, and inhabited. Of the forbidden Fruit. The Serpent tempts Eve. The Fall of Adam and Eve, and the Curſe pronounced in conſequence of that Event.

Creation of the world. Gen. i.

"IN the beginning God created the heaven and the earth;"* but the earth was overſpread with an impenetrable darkneſs. The Spirit of God, by his omnipotent *Fiat*, commanded that there ſhould be light, and, upon its appearance, having viewed the maſs, he divided the light from the darkneſs; ſtyling the darkneſs night, and the light day. The earlier hours of the day he called morning, and the concluſion of it, the time after the departure of the day, evening: and this was the diviſion of the firſt day. Moſes emphatically terms it *one* or *a* day, and not the firſt day.

The ſecond day was employed in the conſtruction of the firmament, or heaven, which was placed high above the reſt of the works of creation, being ſeparated from the groſſer particles of the earth, and ſurrounded with a chryſtalline atmoſphere; and the air was impregnated with that

* Though the Jews, by *the heaven and earth*, underſtood the univerſe, as appears from Acts xvii. 24. yet it is evident that Moſes, in the ſubſequent part of his account, confines himſelf to deſcribe only the creation of the ſolar ſyſtem, or this viſible world; and though he here aſſerts, that God is the creator of all things, yet it is uſed as a preface, not as an explanation of the remaining part.

due

due proportion of humidity, which produces thoſe refreſhing ſhowers by which the earth is enabled to "bring forth her fruits in due ſeaſon."

On the third day God fixed the earth, which had hitherto floated, and encompaſſed it with the ſea; and on the ſame day the various ſpecies of plants, with their ſeeds, were produced.

The ſun, the moon, and the other planets, with the ſtars, were formed on the fourth day; being intended both to embelliſh the firmament in which they were placed, and alſo, by the regularity of their motions and courſes, to mark out to the inhabitants of the world the progreſſion of time, and the revolving ſeaſons.

On the fifth day God created the fiſh, and feathered fowl; and ſent them forth in couples, having endowed them with the faculty of propagation; that every creature, according to its ſpecies, might increaſe and multiply upon the face of the earth.

The work of the ſixth day conſiſted in the formation of various ſpecies of quadrupeds, male and female*; and on this day God alſo created the moſt noble of all his works, MAN. Thus, in the words of Moſes, "In ſix days God made the world, and all that is therein."

The ſabbath appointed.

The Almighty, having thus accompliſhed the grand undertaking, ceaſed from his labours, and reſted† on the ſeventh day. Hence it is that we diſtinguiſh this day by the title of Sabbath, which, in the Hebrew language, ſignifies Reſt, and a prohibition of every kind of worldly occupation.

Origin of mankind.

After recounting theſe particulars, Moſes expatiates upon the works and offices of nature, beginning with the creation of man: "God," ſays he, formed man of the duſt of the ground, and breathed into him the breath of life; ſo that he became a living ſoul." He adds, that this man was named *Adam*, which, in the Hebrew language, ſignifies *red*; that pure and rich kind of earth, from which he was formed, being of that colour in its original ſtate.

By the command of God, all living creatures, male and female, paſſed in review before Adam, who gave to each a name, according to their reſpective ſpecies and natures, by which they have ever ſince been diſtinguiſhed.

Woman formed.

The ſolitude in which Adam had hitherto lived being conſidered as, in ſome meaſure, a diminution of his happineſs, God was pleaſed to provide a ſuitable companion for him in the perſon of Eve, who was formed from one of the ribs of Adam, taken from his ſide during a deep ſleep; and he no ſooner ſaw her, than he acknowledged the conſanguinity, and gratefully received her as an amiable partner, bountifully granted to him for his comfort and help, ſtyling her "bone of his bone, and fleſh of his fleſh". The common Hebrew term for a woman is *Iſſa*, but this woman, being the firſt, was ſtyled *Eva*, ſignifying the *Mother of all living*.

It is further related by Moſes, that God planted a garden, afterwards called Paradiſe, in the eaſtern part of the earth, filled with every ſpecies of ſalutary vegetables and fruit trees; the tree of life and the tree of knowledge of good and evil among the reſt.

Paradiſe.

The four rivers of Paradiſe.

The care of cultivating this garden was entruſted to Adam and Eve. A large river, which divided itſelf into four branches, ran through, and ſurrounded it. The firſt of theſe branches, ſtyled, in the Hebrew tongue, Piſon, ſignifying fulneſs or inundation, and by the Greeks, Ganges, directs its courſe through India, and loſes itſelf finally in the ſea: the ſecond, called, in our tongue, Phora, meaning diſperſion, or a flower; and the third, which we call Diglath, or narrow and rapid, are both called Euphrates by the Greeks, and they empty themſelves into the Red Sea‡: the fourth branch ſhapes its courſe through Egypt, and is called by us Gihon, which means, to come from the eaſt; but the Greeks term it the Nile.

The tree of knowledge.

The bountiful parent of univerſal nature permitted Adam and Eve to eat of every fruit in the garden, except that of the tree of knowledge, which they were prohibited from taſting, upon pain of death. Hitherto a perfect harmony had ſubſiſted among all the creatures; and the ſerpent appeared to be particularly familiar with Adam and Eve; but, being envious of the happineſs they enjoyed, while they continued in their obedience to the commands of God; and knowing the miſery they would bring upon themſelves by a diſregard of the divine injunction, tempted the woman to taſte of the fruit; by repreſenting to her, that, upon eating of it, ſhe would be endued with a miraculous power of diſtinguiſhing between good and evil, would attain to an equal portion of happineſs with her Creator; and by taſting the fruit, both herſelf and her huſband would immediately become more exalted and godlike beings. Thus was the woman prevailed upon to violate the command of God; and the flavour of the fruit proved ſo grateful to her, that ſhe ſolicited her huſband alſo to eat of it, who immediately yielded to her perſuaſion§. The virtue of the fruit beginning now

The temptation.

to

* The animals are in the ſacred text divided into three claſſes; 1. *Behemah*, beaſts of burthen, which includes the cattle, and all tame animals; 2. *Hitho arets*, the beaſts of the earth, under which term are comprehended all wild beaſts; and, 3. *Remiſh*, which ſignifies reptiles or creeping things.

† The reſt here implied is not that which is cauſed by fatigue, but a voluntary ceſſation from creating.

‡ By the Red Sea the Arabian Gulf is not intended, but the whole of the South Sea, which includes the Red Sea and the Perſian Gulf that extends to the Eaſt Indies.

§ Eve gazed ſo long upon the fruit, that its beautiful hue and its miraculous effect ſo heated her paſſions, that ſhe ventured to pluck the fruit, and ate her own death. Not ſatisfied with the ruin of herſelf, ſhe offers the fatal fruit to her huſband, who, liſtening more

The fall, and its awful effects.

to operate upon them, they perceived that they were naked*, and made themſelves coverings of fig-leaves, woven together, to conceal their ſhame; no doubt conſidering this diſcovery of their wants, the certain effect of diſobedience, as an increaſe of their happineſs.

Some time afterwards, Adam, perceiving the Almighty walking in the garden, was ſtruck with a conſciouſneſs of his guilt, and attempted, for the firſt time, to conceal himſelf. But God, ordering him to draw near, demanded, why he, who had hitherto ſo eagerly ſought all opportunities of preſenting himſelf before his Creator, ſhould now avoid him? Adam was incapable of replying; and the Almighty thus proceeded: "I had made every neceſſary proviſion for the eaſe and happineſs of your life, nor had I left you even a ſingle wiſh to be gratified; neither could your enjoyments have been interrupted by the infirmities of old age; but as you have dared to break through the reſtrictions I had laid on you, and are unable, through guilt, to offer any plea in defence of your conduct, I will ſhorten the number of your days."

Trial and conviction of the offenders.

Their defence.

Adam endeavoured to extenuate his offence in the beſt manner he could, and, after uſing ſome arguments to palliate his crime, caſt the whole blame upon his wife; but inſtantly became confounded, mute, and motionleſs.

The woman, on her part, ſought to exculpate herſelf, by alledging that the ſerpent had ſeduced her from the obedience which ſhe owed to the divine command. God, therefore, to puniſh Adam for liſtening to the inſinuations of his wife, pronounced a curſe on the ground; declaring that, in future, it ſhould produce nothing but what ſhould be extorted from it by labour and the ſweat of man's brow; neither ſhould its produce be always anſwerable to his expectation and aſſiduity. The ſentence denounced againſt Eve, in conſequence of her complying with the ſuggeſtions of the ſerpent, and afterwards drawing Adam into the ſame ſnare, was, "in ſorrow to bring forth children;" and, as the juſt puniſhment of the malice and wiles of the ſerpent, God deprived him of the gift of ſpeech, put poiſon under his tongue, condemned him to the loſs of his feet, and to crawl upon his belly in future; he alſo branded him as the avowed enemy of mankind; further predicting, that Eve ſhould tread upon his head,

Sentence and curſe denounced.

that being the ſource of all our miſeries, and the part in which he is moſt ſuſceptible of a mortal wound. Immediately after the denunciation, of theſe penalties, the Almighty diſmiſſed our firſt parents from the garden of Eden, as no longer worthy to inhabit that region of pure and uncorrupted bliſs, and appointed angels to prevent their return thither any more for ever.

Adam and Eve expelled from Paradiſe.

CHAP. II.

The Hiſtory of Cain and Abel. God calls Cain to an Account for murdering his Brother. The Invention of Weights and Meaſures diſcovered by Cain, who builds the firſt City. Jubal the Inventor of Muſic. Tubal-cain the firſt Artificer in Braſs and Iron-Work. Death of Adam. Seth and his Sons apply themſelves to the Study of Aſtronomy. The Pillars of Seth.

Birth of Cain and Abel.

EVE bore two ſons, which were her firſt children: the eldeſt was named Cain, which means *Poſſeſſion* or *Acquiſition;* and the ſecond was called Abel, ſignifying *Affliction*, or *Sorrow*. The tempers and diſpoſitions of theſe brothers were as different as their occupations. Abel, whoſe profeſſion was that of a ſhepherd, led a virtuous and godly life: whereas Cain, who was a huſbandman, and the firſt inventor of tillage, abandoned himſelf to all kinds of wickedneſs. He was influenced by avaricious and intereſted motives alone; and proceeded ſo far in his wickedneſs as, on the following account, to put his own brother to death, and thereby became the perpetrator of the firſt murder. They had mutually agreed to offer a ſacrifice to God: Cain's oblation conſiſted of the fruits of the earth; but Abel offered up the milk and firſtlings of his flock. The latter ſacrifice was ſolely the production of nature, and gave the moſt ſatisfaction to the Almighty; whereas the other appeared to be rather an offering extorted by avarice, induſtry, and force, than a teſtimony of the good-will of the ſacrificer. The preference thus manifeſted for Abel, gave ſuch high offence to his brother, that he privately ſlew him, and concealed his body†. When God, who knew what had paſſed, inquired of Cain, where his brother was, he betrayed great confuſion, and replied, with much he-

Cain murders Abel.

to the clamours of affection than to the ſtill ſmall voice of reaſon, received it from her, chooſing rather to die with her than to live without her.

* Their eyes were opened, but alas! only to behold their folly and impiety: as they now perceived their nakedneſs, and the wretched degradation of their nature. By the expreſſion, *they knew that they were naked*, ſome interpreters underſtand their being ſtripped of that robe of glory with which God had adorned their bodies, as a badge of their innocence and immortality. But the term *nakedneſs* is often uſed in Scripture to ſignify the turpitude of vice; and this ſeems the true import of it here; for after Adam had made himſelf an apron to cover his body, he told his Maker that he was naked; that is, he was convinced that he was diveſted of his purity and innocence, the true ornament of his nature.

† St. John gives a much better reaſon for the murder of Abel by his brother Cain: "Becauſe his own works were evil and his brother's righteous." St. John iii. 12. Beſides, Cain did not look to the great Antitype, which Abel, by faith, did; ſee Heb. xi. 4.

ſitation,

ſitation, that he had not ſeen him for ſome time paſt, and was much ſurpriſed at the circumſtance. Being queſtioned more cloſely, he anſwered, with great inſolence, that he was "not his brother's keeper, nor was he of his council." God now charged him home with the murder of his brother, and he was compelled to acknowledge the fact. Upon his ſubmiſſion, however, God was pleaſed to remit the puniſhment of "blood for blood;" but pronounced a curſe on him and his deſcendents, to the ſeventh generation, and baniſhed him, together with his wife, to a diſtant part of the earth. This ſentence filled him with terror, leſt, in wandering through the world, in ſearch of a ſettlement, any accident ſhould befal him; but, to preſerve him from every danger to which he might chance to be expoſed, either from man or beaſt, God ſet a diſtinguiſhing mark on him, as a token of protection, and then diſmiſſed him from his preſence, to wander about the earth.

His puniſhment.

Cain accordingly departed with his wife; and, after travelling through various countries, they fixed their reſidence at Nais (by ſome called Naid, and by others Nod), and here they had many children; but, inſtead of being reformed and benefited by his afflictions, and the chaſtiſement of his Creator, he became more diſſolute than before, abandoning himſelf, without reſerve, to every ſpecies of luſt and violence. He enriched himſelf by continual depredations on the property of others, and, ſelecting for his aſſociates the moſt profligate of the human ſpecies, ſhewed himſelf capable of giving pernicious inſtructions and examples even to theſe adepts in villainy. By the introduction of weights and meaſures, he deſtroyed the honeſt ſimplicity and plain dealing of former times, and ſubſtituted policy, craft, and fraud, in the place of the ancient candour and generoſity. It was he who, influenced by ambition and avarice, firſt violated the general rights of mankind, by dividing and incloſing the land in ſeparate portions. And he alſo founded the firſt city, which having ſurrounded with walls, and fortified by a rampart, he called Enos, or Enoch, after the name of his eldeſt ſon, obliging his family and dependents to dwell therein.

Wickedneſs of Cain.

Enoch, the firſt city.

Theſe were the deſcendents of Cain: Enos begat Jared: Jared begat Mahalaleel; Mahalaleel begat Methuſelah; and Methuſelah begat Lamech, whoſe two wives, Zillah and Adah, bore him ſeventy-ſeven children. By the latter of theſe wives he had Jabal, who was the firſt man that dwelt in tents, and employed himſelf in the occupations of a paſtoral life. Another of his ſons, by the ſame wife, was named Jubal; a great proficient in the ſcience of muſic, and to whom we are indebted for the invention of the pſaltery and the harp.

Cain's progeny.

Jubal invents muſic.

His wife Zillah bore him Tubal-cain, a renowned warrior, and who firſt diſcovered the art of working in braſs and iron: he had a daughter, whoſe name was Naamah.

Lamech, who had always ſtrictly obſerved the progreſs of divine juſtice, conſcious that his own family was involved in that dreadful judgment, which had been denounced againſt the whole race of Cain, on account of the murder of Abel, made his wives acquainted with the particulars of that event. During the life of Adam the accurſed race of Cain increaſed daily in atrocious wickedneſs; not only imitating, but even ſurpaſſing the moſt peſtiferous examples of former times. War and rapine were their chief delight; and, if any of them chanced to be free from the guilt of homicide, they were equally addicted to avarice, pride, and other vices and outrages.

Adam, who had now attained his two hundred and thirtieth year, applied himſelf very aſſiduouſly to people the earth. He ſurvived this period ſeven hundred years, and left ſeveral children, one of whom was named Seth. It would take up too much time, and would anſwer no purpoſe, to particularize the offspring of Adam*; and I ſhall, therefore, confine myſelf to the mention of Seth alone. He was educated by his father with great care; and no ſooner became capable of diſtinguiſhing between good and evil, than he applied himſelf wholly to the practice of virtue. He became eminent for his qualifications; and his children cloſely copied the example of their excellent father. They lived in the utmoſt harmony and happineſs, both amongſt themſelves, and with the reſt of mankind. They contemplated the power of the Divine Being, as manifeſted in his various operations, and were the firſt perſons who ſtudied the motions and influences of the heavenly bodies. Having been forewarned by Adam of an univerſal deluge and conflagration, they erected two pillars, one of brick, and the other of ſtone, which they were of opinion would, one or the other of them, be proof againſt every attack either of fire or water. They engraved upon theſe pillars their diſcoveries and inventions, leſt, in a ſeries of ages, the knowledge of the ſcience itſelf ſhould become extinct. Their precaution was not vain; for, to this day, namely, of Joſephus, the ſtone pillar is to be ſeen in Syria†.

Seth's virtuous character.

Two pillars raiſed by his children.

CHAP. III.

The Wickedneſs of the World, and the Judgment of the Almighty upon it. The general Flood. Conſtruction of the Ark, for the Preſervation of Noah and his Family. The ten ſeveral Generations from Adam to

* An old tradition ſays, that the number of Adam's children was 33 ſons, and 23 daughters.

† What is here ſaid of Seth, and his virtuous poſterity, is exactly ſuitable with the other diſpenſations of Providence in the firſt ages.

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the Flood. Commencement and Progreſs of the Flood. Noah goes out of the Ark, and performs Sacrifices. The Prayer of Noah. Anſwer and Charge of God to him. The Term of his Life.

MANKIND lived for ſeven generations according to the principles of virtue, and in the love and fear of the Almighty; but they afterwards diſregarded the duties of religion and moral rectitude, and ſo far degenerated from the manners of their predeceſſors, as to ſtudy to excel in vice with double the avidity that they had before ſhewn to emulate each other in the practice of virtue. The abominable impiety which now prevailed, called down the wrath of heaven upon the human race; and the virtuous and pious part of the men (called by Moſes the ſons of God) intermarrying with profane women, a perverſe and diſobedient generation was produced; who, being confident of their ſtrength, and hardened by their crimes, may with ſome propriety be compared to the giants in the Greek fables, who are repreſented to have confounded and deſtroyed right and juſtice by an undue exertion of ſuperior ſtrength and power, and to have rendered themſelves odious by their repeated enormities.

Degeneracy of mankind.

Noah, who retained his integrity, was ſhocked to behold the general depravity, and laboured to effect a reformation by perſuaſion, argument, and by exerting his authority; but finding, at length, that his endeavours to reclaim this incorrigibly obſtinate race would not prevail, and apprehending violence and barbarity in return for his good-will, more eſpecially as they ſeemed devoted to the moſt impious courſes, he removed with his family and all his people, from this land of wickedneſs, and the exceſſes of its abandoned inhabitants. The virtue and integrity of this holy man gained him the favour of God; but the general corruption of the age had increaſed to ſuch a ſhocking pitch of extravagance, that the Lord determined to extirpate the preſent race of mankind, and in their ſtead to ſupply a more virtuous generation, limiting the term of their lives to one hundred and twenty years.

Duration of human life limited.

Lineage of Noah.

Noah was deſcended in a right line from Adam, and was the tenth in ſucceſſion, being the ſon of Lamech, Lamech of Methuſelah, Methuſelah of Enoch, Enoch of Jared, Jared of Mahalaleel (who had ſeveral brothers) Mahalaleel of Cain, Cain of Enos, Enos of Seth, Seth being the ſon of Adam. God ſignified to Noah his intention to deſtroy the world by a flood, and commanded him to form an ark of three hundred cubits in length, fifty in breadth, and thirty in height; and that this ark ſhould contain four ſtories, and be conſtructed ſufficiently firm and compact to reſiſt the wind, and alſo the attack of the moſt violent ſurge, or boiſterous ſtorm. In obedience to the command of the Almighty, Noah, having conſtructed the ark, entered it with his wife and ſons and their wives, taking with him male and female, in pairs, of every creature living; and ſeven couples of ſome kinds, for the preſervation of the ſeveral ſpecies, having previouſly ſupplied the ark with proper food, and every thing neceſſary for their accommodation. Noah having duly complied with the injunctions given him, the Almighty cauſed an univerſal deluge to overſpread the earth, which ſwallowed up and deſtroyed all living creatures, except thoſe appointed to be preſerved in the ark.

Noah's ark.

It was in the ſecond month when the deluge happened, which month the Macedonians called Dius, and the Hebrews Marſaune, according to the Egyptian manner of dividing the year. Niſan, which ſignifies Xanthicus, is called the firſt month by Moſes, on account of its being the month in which he brought the Iſraelites out of Egypt; and this computation he invariably obſerves in matters which relate to the divine worſhip: but in regard to fairs, trade, and other civil matters, he admits the calculation of time as it was delivered to him by tradition. At the time of the general inundation, Noah was aged ſix hundred years: according to Moſes, the firſt rain towards drowning the world, fell on the twenty-ſeventh day of the before-mentioned month, in the year of the world 2256*; and this correſponds with the holy ſcriptures, wherein the moſt particular accounts are given of the births and deceaſe of the moſt remarkable men of the early ages of the world.

Time of the flood.

Adam was two hundred and thirty years old when he begat Seth, and at the age of nine hundred and thirty he died. Our great progenitor, after living 930 years, reſigned his breath into the hands of his Creator, having ſeen his iſſue in the ninth generation. Beſides the griefs he bore for his own perſonal tranſgreſſion, he had the mortification to ſee an early rupture in his family, which ended in unnatural murder: he was witneſs to that univerſal corruption which provoked the Almighty to deſtroy mankind by a deluge. Seth begat Enoch at one hundred and five, and he died at nine hundred and five; leaving a ſon named Cainan, who lived to the age of nine hundred and ten years. Cainan was ſucceeded by a ſon, whom he begat at one hundred and ſeventy years old, named Mahalaleel, who died at eight hundred and ninety-five, leaving his ſon Jared to ſucceed him, whom he begat at one hundred and ſixty-two, and who died at nine hundred and ſixty-nine. When he was one hundred and ſixty-two, his ſon Enoch was born, and having attained his three hundred and ſixty-fifth year,

Age and Death of Adam.

Seth's deſcendents.

* At the time of the flood, the year commenced about the autumnal equinox.

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" he went to God, and was no more ſeen†." In the hundred and ſixty-fifth year of Enoch's age, he had a ſon born, called Methuſelah; and at one hundred and eighty-ſeven, he had another ſon, named Lamech, in whoſe favour he reſigned the government which he had poſſeſſed for the ſpace of nine hundred and ſixty-nine years. When Lamech had held his commiſſion ſeven hundred and ſeven years, he transferred it to his ſon Noah, who was born when his father was one hundred and eighty-two years old, and Noah continued in the adminiſtration nine hundred and fifty years. Admitting Noah's age to have been ſix hundred years at the time of the flood, and adding the ages of the ſeveral perſons above-mentioned, the amount will appear to correſpond exactly with the number of years above ſpecified, as the period when the deluge took place. But it is our buſineſs more particularly to conſider the birth, than the death of theſe men, who lived till they had propagated many generations.

Beginning of the general deluge.

The appointed time being arrived, God commanded the waters to pour from the clouds, and for the ſpace of forty days a very violent and inceſſant rain fell upon the earth, the moſt elevated parts of which were covered to the depth of fifteen cubits. At the end of the forty days the waters began to decreaſe, and in about one hundred and fifty days more, on the twenty-ſeventh of the ſeventh month, the ark ceaſed to float, being left aground upon a mountain in Armenia. When Noah diſcovered this circumſtance, he looked from a window, and perceiving that the water had ſunk beneath ſome parts of the earth, he congratulated himſelf in the pleaſing reflection, that the moſt melancholy part of the dreadful ſcene was paſt.

Raven and dove ſent out.

The water continuing gradually to decreaſe, Noah turned out a raven, which returned to the ark; whence he concluded that he could not ſafely venture abroad, and therefore deferred taking any meaſures towards a diſcovery for ſeven days longer, when he ſent out a dove, which ſoon afterwards came back, her feathers being diſcoloured with ſlime and dirt, bringing an olive branch in her mouth; and this he conſidered as a certain token that the flood had nearly ſubſided, and that no further danger was to be apprehended. In ſeven days after this, Noah turned all the creatures abroad, and then going forth himſelf, with his family, his firſt buſineſs was to offer ſacrifice to his Creator, after which he joined in rejoicing with his ſeveral relations. The ſpot on which the ark was left was called, by the Armenians, Apobaterion, or the place of a deſcent*.

Noah quits the ark, and offers ſacrifice to God.

Teſtimonies of heathen writers concerning the ark.

The authors of pagan hiſtory have ſeverally ſpoken of the deluge and the ark; and Beroſus, the Chaldæan, writes hereupon to the following purpoſe: " They ſay that there are ſome remains of this veſſel ſtill to be ſeen on the mountains of the Cordyæanes in Armenia, and that the inhabitants of the adjacent country ſcrape the pitch from the planks, prizing it as a rarity, and carrying it about them as an amulet, or charm againſt the accidents of life." Hieronymus, the Egyptian, ſpeaks of this matter in his Phœnician Antiquities, and it is alſo taken notice of by many other writers. Nicholaus of Damaſcus, writes to the following effect in his hiſtory: " In the province of Minyas, in Armenia, there is an high mountain, called Baris, whither, as tradition relates, great numbers of people fled for refuge at the time of the general deluge. There is alſo a tradition, that a veſſel, with a man in it, ſtuck upon the above mountain, and that part of the timber remained there a long time. Probably this is the man whom Moſes has mentioned."

Under the perſuaſion that God had pronounced a ſentence of deſtruction againſt the human race, Noah was dreadfully apprehenſive that the judgment would be repeated, and even that an inundation of the univerſe would take place annually; he therefore offered ſacrifices, and humbled himſelf in prayer, before the Lord, beſeeching the Almighty, " to continue the world in its original order; to chaſtiſe the wicked, and ſhew favour to the unoffending, and not to act in wrath againſt the whole race for the vices of ſome individuals, whereby thoſe who had ſurvived the devaſtation, would be involved in greater miſery than thoſe who had met their fate in the waters which had overwhelmed the world; and would beſides labour under the diſtreſſing idea of having been preſerved from one calamity to become ſharers in another diſmal event, ſimilar to that of which they had already been melancholy witneſſes." He fervently ſupplicated the Creator " to hear his prayers, receive his ſacrifice, and, removing his indignation from mankind, permit them again to cultivate and enjoy the fruits of the earth, and to reſtore to them thoſe bleſſings and comforts of life, which they had experienced before the flood." He moreover prayed for long life to himſelf and his deſcendents, and that ſuch children as ſhould be born to him in future, might not periſh, till they had numbered the days of their forefathers.

The righteouſneſs and piety of Noah was ſo acceptable to God, that his petition was not wholly

† This is beautifully expreſſed by St. Paul, who, ſpeaking of the happy tranſlation of Enoch, ſays, " Enoch was tranſlated that he ſhould not ſee death; and was not found, becauſe God had tranſlated him: for before his tranſlation he had this teſtimony, that he pleaſed God." Heb. xi. 5.

* This is the proper meaning of the Armenian name of this city. This *place of deſcent* is a laſting monument of Noah's preſervation; and in this place a city was built, that it might not be forgotten in future ages.

rejected: the Almighty ſaid to him, that "he was not himſelf the author of the judgment, but that the atrocious and complicated vices of mankind had called down the vengeance of heaven; that he gave not life with an intention of taking it away again, for that it would have been better not to have created man, than to have given him exiſtence under that condition: "but (ſaid God) though my wrath has been provoked by the violation of the reverence due to me, I will prove to you that I am neither inexorable or too ſevere: your mediation has, in ſome degree, prevailed upon me not to inflict ſo heavy a puniſhment again upon future ſinners; therefore be not alarmed at the contention of the elements, for however ſtorms and tempeſts may prevail, be aſſured that the world will be in no danger of a ſecond inundation. I ſtrictly enjoin you, however, not to ſtain your hands with human blood, and to inflict the ſevereſt puniſhment upon the perpetrators of murder. Saving the human ſpecies, every creature, whether living upon the earth, ſwimming in the waters, or flying in the air, are now left to your diſpoſal, and under your command, excepting only the blood, wherein the life of the animal is placed: and as a token of my covenant, that the arrows of my wrath ſhall not ſtrike mankind again in the ſame terrible manner, and that the world ſhall be no more deſtroyed by water, I will fix my bow in the ſkies." The rainbow was conſidered as the emblem and token of the bow of the Creator*.

For three hundred and fifty years after the flood, Noah lived in the full enjoyment of eaſe and ſecurity, ſo that the whole of his life was compriſed in the ſpace of nine hundred and fifty years. To compare the time allotted to the exiſtence of the antediluvians, with the contracted limits to which the days of the preſ[illegible]generation are confined, will afford no reaſo[illegible]e arguments againſt the authenticity of the traditions before us; for it does not follow, becauſe the lives of the preſent inhabitants of the earth are confined to a ſhort period, that our forefathers muſt have been under the ſame predicament. In the early ages, man lived in the obſervance of duty and reverence to Almighty God, who was pleaſed to allow him a great length of days, to which the ſimplicity in their manner of living may be ſuppoſed to have conduced in a great meaſure. Providence alſo found it neceſſary, for the promotion of virtue, and for cultivating the ſtudy and improvement of aſtronomy and geometry, to give a long date to the life of man; for (agreeable to the computation of the great year) no leſs a ſpace of time than ſix hundred years was required for making accurate experiments in thoſe ſciences.

* There is no doubt but the rainbow appeared in the clouds long before the flood, as it ariſes from natural cauſes; and what is here meant by fixing a bow in the clouds, is the appointing it to anſwer a particular purpoſe. It was now pointed out to all future generations as a monument of God's covenant with Noah, and his engagement that the world ſhould no more undergo an univerſal deluge.

CHAP. IV.

Shem, Japhet, and Ham, the three Sons of Noah, ſettle in Sennaar. Tranſactions of Nimrod, Grandſon to Noah. Deſign of the Tower of Babel fruſtrated by the Confuſion of Tongues.

SHEM, Japhet, and Ham, the three ſons of Noah, were born about an hundred years previous to the general deluge; and they were the firſt who ventured to reſide in the plains; the dread of a ſecond flood having induced men hitherto to confine their abode to the mountains. They called the place, in which they firſt eſtabliſhed themſelves, Shinar. But, in order the more effectually to people the earth, to maintain peace and harmony among mankind, and that each man might have a more free and undiſturbed poſſeſſion of his property, and enjoy the fruits of the earth in greater plenty, God was pleaſed to command them to ſeparate themſelves, and to ſettle in different parts. But ſuch was the ignorance and obſtinacy of theſe people, that they totally diſregarded the divine injunction, and remained in the ſame place where they at firſt planted themſelves, till God made them ſenſible of their fault in the puniſhment which he inflicted on them. In a courſe of time they became numerous and powerful, and the Almighty once more admoniſhed them to diſperſe; but they nevertheleſs perſiſted in their contumacy, not only forgetting from whom they derived all the bleſſings they enjoyed, but arrogating to themſelves the credit of their ſucceſſes; and, what was ſtill worſe, impiouſly conſtruing the advice which had been given them, to ſeparate themſelves, into a latent deſign, firſt to divide and weaken their force, and then to reduce them to a ſtate of ignominious ſubjection, for the more eaſily exterminating them in a diſunited than in a conjunctive ſituation.

The settlement of Noah's ſons.

The perſon who chiefly inſtigated the people to this audacious contempt of the command of God, was Nimrod, the nephew of Ham, one of the ſons of Noah; a very brave man, but ſo extravagantly vain, that he would frequently boaſt that he owed his preſent dignity to his own courage and conduct alone, independent of any providential bleſſing from the Almighty. Thus he endeavoured to obtain an unlimited power over the people; being fully perſuaded that they might eaſily be induced to apoſtatize from their duty to God, if they ſhould previouſly confer on him the chief command. And leſt their dread of a ſecond deluge ſhould deter them from entering into his views, he informed

Nimrod's pride and tyranny.

them,

them, that he had discovered an expedient to prevent any danger of a similar accident in future. This expedient was, to erect a tower of such a height, that the waters might not be able to reach the top of it: and this project he was further induced to try, from motives of revenge for the loss of those who perished in the general inundation.

The tower of Babel.

This haughty boast of Nimrod flattered the vanity of the multitude to that degree, that they began to consider a continuance in their duty to God as derogatory to their newly assumed consequence. They, therefore, applied themselves to the work with the utmost alacrity. Immense as the undertaking was, yet, from the prodigious number of hands employed therein, the work was carried on with an expedition scarcely to be conceived. The circumference of the edifice, from the vast thickness of the walls, appeared, to a person near at hand, to take off considerably from the height of it. It was constructed with burnt brick, and cemented with a substance resembling pitch, that might resist the waters. The extreme folly of these people was highly deserving of punishment; particularly when we consider the example they had before their eyes of the late destruction of their ancestors, in one universal deluge. But God chose rather to confound the language of mankind, as a punishment for their transgressions, than to extinguish the whole race a second time. The spot on which this tower was erected, is, to this day, styled Babylon; the word Babel, in the Hebrew language, signifies *confusion**.

The Sibyl's account of it.

The Sibyl mentions the erection of this tower, and the consequent confusion of tongues, in the following terms: "When all mankind spake the same language, the people assembled, and raised a tower of such an amazing height, that they seemed to have formed the design of scaling heaven from the top thereof. But the gods letting loose the winds thereon, threw it to the ground; and, as a further mark of their displeasure, inflicted on the builders an utter oblivion of their native tongue; substituting in the stead thereof a new, and unknown language, wherein no one of them could understand another." With respect to Sennaar, Hestiæus makes this observation: "The priests of Jupiter the conqueror, who survived the general destruction, having preserved the holy vessels and ornaments, repaired with them to Babylon."

Dispersion of the nations.

In consequence of this confusion of languages, mankind were obliged to disperse themselves throughout the earth, some fixing their residence on the sea-coasts, others in parts more inland: all according to the lot which God, in his wisdom and goodness, had been pleased to assign them. Men acquired, in process of time, some knowledge of the science of Navigation, so much, at least, as enabled them to construct boats, and to transport themselves to places separated from the continent, by which means every place was stocked with inhabitants, who gave titles to the places in which they settled, many of which still retain the names of their founders: but some have lost their original appellations, while those of others are disguised, under Greek derivations, to render them more familiar and intelligible to the neighbouring people. In succeeding ages, when the Greeks became possessed of those countries, they claimed to themselves the credit of being the first founders and possessors thereof; imposing upon them, at their pleasure, not only names, but new laws, customs, and manners.

* It is asserted by Moses Choronensis, a famous historian of Armenia, that the tower of Babel was overthrown by a terrible storm, and the language of the builders was confounded in a miraculous manner by that same Divine Being, against whose providence Nimrod exalted himself.

CHAP. V.

The Names of Nations derived from their respective founders. List of the Descendents of Noah, ending with Jacob, and of the places inhabited by them.

THE children of the sons of Noah, in order to perpetuate their memory, gave their own names to whatever places they either founded, or acquired the possession of. Thus Japhet, the son of Noah, had seven sons, who settled in that part of Asia which extends from the mountains Taurus and Amanus to the river Tanais in Europe, and Gades. Gomer was the founder of the Gomerites, styled at this time, by the Greeks, Galatians, or Gauls. The Magogians, called by the Greeks Scythians, derive their origin from Magog. From Madæus came the Madæans, or Medes; and from Javan the Ionians, and the whole race of the Greeks. Thobel founded the nation of the Thobelians, now termed Iberians, or Spaniards. The Meschinians, or Cappadocians, as they were afterwards styled, were founded by Meshes; yet there is some reason to think that they originally inhabited the town of Mazaca, from the resemblance of the ancient name, by which they were distinguished, to that of the town in question. Thires was the founder of the Thiræans, styled afterwards by the Greeks, Thracians. These are the nations of which the seven sons of Japhet were the founders, and to which they gave their names.

Europe peopled by the posterity of Japhet.

Gomer had three sons; Aschanaxes, Riphates, and Thygrammes. From the first came the Aschanaxians, or Rheginians of the Greeks; the second was the founder of the Riphatæans, now styled Paphlagonians; and the Thygrammæans, whom the Greeks have named Phrygians, derive their origin from the last.

Gomer.

Javan also had three sons: Alisas, the founder of

the

Deſcendents of Javan.

the Aliſmans; now called Æolians; Tharſus, from whom came the Tharſians, ſince named Cilicians, as appears by the preference given to the city of Tarſus beyond all others, changing only the firſt letter Θ into a T. The third ſon of Javan was Cethimos, from whom the iſland, which we now call Cyprus, was originally named Cethyma. For this reaſon the Jews give the title of Cethim to iſlands and all places on the ſea coaſt; and in the iſland of Cyprus there is a town, which thoſe whom a fondneſs for ſound has blindly attached to the Greek tongue, ſtyle Citium; between which and Chethim there is ſome degree of reſemblance.

Progeny of Ham.

The poſterity of Ham fixed their reſidence in Syria, near the mountains of Amanus and Libanus, extending their poſſeſſions as far as the ſea coaſt; and they gave whatever names they thought proper to the various places under their government; but moſt of thoſe names are loſt to us at this day, through the corruptions and alterations which they have undergone. The Æthiopians, however, ſtill retain the name which they derive from Chus, one of the ſons of Ham, and are to this preſent time ſtyled Chuſians, throughout Aſia. The ſame has happened with reſpect to the Meſreans, alſo; the whole kingdom of Egypt ſtill preſerving the name of Meſrim, and the natives that of Meſreans. The Libyans were originally denominated Phutians, from Phutes, who governed in that country; and ſeveral Greek hiſtorians make mention of a river in Mauritania of this name, and of a country which is ſituated on its banks, named Phute; but the name of Libya is derived from Lybys, one of the ſons of Meſraim.

The kingdom of the Canaanites was founded by Canaan, the fourth ſon of Ham: the land which they inhabited now bears the name of Judæa. All the ſons of Ham had children; Chus, the eldeſt, had ſix ſons: Sabas, who founded the Sabæans; Evilus, the founder of the Evilæans, or Getulians, as they are at this day termed; Sabathes, from whom came the Sabathænians, or Aſtabanians of the Greeks; Ramus, who founded the Ramæans; and Nimrod, who remained with the Babylonians, uſurped the government, and rendered his authority abſolute.

Philiſtines.

The whole tract of land between Gaza and Egypt, was peopled by the eight ſons of Meſraim. Philiſtin, one of the eight, gave his name to the country which he peopled, or to that diviſion of it, at leaſt, which is called Paleſtine by the Greeks. Labin, alſo founded a colony, which he named Libya. Of the ſix remaining ſons of Meſraim, *viz.* Ludim, Ananim, Nedem, Phetroſim, Cheſlem, and Chepthorim, ſcarce any particulars have been tranſmitted to us, ſave their names; the cities and colonies founded by them, having been deſtroyed in the Æthiopic war †.

Canaanites.

Canaan was the father of eleven ſons. Of theſe, Sidon built a city in Phœnicia, to which the Greeks have given his name; Amath founded Amathe, a place ſtill exiſting, and called Amathine by the inhabitants: but the Macedonians, in compliment to one of their kings, changed the name of it to Epiphania; Aradæus poſſeſſed the iſland of Aradus; and Arucæus built the town of Arce, on mount Libanus. The ſcripture mentions nothing relative to the other ſeven, Euæus, Chetæus, Jebuſæus, Edæus, Siræus, Samaræus, and Gargaſæus, except their names; the Hebrews having utterly deſtroyed all their poſſeſſions, on the following account.

When the earth had in part recovered itſelf from the effects of the flood, Noah re-applied himſelf to the cultivation of the ground, the planting of vines, and gathering and preſſing the grapes when ripe; and thus he revived the uſe of wine. On a certain day, after having offered ſacrifice to God of the firſt-fruits of his vineyard, he drank to that exceſs of the liquor, that he became totally inſenſible, and lay upon the ground faſt aſleep; expoſing his nakedneſs, in the moſt ſhameleſs manner, to the view of every one paſſing by. His youngeſt ſon, having diſcovered him in this ſituation, brought his brothers to the ſpot, to deride their father; but they, being impreſſed with a due ſenſe of filial duty, concealed his ſhame, by throwing a covering over him. When Noah became ſenſible of what had paſſed, he bleſſed Shem and Japhet for their pious conduct, but vented a bitter imprecation on the poſterity of Ham; nor did the malediction fail of its effect; but it is to be obſerved, that Noah exempted Ham, in his own perſon, from his curſe, in conſideration of his near relationſhip.

Noah's intoxication.

Shem.

Shem, the eldeſt of Noah's children, had five ſons, who inhabited the whole tract of Aſia, extending from the Euphrates to the Indian ſea. From Elam were derived the Elamites, from whom came the Perſians. Aſſur was the founder of Nineveh, where the Aſſyrians, as a rich and powerful people, firſt ſettled. From Arphaxad the Arphaxadeans, or modern Chaldæans, derive their origin. Aram was the founder of the Aramæans, or Syrians of the Greeks; and from Lud came the Luddians, or Lydians.

Aram.

Aram had four ſons, of whom Uz founded Trachonitis and Damaſcus, ſituated between Paleſtine and Cælo-Syria; Hull peopled Armenia; Gether was the leader of the Bactrians; and Meſas of the Meſaneans, whoſe country is ſtyled, at this time, after the name of the camp of Spaſinus. Having now given an account of the progeny of Shem, we ſhall next advert to that of the Jews, or Hebrews.

† It appears from hence, that the Ethiopic war, here mentioned, was ſo dreadful in its conſequences, as to occaſion the removal or ſubjugation of ſix or ſeven nations of the poſterity of Meſraim, together with the cities they inhabited. We may reaſonably ſuppoſe that Joſephus would not have recorded this circumſtance, had he not been poſſeſſed of antient records to juſtify what he advanced; though thoſe records are now loſt, by ſome means or other, the particulars of which we are not informed of.

The

Origin of the Hebrews.

The Jews derive the name of Hebrews from Heber*, the ſon of Salas, who was the ſon of Arphaxad. Heber had two ſons, Jucta and Phalec. The latter was born at that period when the diviſion of the land took place; Phalec ſignifying, in the Hebrew tongue, *Partition*. Jucta, the eldeſt ſon of Heber, had thirteen children, whoſe names were Elmodad, Saleph, Azermoth, Eiraes, Adoram, Uzal, Declas, Ebal, Abimael, Sabeus, Ophir, Euilath, and Jobab. Theſe inhabited all the extent of land lying between the river Cophene, in India, and the neighbouring part of Syria.

Phalec was the ſon of Heber, and Ragaus the ſon of Phalec. Ragaus begat Serug; Serug begat Nahor; and Nahor begat Thares, the father of Abram, the tenth generation from Noah. Abram was born two hundred and ninety-two years after the flood. Thares was ſeventy years old when he begat Abram; Nahor one hundred and twenty when he had Thares; Serug was about one hundred and thirty-two at the birth of Nahor; Ragaus had attained his one hundred and thirty-fourth year when Serug was born, and Phalec was much about the ſame age when he had Ragaus; Heber had reached his one hundred and thirty-fourth year, when he begat Phalec; Salas was one hundred and thirty at the birth of Heber; and Arphaxad was one hundred and thirty-five years old when he had Salas; and Arphaxad, who was the ſon of Shem, and the grandſon of Noah, was born in the ſecond year † after the deluge.

Genealogy of Abram.

Nahor and Haran were the two brothers of Abram; of whom the latter died at Ur, in Chaldæa; at which place a ſepulchral monument, erected to his memory, is yet to be ſeen. He left a ſon, named Lot, and two daughters, Sarah and Melcha: Nahor eſpouſed the latter, and Abram took Sarah.

Nahor and Haran.

Thares, the father of Abram, was ſo much affected by the loſs of his ſon Haran, that he quitted his reſidence in Chaldæa, and repaired, with his whole family, to Charran, in Meſopotamia, where he died, and was interred in the one hundred and fifth year of his age. The term of man's life was now abbreviated, and God was pleaſed, ſoon afterwards, to reduce it to the narrow compaſs of one hundred and twenty years, which was the exact age of Moſes.

Melcha, the wife of Nahor, bore him eight ſons, whoſe names were Uz, Baux, Camuel, Chazad, Azaus, Pheldas, Jadelphas, and Bethuel. Theſe were the only legitimate ſons of Nahor; but, by his concubine, Ruma, he had four others, named Tubæus, Gabam, Tavaus, and Machas. Bethuel had a ſon and a daughter, whoſe names were Laban and Rebecca.

* Joſephus here poſitively decides as to the name of the founder of the Jewiſh nation, or rather the perſon from whom they derived the title of Hebrews.

CHAP. VI.

Abram, the Founder of the Jewiſh Nation, having no legitimate Iſſue, adopts Lot, his Brother's Son; departs from Chaldæa, and ſettles in Canaan, where he inſtructs the People in the Nature and Attributes of the Supreme Being.

History of Abram.

AS Abram had no legitimate offſpring, he adopted Lot, his brother Haran's ſon, and the brother of his wife Sarah. He departed from Chaldæa, in the ſeventy-fifth year of his age, and, taking with him his family, and the whole of his effects, journeyed into the land of Canaan, according to the divine command, where he fixed his reſidence, and there died. He was equally famed for wiſdom and eloquence; and as he poſſeſſed, in an eminent degree, the abilities, ſo neither did he want the reſolution, to attack the unbridled licentiouſneſs of the times; and, by dint of authority, as well as argument, he was enabled to eradicate the falſe notions which men had fallen into reſpecting religion, and to reduce unbelievers to a proper ſenſe of their duty to God. Abram was the firſt perſon who ventured to enforce the doctrine, that all things in heaven and earth had been formed by one Almighty Creator, to whom alone we are indebted for all the enjoyments of this life. He maintained that theſe truths were apparent, from the marvellous regularity which is obſervable throughout all the works of creation; inſomuch that, did not an over-ruling providence interpoſe, to keep the wheel conſtantly in motion, the whole frame of the univerſe would inevitably fall into irreparable diſorder; and, conſequently, that our ſole dependence, in all matters either of profit or pleaſure, muſt reſt on the benevolence of the firſt Mover, to whom alone, without arrogating any merit to ourſelves, we are bound to render all honour and praiſe.

His endeavours to eſtabliſh this doctrine in Chaldæa and Meſopotamia, incenſed the people ſo highly againſt him, that he retired, by the command of God, from Chaldæa, and ſettled in Canaan, where he erected an altar, and ſacrificed thereon. There is a paſſage in Beroſus, in which the Patriarch Abram is mentioned, though not by name. "In the tenth generation," ſays he, "ſubſequent to the deluge, there dwelt in Chaldæa, a man renowned for his wiſdom and juſtice, and for his obſervations of the heavenly bodies." Hecatæus has been ſtill more explicit, in an hiſtorical treatiſe written expreſsly on the ſubject of his tranſactions. Mention is alſo made of him by Nicolaus of Damaſcus, in the fourth book of his hiſtory. "Abraham," ſays he, "held the ſupreme command in Damaſcus, though he was not

† In this place, we rectify an error in the original work, which mentions the birth of Arphaxad to have happened in the twelfth year.

a native of the place; and he came thither, with a numerous train, from a country named Chaldæa, which lies beyond Babylon. In a ſhort time, the people riſing in rebellion againſt him, he retired with his family, to Canaan, now called Judæa, where he fixed his reſidence, and had many children, of whom there will be occaſion to ſpeak farther in a ſubſequent part of the work." The name of Abram is ſtill held in great reverence at Damaſcus; and there is a village in the neighbourhood of that city, which, to this day, is called the *dwelling place of Abram.*

CHAP. VII.

On occaſion of a Famine, which ariſes in Canaan, Abram, accompanied by Sarai, departs into Egypt, where he remains for a Time, and then returns to Canaan.

Abram, preſſed by famine, retires to Egypt.

DURING this period a dreadful famine aroſe in Canaan; and Abram, having learnt that Egypt * enjoyed great plenty at the time, determined to go thither; being partly induced thereto by this report of the fruitful ſtate of the country, and partly by a deſire of converſing with the Egyptian prieſts on the ſubject of their religious tenets, which appeared to be founded on the invariable principles of nature and reaſon: he was likewiſe ardently deſirous to diſcover the truth, and well diſpoſed to coincide in whatever arguments might tend to elucidate and eſtabliſh it.

As Abram had been previouſly acquainted with the unbounded laſciviouſneſs of the Egyptians, he was apprehenſive of the conſequences of taking Sarai with him, who was very beautiful, and therefore propoſed to her that ſhe ſhould paſs for his ſiſter, with which, perceiving the neceſſity of the caſe, ſhe complied. Upon his arrival in Egypt, matters fell out juſt in the manner he had foreſeen; for the fame of Sarai's beauty being ſpread abroad, Pharaoh was inflamed with a violent deſire of ſeeing and poſſeſſing this miracle of a woman. But God was pleaſed to puniſh his lewd deſigns, by a plague and a revolt of his ſubjects, both which broke out at the ſame time. In this emergency Pharaoh applied to the prieſts, to know what ſin had involved him in the preſent calamity, and in what manner he might expiate his offence. When the prieſts had ſacrificed, they returned him anſwer, that his preſent misfortunes aroſe from the baſeneſs of his intentions againſt the wife of a ſtranger.

Pharaoh puniſhed on account of Sarai.

The king, being greatly alarmed at this reply, immediately requeſted Sarai to inform him of the circumſtances of the hiſtory of herſelf and Abram, without diſguiſe; and ſhe accordingly acknowledged the deception. Pharaoh, therefore, apologized to Abram for his conduct; declaring, that he had conſidered the woman as his ſiſter, and not as his wife, and had ſought an alliance with her, without the leaſt intention of offering her any perſonal injury or affront. He afterwards preſented Abram with a conſiderable ſum of money, and granted him a permiſſion to aſſociate himſelf with the moſt learned men reſiding in the land of Egypt; by which indulgence, his abilities and virtues became daily more conſpicuous, and, conſequently, more eſteemed. From this freedom of intercourſe, Abram was enabled to diſcover the ceaſeleſs differences which ſubſiſted among them, reſpecting rites, ceremonies, and tenets; their factions and animoſities; and their mutual contempt and hatred of one another. From this view of their conduct, he heſitated not to characterize them as a people acting in contradiction to themſelves, as well as to each other; and whoſe notions and opinions were deſtitute of every kind of foundation or truth. During his reſidence in this country, he became equally famed for the ſolidity of his judgment, and for the powers of his elocution. He alſo initiated them in the ſtudy of aſtronomy and arithmetic, with which ſciences the people of Egypt were totally unacquainted, till Abram tranſplanted them thither from Chaldæa, and from Egypt they paſſed into Greece.

Returns to Canaan, and divides the land with Lot.

When Abram returned to Canaan, having learnt that his ſhepherds and thoſe of Lot had diſagreed, relative to the boundaries of the lands of their reſpective maſters, he propoſed a diviſion of them. Abram permitted Lot to make choice of whatever part of them he beſt approved, contenting himſelf with the remainder, and fixed his abode in the city of Hebron, which had been founded ſeven years before that of Tanais, in Egypt. The ſpot which Lot choſe for his reſidence, was ſituated on the banks of the river Jordan, a ſmall diſtance only from Sodom, which was at that period a flouriſhing city; but was afterwards ſo utterly deſtroyed, in conſequence of the wickedneſs of the inhabitants, that there is not, at the preſent time, the leaſt trace of it to be perceived. The particulars of this extraordinary event ſhall be related in their proper place.

The Aſſyrians conquer the people of Sodom, and take Lot priſoner.

During the time in which the Aſſyrians held the whole empire of Aſia in ſubjection, Sodom and its dependencies were governed by five kings, viz. Ballas, Barſas, Senabar, Symobar, and the king of the Balinians; and each of theſe was inveſted with abſolute power in his own diſtrict. In thoſe days the Aſſyrians marched a numerous and well diſciplined army, divided into four bodies,

* The beſt hiſtorians repreſent this country as exceedingly fertile in grain, and, on that account capable of furniſhing other kingdoms with abundance of that uſeful article, and likewiſe with various other neceſſaries of life: it may be therefore preſumed, that agriculture was improved there by art; ſince no country can be a plentiful one, where this beneficial art is not promoted and encouraged.

againſt

againſt the people of Sodom, whom, after a ſevere and bloody conteſt, they utterly defeated; and from this time the kings of Sodom became tributaries to the Aſſyrians, and ſo continued for the ſpace of twelve years. In the thirteenth year, they refuſed to pay the tribute impoſed upon them; in conſequence of which, the Aſſyrians, under the command of Amraphel, Arioch, Chodollomor and Thabel, advanced againſt them a ſecond time; ravaged Syria, ſubdued the race of the giants, and, entering the land of Sodom, pitched their camp in the valley among the brimſtone-pits, many of which were then to be ſeen in that neighbourhood; but the valley, ſince the deſtruction of the city of Sodom, has been converted into a lake, called Aſphaltitis. A great ſlaughter of the Sodomites enſued, and numbers were taken priſoners; among the latter was Lot, who had come to the aſſiſtance of his countrymen, in repelling the invaſion of the Aſſyrians.

CHAP. VIII.

Abram routs the Aſſyrians, and reſcues Lot and the other Priſoners out of their Hands. Melchiſedech entertains Abram. God promiſes a Son to Abram. Sarah brings Hagar to Abram's Bed. Hagar withdraws herſelf from Abram's Dwelling, and is comforted by an Angel. The Birth of Iſhmael. Iſaac is promiſed to Abram. Inſtitution of the Ceremony of Circumciſion.

Abram defeats the Aſſyrians.

IMMEDIATELY upon intelligence being communicated to Abram, that the Sodomites had been defeated, and great numbers of his friends and neighbours killed and made priſoners, and that his nephew Lot was among the latter; he haſted in purſuit of the Aſſyrians, and on the fifth night of his journey he ſurprized them near Dan, which is one of the heads of the river Jordan, and finding them in a ſtate of the utmoſt confuſion, ſome being intoxicated, others aſleep, or unprovided with arms, and the whole incapable of making either a timely retreat or ſucceſsful reſiſtance, he availed himſelf of the general conſternation, and falling upon them in their quarters, put a great number to death by the ſword, and the next day purſued the reſt as far as Choba of Damaſcus. Abram had barely three hundred and eighteen of his own domeſtics, beſides three auxiliary friends, when he ſo effectually routed this numerous army: and this may ſerve to prove, that victory does not ſo much depend on the number, as on the reſolution and valour of the combatants. The ſew who eſcaped, retreated from the obſervation of the public, from a ſenſe of ſhame at their own daſtardly behaviour. Thus was liberty reſtored to Lot and the other priſoners, while Abram returned to his people with the tidings of victory and peace.

In his way home, Abram was met, at a place called the Valley Royal, by the king of Sodom, who congratulated him on his victory: and he was there received by Melchiſedech, king of Solyma, which is now called Jeruſalem. Melchiſedech ſignifies a righteous king, which appellation was worthily applied to this prince, who by the voice of the public had been elected to ſerve at the altar, in the character of a prieſt to the Moſt High God.

Melchiſedech entertains Abram.

Melchiſedech accommodated Abram and his followers with various refreſhments, and otherwiſe behaved towards them with ſingular benevolence: while they ſat at table, he greatly extolled Abram for his noble atchievements, and, with thankſgivings worthy his ſacred character, glorified the Almighty for the bleſſing of the victory. On the other hand, Abram preſented Melchiſedech * with one tenth part of the ſpoils he had obtained, which the king graciouſly accepted.

Abram's liberality.

Abram alſo offered a portion of the booty to the king of Sodom, but he excuſed himſelf from complying with the generous propoſal, ſaying, a return of his ſubjects, who had been made priſoners by the Aſſyrians, and afterwards reſcued by Abram, was all he could reaſonably expect, deſiring him to diſpoſe of every thing elſe as his judgment might direct. Abram, however, declared, that he would make no private advantage of the ſpoil, ſuch a portion of which he only required, as would be ſufficient to ſupply his ſoldiers and followers with proviſions, and afford a proper recompence to Enner, Mambres, and Eſhcol, the three friends who had ſupported him in, and ſhared the hazard of the battle.

Iſaac is promiſed.

The ſincerity and diſintereſted conduct of Abram were ſo much approved by the Lord, that he informed him they ſhould be properly rewarded. "Almighty God," ſaid the righteous Abram, "how will thy rewards avail me, ſince I have no heir to inherit the bounties you may beſtow?" Now the Lord aſſured him, that he ſhould have a ſon, and be bleſſed likewiſe with a poſterity *as numerous as the ſtars of the heavens*. Upon theſe words a ſacrifice was offered by Abram, agreeable to the direction of the Creator. This ſacrifice conſiſted of an heifer, a goat, and a ram, being each three years old, beſides a turtle dove and a pigeon; the birds remained intire, but the other animals were divided † in halves, according to the command of God. While preparations were making at the altar, for the performance of the ſacrifice, and the

* This Melchiſedech, being the prieſt of God, Abraham, agreeably to the cuſtom of the times, preſented to him a tenth part of the ſpoils taken from the enemy: ſee Gen. xxviii. 22. Heb. vii. 1. and ſeq. Theſe tythes were applied to pious uſes, ſuch as the maintenance of religion, the relief of the poor, &c.

† The antient mode of forming alliances in marriage was, by ſeparating the devoted animals into two parts, and placing them upon two altars; after which, the contracting parties walked between the two altars, thereby ſignifying, that if either of them violated the covenant, he or ſhe ſhould, like the victims, be cut aſunder.

birds

birds of prey were hovering about, in expectation of the blood of the creatures, a voice from heaven foretold, that the poſterity of Abram ſhould fall into bondage in Ægypt, and remain in ſubjection to their oppreſſive enemies for the ſpace of four hundred years; at the expiration of which period they ſhould ſpread themſelves over the whole country of the Canaanites, extending from Ægypt to Sodom, and ſubject the cities, and whole extent of territory, to their dominion.

At this time, Abram dwelt not far from Hebron, at a place called the Oak of Ogye, where he lamented the circumſtance of his wife's barrenneſs, and the conſequent failure of iſſue, but ſtill offering up daily ſupplications that a male child might be born to him. Theſe entreaties induced the Lord to repeat his promiſe, reſpecting a ſon, and the other bleſſings decreed to him on removing from Meſopotamia.

By the immediate direction of heaven, Sarai cauſed an Ægyptian ſervant in the family, named Hagar, to go to her huſband's bed, hoping that, by this expedient, he might have a male child by her, which ſhe intended to adopt as her own: this circumſtance occurred accordingly; whereupon Hagar, under the ſuppoſition that the child would ſurely ſucceed to the government, became extremely preſuming and arrogant to her miſtreſs. This ingratitude determined Abram to reſign her up to the management of his wife Sarai, whom he authorized to chaſtiſe her at diſcretion; which mortified Hagar to that degree, that ſhe quitted Abram's houſe, and ſet out in ſearch of ſome other ſettlement, earneſtly ſupplicating the protection of heaven in her miſerable condition. As ſhe paſſed through a deſert, ſhe was accoſted in her flight by an angel, who ordered her to return from whence ſhe came; telling her, that this affliction had befallen her in conſequence of her pride and ingratitude, and that upon a reformation of conduct, ſhe would experience kinder uſage for the future; enjoining her, moreover, in the ſtricteſt manner, not to neglect this admonition, but to return inſtantly; and aſſuring her, in caſe ſhe obeyed, that ſhe ſhould live to be the mother of a child, who, in proceſs of time, ſhould obtain the dominion of that country. She accordingly returned to her miſtreſs, and, having humbled herſelf, obtained her pardon, ſoon after which ſhe was delivered of a ſon, who was named Iſhmael, ſignifying, in Hebrew, *prevailed upon;* God having attended to, and granted the prayers of the mother.

Birth of Iſhmael.

Abram had attained his eighty-ſixth year when Iſhmael was born; and, at the age of ninety-nine, God appeared to him, and acquainted him, that his wife Sarai ſhould be delivered of a ſon, whom he ſhould name Iſaac; foretelling, alſo, that many powerful monarchs and nations ſhould derive their origin from him, and ſhould conquer the whole land of Canaan, extending from Sidon to Ægypt. God commanded, in order to make a diſtinction between the race of Abraham, and the people of other nations, with whom all cohabitation was ſtrictly prohibited, that all his poſterity ſhould be circumciſed on the eighth day after their birth. Abram having inquired of God the future condition of Iſhmael, received for anſwer, that he ſhould live to a great age, and ſhould be the founder of many mighty nations *; whereupon Abram returned thanks to the Almighty, and, in compliance with the divine injunction, was immediately circumciſed, together with Iſhmael, who was then in his thirteenth year, and the reſt of the males of his family.

Circumciſion inſtituted.

CHAP. IX.

The execrable Crimes of the Sodomites puniſhed by the Judgment of God in the Deſtruction of their City.

Wickedneſs of Sodom.

AT this time the people of Sodom became ſo extravagantly vain by the great wealth and plenty which they enjoyed, as totally to fail in reverence to God, and reſpect to their fellow-creatures. Inhoſpitality to ſtrangers, ingratitude towards thoſe who had beſtowed benefits upon them, and unnatural luſts towards each other, incenſed the Almighty againſt them to ſo high a degree, that he determined to puniſh their abominable crimes by laying waſte their whole country, and pronouncing that the parts inhabited by them ſhould no longer produce fruit or plants for the uſe and benefit of mankind.

Three angels viſit Abram under an oak.

The ſentence againſt the Sodomites being paſſed, while Abram was ſitting under an oak of Mambres near the entrance of his tent, he perceived three angels coming towards him, and from their appearance, he judged them to be travellers. He roſe to meet them, and, after the cuſtomary ſalutes, invited them to partake of the beſt refreſhment and entertainment his habitation would afford. His proffered civility was accepted, and directions were given for dreſſing a calf and baking a cake; which being made ready, were placed before the ſtrangers under the oak, and they gave thanks to their hoſt, and appeared to feed upon what had been provided for them. While the meat remained before them, they inquired of Abram reſpecting Sarai his wife, and were anſwered, that ſhe was in the tent. They now aroſe as preparing to depart, obſerving that they

* This gracious promiſe is thus expreſſed in Geneſis xvii. 6. "And I will make thee exceeding fruitful, and I will make nations of thee, and kings ſhall come out of thee." The kings here alluded to are thoſe of the Jews, Iſhmaelites, Midianites, Saracens, Arabians, Babylonians, Egyptians, Africans, Spaniards, and laſtly, the great King of the Chriſtian world, in whom all the families of the earth, or great numbers out of them, were to be bleſſed.

ſhould

ſhould in a ſhort time ſee Abraham again, and that in the interim his wife would become a mother. Sarah was now called in, and ſhe ſmiled at hearing it ſaid, that ſhe ſhould have a child, ſhe being ninety, and her huſband an hundred years of age. The angels now threw off their diſguiſe, confeſſed whom they were, and mentioned the commiſſions with which they were charged; ſaying, two of them were employed to execute the deſtruction of Sodom, and that the third was intruſted with the tidings that a ſon ſhould be born unto Abraham. The judgment pronounced againſt the people, occaſioned Abraham to offer up earneſt prayers to God, that he would be pleaſed to ſpare the innocent from becoming partakers of the puniſhment denounced againſt the guilty: and the Almighty ſaid, in reply, that if ten righteous men could be found amongſt the citizens, for the ſake of thoſe ten he would ſpare all the others*. Upon this declaration, Abraham declined offering any thing farther in behalf of the people.

Abraham intercedes for the Sodomites.

The two angels went to Sodom, and being obſerved by Lot, he invited them to take up their reſidence in his houſe. Lot was naturally benevolent towards ſtrangers, and equal to Abraham for piety and good-nature. Some abandoned ruffians obſerved the angels to go into Lot's houſe, and as they were of graceful appearance, they conceived a deſign of attempting ſome violence upon their perſons, and endeavoured to force into the houſe, in order to gratify their brutal appetites. Every argument that could be ſuggeſted in recommendation of continence and hoſpitality, was enforced by Lot, who even offered to give up his own daughters inſtead of the ſtrangers; but this propoſal they would not liſten to. Highly incenſed at their outrageous conduct, and the horrid complexion of their guilt, the Lord ſtruck them with inſtant and total blindneſs on the ſpot, ſo that they could not diſcover the way to enter Lot's houſe, and the ſentence of exemplary perdition was, at the ſame time, pronounced againſt the whole people, for their abominable wickedneſs.

Hoſpitality of Lot.

Lot, being forewarned, eſcaped the calamity by a timely retreat from the town, taking with him his wife, and two maiden daughters. The two perſons with whom theſe maidens were contracted to be joined in marriage, were intreated to accompany the family of Lot, but they ridiculed the threatened vengeance of heaven, and remained in the city. The wrath of God was now diſcharged againſt this impious race in a general conflagration, which conſumed the city and the whole number of its inhabitants, as well as thoſe of the ſurrounding country, laying the whole in a ſtate of irreparable devaſtation. The wife of Lot went out of the town with her huſband, but, either from a motive of tenderneſs or curioſity, ſhe violated the ſtrict command of God in looking behind her, and ſhe was in conſequence turned into a pillar of ſalt. I have ſeen the pillar, and can ſafely aſſert that it ſtill remains‡.

Lot's eſcape.

Deſtruction of Sodom, by fire from Heaven.

After this judgment, Lot and his daughters ſought refuge in the country called Zoar (which in the Hebrew language ſignifies *ſmall*), this being the only place which eſcaped the fury of the devouring flames; but while they remained here, their lives were rendered uneaſy and irkſome from a deficiency of proviſions, and the want of ſocial intercourſe. In their ſolitude, the daughters conſidered their ſmall family as the only ſurviving part of the human ſpecies, and therefore imagined themſelves, in ſo preſſing an exigency, to be juſtifiable in any means they ſhould adopt for the conſervation of the human race. On this conſideration, they went privately to bed to their father, when he was inſenſible of their being his children; and the conſequence was, that they both proved with child by him, and each bringing forth a ſon, that of the eldeſt was called Moab (which ſignifies, in Hebrew, *of my father*) and that of the younger, Ammon (or, *of my race*, or *kin*). One of theſe was the father of the Moabites, a powerful nation yet exiſting; as the other was of the Ammonites, both of which were inhabitants of Cælo-Syria. Thus have we given a full account of the manner of Lot's eſcape from the dreadful conflagration of Sodom, and of what afterwards came to paſs.

Lot retires to Zoar.

CHAP. X.

Particulars of the Tranſactions between Abraham and Abimelech. An Account of Iſhmael, the Son of Abraham; his Diſmiſſion, and Succour from an Angel. His Poſterity, called Arabians.

* There is hardly any inſtance in hiſtory of fervent and importunate ſupplication equal to this recorded of the Father of the Faithful, in the book of Geneſis. It affords a wonderful proof of the condeſcenſion of the Almighty, in hearkening to the petitions of his people; and is an encouragement for all men to pray, and not to faint.

‡ Clement of Rome, cotemporary with Joſephus, likewiſe reports, that he had ſeen this pillar; and Irenæus, in the next century, declares the ſame. I will not attempt a philoſophical demonſtration of this miraculous event, which has been, and continues to be, a ſubject of much profane wit and ridicule to thoſe who would be thought wiſe above that which is written. Though I will not attempt an explicit demonſtration of the fact, I will yet aſſert, that it is with in the line of probability, and may be proved from natural cauſes. Is it at all improbable that Lot's wife, by her lingering and looking back, might be overtaken by that nitro-ſulphureous ſhower which laid waſte the city of Sodom? and as the lake remains to this day, and is called Aſphaltitis, why might not her body be incruſted with the particles which compoſed the tempeſt, and ſhe be preſerved in that ſhape, as a monument of almighty vengeance to all ſucceeding generations, of the danger of neglecting God's commands? But, after all, could not the Almighty as eaſily effect this tranſformation, as ſtrike the Sodomites with blindneſs, or deſtroy their city with fire and brimſtone?

ABRAHAM withdrew to Gerar, in Paleſtine, accompanied by Sarah, who ſtill paſſed for his ſiſter, for he entertained the ſame apprehenſions of danger from Abimelech, who reigned over the country, as he had ſome time ſince had of Pharoah, king of Egypt. It afterwards happened, that Abimelech conceived a paſſion for her, and endeavoured to ſeduce her, but was prevented from purſuing his deſign, by a violent fit of ſickneſs, with which God was pleaſed to afflict him, as a puniſhment for his laſciviouſneſs. The diſorder roſe to that height, that his life was deſpaired of; and God warned him, in a dream, to offer no violence to Sarah, ſhe being the wife, and not the ſiſter, of the ſtranger. Hereupon he communicated to his friends all the circumſtances of his paſſion for Sarah, his dream, and every thing that had paſſed; declaring, that he conſidered his preſent ſickneſs as a juſt mark of God's diſpleaſure on this occaſion.

He therefore, by advice of his friends, ſent for Abraham, to whom he gave the moſt poſitive aſſurances, that the honour of his wife was ſtill unviolated; appealing to God and her own conſcience for the truth of his declaration; and moreover proteſting, that, had he imagined Sarah to have been his wife, he would not have offered her the leaſt inſult: and conjuring him to overlook what had paſſed, and to intercede with the Almighty in his behalf. He farther acquainted him, that ſhould he be inclined to continue in Paleſtine, he ſhould be amply provided for: or, if he rather choſe to depart, that he ſhould be furniſhed with guides, carriages, and every other convenience for his journey homewards.

Abraham, in ſome meaſure, juſtified his conduct in ſtyling Sarah his ſiſter, ſhe being the daughter of his brother, and, therefore, of the ſame blood with himſelf; alledging, moreover, that he looked upon this deception as neceſſary [illegible] is ſafety in his travels. He alſo obſerved, that he could not conſider himſelf as the cauſe of Abimelech's ſickneſs: and, finally, expreſſing a ſincere regard and affection for him, declared his willingneſs to continue in his dominions. The king, thereupon, generouſly preſented Abraham with a large tract of land, and a conſiderable ſum of money; and concluded a ſolemn league and covenant with him, which was ratified at the well of Berſabe, or the *Well* or *Pit of ſwearing a Covenant*, which name it continued to bear at the time of writing this account.

Birth of Iſaac. Sarah, ſoon afterwards, bore to Abraham a ſon, as the angel had foretold, and they named him Iſaac, which, in the Hebrew tongue, ſignifies *Laughter;* alluding to the circumſtance of Sarah's ſmiling, when the angel announced to her the purpoſe of God to grant her a ſon; ſhe judging it an improbability to bear a child at ſo advanced a period of life, herſelf being then ninety, and Abraham one hundred years old. The child was circumciſed on the eighth day, which is the time ſtill obſerved by the Jews for the celebration of that ceremony. But as Iſhmael, the ſon of Abraham by his concubine Hagar, was not circumciſed till the thirteenth year, the Arabians, who are deſcended from him, defer performing the rite till the child attains that age.

During the infancy of Iſhmael, Sarah manifeſted as much tenderneſs for him as if he had been her own child; and he was brought up and educated with all poſſible care, as the preſumptive heir of the family; but, after the birth of Iſaac, Sarah became apprehenſive of the conſequences of bringing up the two children together; as Iſhmael, who was ſo much older than his brother, might be tempted to deprive him of the inheritance, in caſe of the death of Abahram. She, therefore, uſed all her influence with Abraham, to prevail upon him to ſend away both the mother and the child to ſome diſtant country. Abraham at firſt rejected the propoſal with horror; but, at length, being warned of God to comply with what his wife required of him, he diſmiſſed Hagar and her ſon, who was ſtill of too tender an age to provide for himſelf, to ſeek a ſettlement elſewhere; giving them, at their departure, a portion of bread and water for their ſubſiſtence*. Hagar and Iſhmael baniſhed.

Their ſmall ſtock of proviſions was ſoon conſumed, and the child's ſtrength was ſo much exhauſted, that Hagar laid him down at the foot of a fir tree, and retired to a diſtance, in order to avoid the ſight of his laſt agonies. In this diſtreſſing emergency, ſhe was accoſted by an angel, who directed her to a neighbouring fountain, and ſtrictly enjoined her to pay the utmoſt attention to her charge, with whoſe ſafety and happineſs her own was connected in the higheſt degree. This animating declaration reviving her courage, ſhe purſued her journey, and, at length, fortunately met with a company of ſhepherds, from whom ſhe experienced great kindneſs in her neceſſity, and an ample ſupply of all her wants. Viſited by an angel.

When Iſhmael had attained to man's eſtate, he married a woman of Egypt, of which country his mother was alſo a native. This woman bore him twelve ſons, who inhabited the whole extent of country lying between the Euphrates and the Red Sea; and which is called Nabathæa. From theſe perſons are derived the different tribes of the Arabians, who are greatly celebrated in hiſtory for their valour, and the dignity of their deſcent from Abraham.

* The behaviour of Abraham towards his ſon Iſhmael has, by the contemners of revelation, been repreſented as cruel to the laſt degree; but it ſhould be conſidered, that as Sarah had obſerved Iſhmael inſulting her ſon Iſaac, ſhe was therefore deſirous that Iſhmael and his mother ſhould no longer continue in the family; there was, beſides, a particular deſign of Providence in cauſing this ſeparation to be made.

CHAP.



ABRAHAM's FAITH.

By Faith. *Abraham offered up his only Son Isaac.*

HEBREWS. XI. 17.

CHAP. XI.

God commands Abraham to offer up his beloved Son Iſaac. The exemplary Faith and Obedience of Abraham and Iſaac, with the Bleſſing conſequent thereon.

ISAAC was the only legitimate ſon of Abraham, born to him in an advanced period of his life, and, on both theſe accounts, particularly dear to him. But the tenderneſs of the parent was amply repaid and juſtified by the excellent qualities of the child. Abraham was now therefore no longer ſolicitous for life, or the enjoyments of this world, but was cheerfully diſpoſed to reſign his pretenſions to his heir, and his very being into the hands of God, from whom he derived it. The Almighty, however, was pleaſed to make a farther trial of his faith and obedience; and therefore, after recapitulating the various bleſſings which he had conferred upon him, commanded him, as a proof of his gratitude, to offer up his ſon Iſaac, upon a mountain of Moriah. Abraham, who had always paid the moſt explicit obedience to the will of God, did not heſitate one moment to promiſe an exact conformity to the preſent injunction *.

God requires Abraham to ſacrifice Iſaac.

Without communicating his intention, either to his wife, or to any of his family, leſt they ſhould oppoſe it, he departed from his own dwelling, with his ſon Iſaac and two ſervants, taking with him an aſs laden with articles for the ſacrifice. On the third day they arrived within ſight of the deſtined place; and Abraham, leaving his ſervants below in the valley, aſcended the mountain, accompanied only by Iſaac, who was now in the twenty-fifth year of his age. It was on this mountain that David afterwards erected a temple. Iſaac, obſerving that his father had made all the neceſſary preparations for a ſacrifice, yet perceiving no victim near at hand, he queſtioned him on the ſubject. Abraham anſwered, "That God, in whoſe power it was to relieve the wants of the neceſſitous, and to deprive the opulent of their ſtore, as he found it moſt conducive to the happineſs of thoſe who put their truſt in him, would, doubtleſs, provide a victim, in caſe he ſhould vouchſafe to accept of an oblation."

The wood being laid, and all things in readineſs, Abraham addreſſed Iſaac in theſe terms: "My beloved ſon, thou art the child of my prayers, and, from the time of thy birth, I have ſpared neither coſt nor pains in thy nurture and education. My utmoſt wiſh has been, that you might attain a maturity of manhood and reaſon, and that, whenever it ſhould pleaſe God to take me to himſelf, I might leave thee in poſſeſſion of my authority and dominions; but, ſince the Almighty, who firſt beſtowed thee on me, has thought proper to recall the gift, ſubmit thyſelf, I pray thee, my dear ſon, with a pious firmneſs, to the fate which awaits thee. It is to God that thou art to be offered up; to that God who now commands me to relinquiſh thee to him, in proof of my gratitude for the numerous bleſſings he hath ſhowered upon us, throughout the courſe of our lives. Death is the common portion of all mankind; and, certainly, thou canſt not fall more gloriouſly, than by the hand of thine own father, an oblation to the God and Father of the univerſe, who prefers rather to receive thy ſoul into endleſs bliſs, on the wing of prayer and ejaculation, than ſuffer thee to become the victim of diſeaſe, war, paſſion, or any other of the various caſualties to which mankind are hourly expoſed. Reflect maturely on what I have ſaid, and thou wilt perceive, that, in the heavenly ſtation to which thou art now ſummoned, thou may'ſt afford thy aged father unfailing ſupport, and that, in the room of thee, my ſon, I ſhall have God himſelf for my protector."

Abraham's pathetic addreſs to his ſon.

Iſaac manifeſted a firmneſs and reſignation, on the occaſion, worthy of his birth; declaring that, if he ſhould heſitate to ſurrender up his life, at the requiſition of God and his father, from whom he derived it, he ſhould be undeſerving of that exiſtence which he had hitherto enjoyed; nay, that he would readily have yielded it up, at the command even of his father alone.

Iſaac's meek ſubmiſſion.

He then advanced to the altar, and, uncovering his throat, waited in patient expectation of the event; but, at the very inſtant that Abraham raiſed his arm to ſtrike the blow, the Almighty called aloud to him from heaven, and prevented his deſign. God commanded him to ſtay his hand, and to ſpare the life of his ſon; declaring that it was not from any pleaſure that he took in human ſacrifices, nor from an intention of conſtituting a father the murderer of that very child which he himſelf beſtowed on him, that he had enjoined him to this action; but ſolely to try how far a ſenſe of his duty to the Almighty might operate upon him, in oppoſition to the dictates of affection and nature; that, finding his piety ſuperior to all temptations, he confirmed to him his ſeveral former promiſes, accepted of his intended ſacrifice, and engaged that his providence ſhould never forſake either him or his poſterity; that he would bleſs his ſon, Iſaac, with length of days, and a numerous and illuſtrious offſpring, who ſhould eſtabliſh their authority over many nations, and ſhould ſubdue the land of Canaan

Exemplary faith and obedience of Abraham.

* Some have objected, relative to this event, how Abraham could be ſatisfied that this command came from God, when it appears inconſiſtent with the very nature of the Divine Being, and ſubverſive of moral rectitude. But this objection will vaniſh, if we reflect that Abraham did really know that the command came from God, who, having given life, may take it away whenever he pleaſes, either by a natural diſeaſe, or any other inſtrument he thinks proper. Abraham alſo knew that God could again reſtore Iſaac in a more extraordinary manner.

by

by the ſword; rendering themſelves the envy and admiration of ſurrounding nations by the abundance of their wealth, and the fame of their glorious deeds.

Iſaac being ſpared, a ram is ſacrificed.

When God had finiſhed ſpeaking, a ram moſt unexpectedly appeared, at a ſmall diſtance from the ſpot, and ſeemed to preſent itſelf as a voluntary victim and ſubſtitute. The father and ſon, in a tranſport of ſurprize and rapture, now exchanged their mutual endearments; fervently praiſing God for his gracious promiſes and unbounded goodneſs: and thereupon offered up a ſacrifice on the ſpot. When they had performed this duty, they returned home, where they paſſed a life of eaſe and happineſs, with all the complacency of an applauding conſcience, and an approving God, who, according to his promiſe, proſpered them in all their undertakings.

Death of Sarah.

Soon after this event Sarah died, in the hundred and twenty-ſeventh year of her age, and was buried in Hebron. The Canaanites preſſed Abraham to accept of a ſepulchre for her interment; but he declined the offer, chuſing rather to purchaſe a field, belonging to an inhabitant of Hebron, named Ephraim, for which he paid four hundred ſhekels of ſilver, and applied it to the above-mentioned purpoſe; and ſeveral monuments, erected in honour of himſelf and his poſterity, remained there during many centuries.

CHAP. XII.

Progeny of Abraham, by his Wife Keturah. The Marriage of Iſaac and Rebecca.

SOME time after the death of Sarah, Abraham married a ſecond wife named Keturah, by whom he had ſix ſons. Theſe perſons ſettled in different parts, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the country of the Troglodytes, beyond Egypt, and that part of Arabia Felix bordering upon the Red Sea.

Iſaac being now about forty years of age, his father formed the deſign of marrying him to Rebecca, the daughter of Bethuel, who was the ſon of his brother Nahor. On this buſineſs he diſpatched one of his moſt truſty ſervants; firſt binding him, by an oath, to a faithful diſcharge of his commiſſion; which ceremony he performed, by putting his hand under his maſter's thigh, according to the form uſed in that country on ſimilar occaſions*. The meſſenger then departed, being inveſted with full powers to conclude the buſineſs in queſtion, furniſhed alſo with rare and coſtly preſents, and all neceſſaries for his journey. Meſopotamia, through which his route lay, is, on account of the badneſs of the roads in winter, and the great ſcarcity of water in the ſummer, a moſt inconvenient country for travellers. Having ſurmounted theſe difficulties, he arrived, at length, at Charran; upon entering the ſuburbs of which city, he met a number of virgins, who were going to the well for water.

Prayer of Eleazar, Abraham's ſervant, & his ſucceſs.

He, thereupon, offered up a prayer, requeſting that, if God approved of the propoſed alliance, he might meet with Rebecca in that company; and that he might be enabled to diſcover her, by the circumſtance of her giving him water to drink, when all the others ſhould deny his requeſt. On his arrival at the well, he addreſſed himſelf to each of the virgins ſeparately, and begged them to oblige him with a draught of water. One replied, that ſhe had taken too much trouble to get it, to part with it ſo eaſily; another, that ſhe did not draw water for every one who might apply to her for it; ſome making one excuſe, and ſome another, but all refuſed to comply with his requeſt, ſave one ſingle virgin, who ſharply reproved her companions for their incivility to a ſtranger, and courteouſly offered him her pitcher to allay his thirſt. This was ſo auſpicious a commencement, that the meſſenger, after ſome general compliments on her perſon and benevolence of temper, deſired to be informed to what family ſhe belonged, wiſhing that her parents might live to ſee her happily ſettled in the marriage ſtate, with an affectionate and virtuous huſband, and a numerous and obedient progeny.

To this, without the leaſt heſitation, Rebecca replied: "The name of my father was Bethuel; but he died long ago, and left my mother and me, together with all his ſubſtance, to the care of my brother, whoſe name is Laban; and I am called Rebecca." The meſſenger was delighted with what he had heard and ſeen; being fully convinced that God favoured the deſign on which he came thither. He, therefore, preſented Rebecca with a ſmall chain, and ſome other ornaments for her perſon, ſuch as commonly attract, in a conſiderable degree, the attention of women of her age; requeſting her acceptance of them as a mark of his eſteem for her ſingular excellencies, and of his gratitude for the particular obligation ſhe had conferred on him. He then deſired that, as it grew late, and would be unſafe travelling further, he might be permitted, for that night, to reſide at the houſe of her relations; hoping that they would receive a gueſt, who would not put them to any manner of charge for his entertainment. The virgin replied, "That he appeared to have conceived a proper idea of the humanity of her relations,

* From this circumſtance it appears plain, as far as we can judge without the aſſiſtance of records, that the only ſecurity for the performance of a contract, was a ſolemn oath and a ſacrifice; for at that time they could have no written conveyances: it is proper, however, to mention here, that a conſcientious regard was in ancient times paid to oaths; and they who broke them were conſidered not only as unworthy of a place in human ſociety, but as infamous perſons.

but that she wished him to have a better opinion of their generosity, as he should be lodged at their dwelling without any expence; but that she would first ask her brother's permission to introduce him." This was immediately granted, and the servants of Laban were ordered to take care of the stranger's camels, while he sat down to table with the master of the house. When supper was ended, the guest addressed himself to the mother and son in these terms: "I am sent to you," said he, "by Abraham the son of Thares, and your kinsman; for Nahor," directing his discourse to the woman, "the father of your late husband, was the brother of Abraham, by the same father and mother. I am a domestic servant of Abraham, who has commissioned me to propose a marriage between this virgin, and his only legitimate son and heir. From a predilection for those of his own blood, he has rejected offers of alliance with many of the most powerful families in the country where he resides. Do not, I conjure you, with-hold your consent to my proposal, since God himself evidently interposes in behalf of it, and has directed me, in a miraculous manner, both to this virgin and your dwelling. When I entered a town, I saw a number of maidens, who were going to the well for water, and I offered up a secret prayer to heaven, that I might find the virgin whom I sought among them, which happened according to my prayer: thus you may perceive, that a proposed match has already obtained the approbation of heaven, and wants but the sanction of your authority to confirm it." This marriage was so eligible in itself, and so plainly conformable to the will of God, that Rebecca was delivered into the care of the messenger, who conducted her to the house of Isaac, to whom the whole possessions of Abraham had now devolved; the children that Keturah bore to Abraham having taken up their residence in other countries.

Marriage of Isaac and Rebecca.

Death of Abraham.

Not long after the marriage of Isaac, Abraham departed this life, in the hundred and seventy-fifth year of his age. This man was equally renowned for his piety and virtue, and had rendered himself acceptable both to God and man. He was interred at Hebron, in the same sepulchre with his wife Sarah, Isaac and Ishmael taking upon themselves the care of his funeral.

CHAP. XIII.

The Birth of Esau and Jacob. A Famine in the Land of Canaan obliges Isaac to retire to Egypt. His Death drawing nigh, he sends Esau into the Fields, to procure him some Venison. Jacob personates Esau, and he surreptitiously obtains from his Father the Blessing intended for his Brother.

IN a short time after the death of Abraham, the wife of Isaac became pregnant, and increased so much in size, that her husband, being greatly alarmed at the circumstance, besought the Almighty to reveal to him the cause thereof. The purport of the answer he received, was, that she should be delivered of twins, from whom two mighty nations should proceed; and that the younger of the two should, in process of time, eclipse the glory of the elder. This prediction was in due time verified; for Rebecca brought forth twins, the elder of whom was covered with hair from head to foot and as they came into the world, the younger was observed to be holding the other by the heel. The first-born was the favourite of his father, and was named Esau, or Seir, which signifies in the Hebrew language *Hair*; but Jacob, the younger, became the darling child of his mother.

Esau and Jacob born.

The land of Canaan was at this time afflicted with a terrible famine, and Egypt then enjoyed the greatest abundance; Isaac was inclined to go thither; but God diverted him from his design, and he repaired to Gerar. Upon his first arrival at that place, he was received by king Abimelech with every appearance of respect and friendship, in remembrance of the ancient alliance which had subsisted between him and Abraham. But this kindness could not be expected to be of long continuance with a man who sacrificed every consideration to his envy. He perceived that Isaac enjoyed a larger portion of God's favour than himself, and therefore dismissed him from his court. Isaac, penetrating into the cause of this change of disposition in Abimelech, withdrew to a place called the Valley, at a small distance from Gerar. As his men were employed in digging for water at this place, the king's shepherds came to the spot, and prevented them from proceeding. They then repaired to another part, where they once more began to dig, but were interrupted as before. At length, he obtained the king's permission to dig, and the place where he first found water he named Rooboth, which signifies *large* or *spacious*. Of the other two places, where he had been disappointed, he called one Escon, signifying *contention*; and the other Sitenna, which being interpreted, means *enmity*.

Abimelech, conscious of his own insincerity, observed, with a jealous eye, the increasing power and reputation of Isaac, who, he was apprehensive, might, on a comparison of his late unkind conduct with the favourable reception he had at first given him, be induced to revenge the insult; he was, moreover, unwilling to provoke the enmity of a man of Isaac's temper and character. He, accordingly, taking with him one of the chief officers of his court, repaired to the spot where Isaac resided, and proposed to him a renewal of the former league which had subsisted between them; with which Isaac, recollecting the ancient friendship which his father and the king had mutually entertained, readily complied; and thus all disagreement between them ceased.

Isaac renews the treaty with Abimelech.

At the age of forty, Esau, who was the favourite of his father, married two wives; Adah, the daughter of Elon, and Alibama, the daughter of Esbion; both persons of distinguished rank and high reputation in the land of Canaan. He contracted these marriages, without consulting his father Isaac on the subject; nor would he have been able to procure his consent thereto,

thereto, Iſaac being fully determined not to form any alliance whatever with the Canaanites. As the matter, however, was irremediable, Iſaac judged it better to paſs the whole over in ſilence, than to proceed to the extremity of compelling his ſon to diſmiſs the women.

Eſau ſent to get veniſon for his father.

Iſaac, being now arrived at a very advanced age, and having, in part, at leaſt, if not totally, loſt his ſight, called to him his ſon Eſau; and, after premiſing what he was about to ſay, with ſome reflections on his age and infirmities; grievouſly lamenting his incapacity to ſerve God, as he had formerly been accuſtomed to do; and ordering Eſau to go into the fields, and endeavour to procure him ſome ſavoury food for his ſupper; he promiſed, at his return, to beſtow his bleſſing on him, and to recommend him to the protection of Almighty* God. "The period of my own exiſtence," ſays he, "draws near; and, as the hour is uncertain, I cannot employ the ſhort time I have to live, in a more proper manner, than in offering up prayers to God for thy welfare and happineſs."

Rebecca inſtructs Jacob to procure the bleſſing.

Eſau having retired, to execute his father's commands, Rebecca, who had overheard the converſation between them, contrived to transfer to Jacob, for whom ſhe had more affection than for his brother, the bleſſing which was intended for Eſau. She, therefore, ordered Jacob to kill a kid, and have it prepared for ſupper. Jacob obeyed, being conſtantly obſervant of the orders of his mother; and, when ſupper was ready, he ſet it before his father, having taken the precaution to ſpread the ſkin of the kid over his hands and arms, that he might appear to his father to be hairy, the brothers reſembling each other, in other reſpects, ſo ſtrongly, that it was impoſſible to diſtinguiſh one from the other: he was, however, in great agitation, leſt he ſhould be detected in th[illegible] poſture, and thereby draw upon himſelf a curſe, in[illegible]ad of a bleſſing.

Jacob deceives both Iſaac and Eſau.

Iſaac, noting ſome particularity in his ſon's voice, bade him draw near, and finding his hands to be covered with hair, he obſerved, that "the voice was Jacob's voice, but the hands were the hands of Eſau;" and without farther heſitation, began to eat of the victuals ſet before him. The repaſt being finiſhed, he offered up a prayer to heaven in theſe words: "Eternal God, from whom all created beings derive their origin! Thou haſt ſhowered down on my father, myſelf, and our offſpring, a profuſion of the comforts of this life, and haſt promiſed us the enjoyment of ſtill greater bleſſings to come: make good, O Lord, thy gracious promiſes, and diſdain not the application of thy ſervant on account of his infirmities, which render him ſtill more ſenſible of his dependence on thee for his ſupport: Preſerve, I pray thee, this child from all evil; grant him length of days and all happineſs: bleſs him with the poſſeſſion of every worldly enjoyment which thou, in thy wiſdom, ſhall deem conducive to his welfare; render him the dread of his enemies, and an honour and comfort to his family and friends‡."

No ſooner had Iſaac concluded his prayer, than Eſau entered the room, being juſt returned from the chace; which circumſtance diſcovered to Iſaac the deception: but he thought proper to be ſilent on the matter. When the particulars of what had paſſed came to the knowledge of Eſau, he requeſted of his father to beſtow a bleſſing on him, as he had already conferred one on his brother. But Iſaac excuſed himſelf; declaring, that he was reſtricted both from withdrawing and from making a ſecond grant of the benediction he had conferred on Jacob. Eſau was ſo much affected with the diſappointment, that he could not refrain from tears; and his father, to comfort him as far as lay in his power, aſſured him, that he and his poſterity ſhould excel in hunting, and in the profeſſion of arms: concluding, nevertheleſs, that he muſt be ſubject to his younger brother†.

Flies to avoid Eſau's reſentment.

Jacob, conſcious of the injury his brother had ſuſtained from him, was violently apprehenſive of his reſentment; and Rebecca, who was actuated by the ſame fears, in order to avert the danger, prevailed on Iſaac to ſend Jacob into Meſopotamia, to take a wife from among her kindred, reſiding in that country.

Eſau, perceiving that he had highly diſobliged his father by forming an alliance with a Canaanitiſh family, which people were his profeſſed enemies, now took to wife Baſſemath, the daughter of Iſhmael, for whom he entertained a ſtronger affection, than for any of his other wives.

CHAP. XIV.

Jacob is ſent into Meſopotamia, to contract a Marriage with Rachel, the Daughter of Laban. His Viſion. He engages to ſerve Laban, on certain Conditions, and is deceived by him.

* It appears that this was no common bleſſing that Iſaac meant for Eſau, but a ſolemn dying benediction, ſuch as pious parents in thoſe days were wont to beſtow upon their children, and which were held ſacred, and indeed were often prophetic of their future fortunes in the world, as in the caſe of Jacob, *Gen.* xlix. 1. But the difference between him and Jacob was, that God had given Jacob a prophetic view of his intended diſpenſations to his deſcendants and their children; but it is plain that Iſaac, in this place before us, had called Eſau without having received any particular revelation about him, for he deſigned to tell him what God never intended ſhould belong to him.

‡ The ſupper caught by hunters was deſigned as a feſtival which was always uſual on a ſacrifice; and Iſaac hoped and believed that the prayers uſed on thoſe occaſions would obtain bleſſings from the Almighty on the head of his ſon.

† Both Jacob and his mother Rebecca were highly blameable for practiſing this deception, nor can it eaſily be determined which was moſt ſo. The providence of God muſt be taken into the account; but never can be alledged as an excuſe for the double dealing of either the mother or the ſon; but, though he diſapproved of the act, he over-ruled it to bring about his own deſigns.

AT

Jacob ſent into Meſopotamia.

AT the ſolicitation of Rebecca, Iſaac ſent Jacob into Meſopotamia, to treat of a match with the daughter of Laban, Rebecca's brother. It happened that a mortal enmity ſubſiſted at this time between that family and the Canaanites; and, as the route which Jacob was to purſue lay through the land of Canaan, he durſt not truſt himſelf in any of their houſes, but repoſed, during the night, in the open air; a ſtone, or a hillock ſerving him for a pillow. On a certain night, as he lay thus at reſt, he had the following viſion.

His viſion.

He imagined that he ſaw a ladder placed on the earth, the top of which reached to the ſkies; and that a number of figures, reſembling, in form, the human race, but far exceeding them in ſize, and in the luſtre of their appearance, were continually paſſing and repaſſing up and down the rounds thereof; the Almighty appearing in perſon at the top, and ſpeaking to him in theſe words: "You, Jacob, who are deſcended from Iſaac and Abraham, men deſervedly famous for their faith and virtue, inſtead of deſponding of my care and protection, under any degree of affliction whatever, ought rather to ſubmit cheerfully to your preſent troubles, with a firm reliance on me to extricate you from your difficulties. Place your truſt in me, and be aſſured that you ſhall experience happier days. It was I who brought Abraham out of Meſopotamia hither, when he was driven from his poſſeſſions by thoſe of his own family; it was I who ſhowered down bleſſings on your father, through the whole courſe of his life; and I am determined, if you will render yourſelf deſerving of my favour, to transfer to you thoſe bleſſings which I formerly conferred on your anceſtors. The buſineſs which is the object of your preſent journey ſhall ſucceed to your wiſh; you ſhall become the father of dutiful children, and your progeny ſhall be without number. To them and their poſterity will I give this land, as an inheritance; and they ſhall plant colonies throughout the whole earth, and the iſlands, as far as the ſun extends its influence. Let nothing, therefore, diſcourage you; but place an implicit confidence in my protection, not only on the preſent occaſion, but in all caſes in future."

This viſion filled Jacob with rapture; and he anointed the ſtone on which he had repoſed; vowing, at the ſame time, if God ſhould ever permit him to return home, to erect an altar on the ſpot, and to offer ſacrifice thereon. This vow he afterwards performed; dedicating to God the tenth of all his ſubſtance, for an oblation. And as a farther memorial of what had befallen him there, he named the place Bethel, or the *Houſe of God.*

He then continued his journey, and, after a tedious paſſage, arrived at Charran, where he found ſeveral ſhepherds, and other young perſons, of both ſexes, aſſembled about a well, and drawing water. He accoſted them, and begged a draught of water, to quench his thirſt; and thus, by degrees, entered into diſcourſe with them; inquiring whether they knew Laban, and whether he lived in the neighbourhood? They all anſwered in the affirmative, adding, that his daughter and they were accuſtomed to feed their ſheep together, and that they were ſurpriſed ſhe had not joined them yet. The virgin herſelf came to the ſpot, in the midſt of this converſation, and was acquainted by her companions with the inquiries which Jacob had made, concerning her father. She immediately, with an eager ſimplicity, began to queſtion him relative to the place from whence he came, and the buſineſs which had brought him thither; making him an offer, at the ſame time, of her ſervices.

Jacob meets Rachel, who courteouſly receives him.

Jacob, charmed with her courteous behaviour, but much more ſo with the beauties of her perſon, inſtantly conceived a violent paſſion for her, and addreſſed himſelf to her in theſe terms: "A firm friendſhip," ſaid he, "has ſubſiſted between our families, if you, fair virgin, are actually the daughter of Laban, a long time previous to the birth of either of us; Abraham, Haran, and Nahor, being the ſons of Tharés, and Bethuel, your grandfather, the ſon of Nahor. Iſaac, my father, was born to Abraham by Sarah, the daughter of Haran. Moreover, my mother, Rebecca, is the ſiſter of your father, Laban, by the ſame parents: thus you ſee, that we ſtand related to each other in the degree of couſin-germans; and the object of my preſent journey is, to renew the antient family league and compact."

The virgin now recollected with how much affection ſhe had often heard her father ſpeak of Rebecca, and ſhe was ſo overjoyed with the idea of the pleaſure which he would derive from the circumſtance of Jacob's arrival, with tidings of that excellent woman, that ſhe burſt into tears of joy and affection, and, after having ſaluted the youth, ſaid, "Thou bringeſt the moſt welcome news imaginable both to my father and to the whole family. He, good man, was never ſo happy as when expatiating on the virtues of thy mother; and I am poſitive, he would not exchange the felicity which thy tidings will give him, for any other bleſſing under the ſun. Therefore, let us haſten to him without any farther delay." She then introduced him to Laban, who, as well as the reſt of the family, expreſſed the utmoſt joy on his unexpected arrival.

Rachel conducts Jacob to her father, and his family, who behave kindly to him.

He had been with the family but a few days, when Laban thought proper to compliment him upon the pleaſure he profeſſed that he enjoyed in his converſation; at the ſame time expreſſing ſome ſurprize, that he ſhould have quitted his father and mother at a period when, from their extreme age, his preſence muſt have been moſt neceſſary to them; concluding with an aſſurance, that he would render him every ſervice in his power. Jacob, to ſatisfy his curioſity, gave him the following ſhort abſtract of the hiſtory of his family. "My mother, Rebecca," ſaid he, "bore twin ſons, Eſau and myſelf. My father, being blind, was led, by the contrivance of my mother, to confer on me the bleſſing he had meant for my brother. Eſau, therefore, conſiders me as a perſon who has ſupplanted him in his juſt claim, both to his father's bleſſing, and the inheritance which God had aſſigned him, and he determined, in conſequence, to take away my life.

To avoid the danger which threatened me, and in compliance with the injunction of my mother, I have fled to thee for protection, as to the nearest relation she has living; and it is on thee, next under God, that I depend for my safety." Laban gave him the stronger assurances of his favour, not only in consideration of his own good qualities, but also, as being the son of his sister: saying, he should ever entertain the sincerest affection for her, whatever the distance might be that should separate them; adding, that, for the present, he would give him the superintendency of his flocks and shepherds, and that, whenever he should think proper to return home, he might depend on a gratification suitable to his merit.

Jacob agrees to serve Laban seven years for Rachel.

Jacob, who was desirous of continuing in the family on any terms, consented to Laban's proposal, on condition that he might have Rachel in marriage, as the reward of his services; declaring that he loved her to excess, not only on account of her own rare merit, but also, as having been the providential instrument of his introduction to the family. Laban instantly ratified the condition, with earnest expressions of joy; protesting that he should prefer him before all men living for a son-in-law; but gave him to understand, at the same time, that he must wait awhile for the execution of the agreement, as it would not be without great unwillingness that he should suffer his daughter to go so far from him, as to the land of Canaan; having, to say the truth, almost repented, at times, the sending his sister thither. To prove the disinterestedness of his views, Jacob engaged to wait, and contracted to serve his intended father-in-law for the term of seven years*.

Laban's deceit.

Precisely on the concluding day of the above term, Laban prepared the nuptial feast, and, having previously intoxicated Jacob, late at night, and in the dark, [illegible]tly conducted to his bed the blear-eyed eldest si[illegible], instead of the younger. Jacob having discovered the imposition, expostulated with him on this breach of faith: but Laban attempted to vindicate his conduct, on the plea of necessity; alledging, that the custom of the country would not permit the younger sister to be married before the elder, and solemnly protesting that he was totally uninfluenced by any malicious motive on this occasion: "But, the disappointment you have now experienced," said he, "need not be any obstacle to your marrying Rachel at a future time; for, if you will engage yourself to me for another term of seven years, at the expiration thereof she shall be delivered to you, unveiled, and in the face of day; and thus you will be guarded against every danger of a second deception." Jacob, who was guided solely by the dictates of his passion, yielded to this proposition also: and, having completed the term of his contract, received Rachel for his wife.

Rachel given in marriage to Jacob.

Laban had given to his daughters two maidens, who were to attend them, not altogether in the capacity of menial servants, though they were, nevertheless, to be subservient to their commands: Zilpah attended on Leah, and Bilhah on Rachel. As Rachel evidently possessed a greater share of Jacob's affection than her sister Leah ‡, the latter was greatly afflicted on that account, yet she still entertained hopes that, by bringing him children, she might, at length, win him to herself. This, accordingly, happened: for having borne to him a son, whom she named Reuben, or *divine mercy*, this circumstance influenced him to favour her, and she had afterwards three other sons, who were called Simeon, signifying *God is favourable*; Levi, or the *support of society*; and Judah, or *thanksgiving*.

Rachel was very apprehensive, lest the fruitfulness of her sister should, in part, abate Jacob's attachment to herself, and, therefore, contrived to deceive him, by substituting her woman, Bilhah, in her place; and by her Jacob had a son, named Dan, or the *judgment of God*; and she was some time afterwards delivered of Naphtali, signifying *artificial*; alluding to the circumstances of Rachel's craft, in her contention with her sister for children. Leah afterwards adopted her sister's arts, and introduced Zilpah to Jacob, who bore him two sons, one of which was named Gad, signifying *by chance*; and the other Aser, or *beautifying*, because they obtained honour by the transaction.

On a certain day, as the two sisters were sitting together, Reuben, Leah's eldest son, brought some mandrake apples to his mother. Rachel was eagerly desirous to partake of them, but was refused by the other, who peevishly told her, that it was unreasonable to think of depriving her of her husband and her apples also; but Rachel, to soothe her, offered to relinquish Jacob to her for that night. The proposal was accepted; and Leah, afterwards, bore other children; as Issachar, which signified *born for hire*; Zebulon, or a *pledge of love*; and a daughter, named Dinah. A considerable time elapsed before Rachel became pregnant, but, at length, she was delivered of a son, who was named Joseph, signifying an *addition*.

Jacob had now served his father-in-law, in the station of a superintendent over his shepherds and herdsmen, full twenty years: he, therefore, began to entertain thoughts of returning home, and of conducting his wives thither with him. But, it was necessary to act with caution; as he was conscious that Laban would throw every obstacle in the way of his design. He determined, however,

Jacob resolves to return home.

* It was not the custom of those countries for fathers to give dowry with their daughters, but to receive it from their sons-in-law, *Gen.* xxxiv. 12. 1 *Sam.* xviii. 23, 25, 27. Thus as Jacob had no money to purchase a wife, he offers his service for seven years instead of it.

‡ In the text, *Gen.* xxx. 31. we read, "Leah was hated," i. e. less beloved, according to the Hebrew idiom, *Mal.* i. 2, 3. *Luke* xiv. 26. And this instance furnishes a good argument against bigamy in general; for it is morally impossible for a man to share his affections so equally between his wives, but that he must love the one better than the other. Hence says Andromache in Euripides: *'Tis not right for one man to possess two wives; but if they would live well, they should love but one.*

to

to adopt no reſolution, till he ſhould firſt have conſulted his wives on the ſubject, and have learned how they were diſpoſed to the meaſure. Finding them well inclined to accompany him, he departed immediately, with his two wives, their attendants and children; and taking with him one half of the flocks. Rachel ſecreted the idols which her father had been accuſtomed to worſhip: not from any reſpect ſhe bore them, for her huſband had convinced her of the folly of ſuch adoration; but ſhe imagined that, in caſe her father ſhould overtake them in their flight, theſe images might prove the means of effecting a reconciliation between Laban and her huſband.

Laban purſues and overtakes him: No ſooner did Laban become acquainted, on the following day, with Jacob's ſecret departure, and all the attendant circumſtances, than he aſſembled a ſtrong party of able followers, and went in purſuit of him. In the evening of the ſeventh day, he overtook Jacob and his company, as they were ſitting on a hillock, to reſt themſelves after the fatigue of the day's journey: but, it being late, Laban and his party laid themſelves down to repoſe. During the night, God appeared to Laban in a dream, and ſtrictly enjoined him rather to accommodate matters than offer the leaſt violence to his fugitive children; cautioning him, moreover, not to deſpiſe them on the inferiority of their numbers, as, in that caſe, he would himſelf fight on their ſide.

Reproves Jacob; Early the next morning, Laban ſent for Jacob, who came to him with the confidence of a man who is ſenſible of no crime. Having firſt related to him his dream, Laban began to reproach him, for leaving him in a clandeſtine manner, and for taking away his effects after the great intimacy which had ſubſiſted between them.

Who vindicates himſelf. Jacob replied, in vindication of himſelf, "That it was natural for a man, who had been ſo long abſent from his native country, to wiſh to return thither; that, with reſpect to the charge of robbery and injuſtice, he was diſpoſed to appeal to the deciſion of any other perſon rather than Laban himſelf; that he thought himſelf intitled rather to his acknowledgments for the care he had taken to improve his eſtate, than to his reproaches for having reſerved to himſelf ſo ſmall a pittance out of it; and that, in the caſe of his taking his wives with him at his departure, both he and they had acted ſolely in conformity to their conjugal duty." Thus much he ſaid in vindication of himſelf; and then adverted to the conduct of Laban, on whom he retorted his own reproaches; complaining, and expreſſing great ſurprize, that having ſerved his father-in-law with unimpeached fidelity, for the long term of twenty years, he ſhould now be treated as the worſt of foes.

Jacob certainly had ſufficient cauſe to complain of the uſage he had received from Laban, who, obſerving that God manifeſted a ſtrong predilection for Jacob, repeatedly impoſed upon his credulity by fair ſpeeches and promiſes; engaging, at one time, to beſtow on him all the white cattle which ſhould be produced in the courſe of the year; and at another, all the black; and when, at the expiration of the twelve-month, he found that the ſhare promiſed to Jacob amounted to the greater part of the cattle produced in the time, he refuſed to fulfil his engagement till the following year; being pre-determined to pay no more regard to his ſtipulation, at the end of that period, than he had done on former occaſions, if his intereſt ſhould require it. But to return:

Rachel had ſecreted the idols in her ſaddle, and pretended to have a diſorder incidental to her ſex upon her. Laban, therefore, to whom Jacob had given free permiſſion to make a thorough ſearch for the images, paſſed her by, not imagining that, in her condition, ſhe would ſuffer any thing ſacred to be ſo near her perſon. Laban, thereupon, entered into a covenant with Jacob; forgave his daughters all that had paſſed, and promiſed that, for the future, they ſhould hold the ſame place in his affection they had ever poſſeſſed; all which he confirmed with the ſolemnity of an oath. This ceremony was performed on a mountain, on which they erected a pillar, reſembling an altar, and they ſtyled it, and all the adjacent country, Galaud, or the *Hill of Witneſs*. After the ratification of the league between them, they feaſted together, and then ſeparated; Laban returning to his home, and Jacob continuing his way to the land of Canaan.

Reconciliation between Laban and Jacob, confirmed by a covenant of friendſhip.

CHAP. XV.

Interview between Jacob and Eſau, which terminates amicably.

AS Jacob purſued his journey to the land of Canaan, he had ſeveral viſions, all tending to give him hopes of future ſucceſs; and the place where the Almighty was pleaſed to grant him theſe revelations, he named the *Field of God*. But he ſtill bore in mind the ancient reſentment of Eſau; and, therefore, privately exerted all his endeavours to diſcover how his brother ſtood diſpoſed to him; ſending, moreover, ſeveral meſſengers* to find out his reſidence, and to addreſs him, in his name, to the following effect: "That perceiving he had drawn upon himſelf the reſentment of his brother, he retired from his own country; but, confident that his long abſence muſt have obliterated all remembrance of paſt diſagreements, he was now on his return home, with his wives, children, and treaſures; propoſing to himſelf, as the firſt wiſh of his

* It was not only in order to reconcile Eſau to him that he ſent theſe meſſengers to his brother, but alſo to apprize him that he brought his ſubſtance with him from Haran, and that he was not going into Canaan to do him any injury: whereas had he returned home without Eſau's knowledge, Eſau might have thought that Jacob had got the greateſt part of his ſubſtance from his father; and when he came at Iſaac's death to take away with him to Edom what his father had to leave him, he might have looked upon Jacob as having defrauded him of his right.

heart, to ſhare the wealth God had ſo profuſely beſtowed on him, in common with his brother."

This meaſure afforded Eſau ſuch heart-felt ſatisfaction, that he inſtantly began his journey, at the head of four hundred men, to meet him on the road. When Jacob learnt that Eſau was approaching at the head of ſo numerous a party, he was ſomewhat confounded; but, quickly recovering himſelf, determined, with the divine aſſiſtance, to repel any attack that might be made on him. He formed his men into two bodies; ordering the firſt to advance, and the other to keep at ſuch a diſtance, as to be able to ſecond the firſt, in any advantage which they might obtain, or to ſupport them, in caſe they ſhould be repulſed. Having made theſe preparations, he ſent ſome of his people before, with preſents to his brother, of different ſpecies of animals, ſome for uſe, others for curioſity. Theſe he ordered to march at a diſtance from each other, that they might appear more numerous than they in reality were; and he particularly enjoined the perſons who conducted them, to ſhew the utmoſt deference and reſpect to Eſau; truſting hereby to diſpel any rancour which might yet remain in his brother's mind. The whole day was ſpent in adjuſting the diſpoſition of the troops, and at night they marched.

Meeting of the two brothers.

After they had croſſed the torrent of Jabac, Jacob being at a ſmall diſtance behind, an angel laid his hands on him; and Jacob wreſtling with the angel*, overcame him; whereupon he heard a voice, ſpeaking to him in theſe words: "Thou mayeſt with reaſon boaſt of the advantage thou haſt obtained over me; for it is not a common adverſary, but an angel of the Lord whom thou haſt foiled. This ſhall ſerve thee for a token, that thy poſterity ſhall never become extinct, and that in all thy conteſts thou ſhalt prove victorious." The angel, thereupon, gave him the title of Iſrael, which in the Hebrew ſignifies *ſtruggling*. Jacob had prayed for a revelation of his future fortune. when he perceived that it was an angel who ſpoke to him, he urged him to be explicit; and this being complied with, the angel diſappeared. The joy which Jacob felt on this occaſion was ſuch, that he named the ſpot, whereon the incident happened, Phanuel, ſignifying the *face of God*. In this conteſt, one of the ſinews of his thigh was ſtrained, upon which account he would never afterwards eat of that part of any animal; in which the Jews follow his example to this day.

Jacob wreſtles with an angel.

Jacob being informed that Eſau was approaching, ordered his wives and their attendants to walk at a diſtance from his troops, that, in caſe his brother ſhould think proper to attack him, they might ſee the engagement without ſharing the danger. But when Jacob perceived that Eſau drew near with looks of complacency and peace, he ran towards him, and threw himſelf at his feet. Eſau raiſed him up, embraced him, and with many queſtions reſpecting the women and children, earneſtly preſſed him to accompany him to his father's houſe. Jacob, however, declined the invitation; alledging, that his horſes and cattle were too much tired to continue the journey; and Eſau thereupon departed to his habitation at Seir; which was ſo named on account of the *hairineſs* of his perſon.

Jacob's fears diſpelled by an affectionate ſalutation with Eſau.

* An angel in the form of a man; the ſame that he had ſeen at Bethel, as we are told in *Hoſea* xii. 4. It was an angel who repreſented the Almighty, and is therefore called God, *Gen.* xxxii. 28, 30. Hence ſome have taken him for the eternal Logos, or Son of God. This angel laid hold on him, and entered with him into a wreſtling match, according to the cuſtom of thoſe countries, in order to teach him, by this ſymbolical repreſentation, how eaſy it is for God to make the weakeſt an over-match for the moſt mighty.

CHAP. XVI.

The Rape of Dinah. Slaughter of the Sichemites.

JACOB repaired to the place called the Tabernacles, and from thence went to Sichem, in the land of Canaan. It chanced that the inhabitants were engaged in the celebration of a feſtival; and Dinah, the only daughter of Jacob, went thither, to gratify her curioſity, and obſerve the cuſtoms of the women of the country. Sichem, the ſon of king Emmor, conceiving a paſſion for her, carried her off, and violated her. Being ſtill greatly enamoured of the damſel, he aſked the conſent of his father to marry her; and he not only readily yielded thereto, but went in perſon to Jacob, to obtain his compliance. Jacob was greatly perplexed what anſwer to give the king; ſeeing that his conſcience forbad him to marry his daughter to a perſon of a different religion from himſelf; yet neither could he, with propriety, reject the application of a perſon of the petitioner's diſtinguiſhed rank. After ſome deliberation, however, he determined to requeſt a ſhort time to conſider of the matter; and the king quitted him, in full confidence of ſucceeding in his views.

Hiſtory of Dinah, the daughter of Jacob.

When the ſons of Jacob became acquainted with the indignity that had been offered to their ſiſter, and the propoſal made by Emmor, they were ſo much confounded, that they could not determine what meaſures to adopt; but Simeon and Levi, the brothers of Dinah by the ſame mother, concerted a deſign, which, without the privity of their father, they executed in the following manner.

Embracing the opportunity of the next feſtival at Sichem, they, at a late hour of the night, entered the city, overpowered the guards, whom drowſineſs and ebriety had rendered an eaſy conqueſt, and killed all the males they could find, among whom were the king and his ſon; ſparing the women alone: after the completion of this enterprize, they conducted Dinah back to their father's houſe. The barbarity of this action ſtruck Jacob with the utmoſt horror, and highly incenſed him againſt his ſons; but God comforted him in a dream, bidding him take courage and cleanſe his tents, and to perform the ſacrifice

Simeon and Levi avenge the injury done to their ſiſter.

which he vowed, in consequence of the vision while on his journey into Mesopotamia.

While Jacob was employed in the execution of this command, he accidentally discovered the gods of Laban, which Rachel, unknown to him, had buried under an oak. He then went to Beth-el, where he had the vision, and there performed sacrifice. From thence he repaired to Ephrata, at which place Rachel died in child-birth, and was buried; being the only person of the family who was not interred at Hebron. He was greatly affected by this incident; but, the child surviving, he named him Benjamin, from the great *grief he gave his mother**.

Death of Rachel.

Jacob had twelve sons and one daughter. Of these, eight were legitimate; six being by Leah; and two by Rachel; of the four illegitimate children, two were born to him by Zilpah, and the same number by Bilhah. Their names have been already given in a preceding chapter.

From Ephrata Jacob went to Hebron, in the land of Canaan, at which place Isaac then dwelt; but they resided together for a short time only. Rebecca died some time previous to Jacob's arrival, and Isaac did not long survive her. He was interred by Esau and Jacob in the family sepulchre in Hebron, where his wife also had been laid. Isaac, by his virtuous conduct, rendered himself acceptable in the sight of God, and, next to Abraham, appeared to be the peculiar favourite of heaven. He passed through life in the uniform and exemplary practice of piety and virtue, and died in the hundred and eighty-fifth year of his age.

Death and burial of Isaac.

After the death of Isaac, the two brothers, Esau and Jacob, shared their possessions between them; and Esau, having yielded to his brother the city of Hebron, withdrew himself to Seir, where he fixed his residence. The whole country of Idumæa belonged to him, and he named it, after himself, Edom.

Esau and Jacob divide their possessions.

* This is an error. In Gen. xxxv. 18. the reading is, "She called his name Ben-oni (son of sorrow); but Jacob called him Benjamin" (son of my right hand, or strength). And it is observed, that both names were verified in the fates of his posterity, no tribe being more valorous, yet none so subject to sorrowful disasters, as the tribe of Benjamin.

BOOK II.

Including Various TRANSACTIONS from the YEAR of the WORLD 2230, to 2454.

CHAP. I.

Joseph's Dreams. He becomes the Envy of his Brethren, who conspire against his Life.

JACOB was one of the happiest of mankind: being particularly favoured by the divine providence and protection, he not only surpassed all his neighbours in wealth and power, but was also blessed with a numerous progeny, who were equally renowned for their industry, valour, and prudence; and whose very sufferings and afflictions it pleased God to render advantageous to them, by making them the happy instruments of extricating our ancestors from the bondage of the Egyptians.

Joseph, whom Rachel bore to Jacob, was the favourite of his father, as well on account of his mental, as personal qualifications*. The predilection, which his father constantly manifested for him, excited the jealousy and ill-will of the rest of his brethren; and these disgusts received additional force, from the circumstance of certain dreams, which Joseph communicated to his brethren, at different times, all appearing to prognosticate his future felicity, power, and pre-eminence.

Having been sent, by his father, to assist his brethren in reaping, he had a dream, which differed widely from those fantastic creations of the brain, to which the appellation of Dreams is usually given. He made his brothers acquainted with the particulars of this vision, and desired them to solve it. "I dreamt," said he, "that I saw my own sheaf of wheat standing erect, and those of all my brethren hastening, and prostrating themselves before it." This dream might have been expounded without much difficulty, as it plainly portended the great power which Joseph was to acquire over the rest of his brethren. But they pretended an incapacity to explain the meaning of it; praying earnestly, however, for heaven to avert the omen, and conceiving a still greater hatred against Joseph, than before.

A second vision, which he had, was of a still more extraordinary kind than the former. He imagined that he saw the sun, moon, and eleven stars, descend-

* We read, Gen. xxxvii. 2. that "the lad was with the sons of Bilhah, and with the sons of Zilpah, his father's wives." His mother being dead, he was brought up amongst the sons of the handmaids: probably because they were thought less likely to use him ill.

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ing from the ſkies, and doing him reverence. Still unconſcious of the evil deſigns of his brethren, Joſeph alſo communicated this viſion to his father, in their hearing, and expreſſed an earneſt deſire to be acquainted with the tendency of it. Jacob was greatly pleaſed with this dream †; conſidering it as a preſage of the future happineſs and glory of his ſon Joſeph, and of the honour which, in proceſs of time, he ſhould receive both from his father and brothers. The ſun and moon he expounded to mean the father and mother; it being the office of the one to increaſe and nouriſh, and of the other to give form and ſtrength; and he ſuppoſed the eleven ſtars to ſignify the eleven brethren, who alſo derived their knowledge and virtue from above.

Envy and wicked plot of Joſeph's brethren againſt him.

This was, doubtleſs, a rational interpretation of the dream in queſtion, but it gave great offence to the brethren of Joſeph, who, on the contrary, ought to have rejoiced in the proſpect of their brother's promiſed happineſs, inſtead of envying ſo near a relation thoſe advantages and benefits which they would not have regretted the poſſeſſion of to a ſtranger. But to that height had their inveteracy againſt him now ariſen, that nothing leſs than his life would ſatisfy them: and this was the method they took to effect their purpoſe. No ſooner was the harveſt over, than they removed, with their flocks, to Sichem, which place is remarkable for the excellency of its paſture; but without giving their father the leaſt intimation of their departure. When they had been gone ſome time, and no intelligence being received by Jacob of the place to which they had retired, he diſpatched Joſeph to obtain all poſſible information concerning them, and bring him an account immediately of their ſituation, and the ſtate of the flocks.

CHAP. II.

The Conſpiracy of Joſeph's Brethren: his Life is preſerved through the Interceſſion and Propoſal of Reuben, and he is ſold to Arabian Merchants.

Joſeph's brethren conſpire againſt him.

JOSEPH, in obedience to his father's commands, went in ſearch of his brethren, and upon his arrival among them, they rejoiced exceedingly; and, conſidering him as an enemy whom God had delivered into their power, were deſirous of putting thair ſanguinary purpoſe into immediate execution. But Reuben exerted his utmoſt powers of perſuaſion, by endeavouring to prevail upon them to ſhew favour to Joſeph,; repreſenting to them how hateful they would render themſelves both in the ſight of God and man, by ſacrificing their brother to the deſperate and unnatural enmity they had conceived againſt him. He uſed many arguments to diſcourage the aſſaſſination; but finding that neither religion, reaſon, nor humanity would prevail with his brethren, and that they were inflexibly determined againſt Joſeph, he ſuggeſted a way to mitigate the rigour of the ſentence they had pronounced. Addreſſing himſelf to them, he ſaid, "Since you are inexorably determined upon the deſtruction of the youth, do not aggravate your crime by ſhedding his blood: caſt him into ſome adjacent pit, and leave him there to periſh; by which means the crime itſelf will be leſſened in ſome degree, and you will evade the ſeverity of reproach." This qualifying propoſal being aſſented to, Reuben tied a cord round the body of Joſeph, and having carefully lowered him into a dry well, departed in ſearch of his ſheep.

Joſeph ſold to the Iſhmaelites.

Soon after this, a company of Arabian merchants* appeared, who were Iſhmaelites, and were on their way from Galaad, conveying ſpices and other articles, the produce of Syria, into Egypt. In order to diſpoſe of Joſeph ſo that they might never ſee him again, and yet not ſtain their hands with his blood, Judas propoſed ſelling him to theſe merchants; which being agreed to, he was taken up from the well, and the merchants paid twenty pieces of ſilver for him, and took him away. He was at this time ſeventeen years old.

The care of Reuben now was, to form ſuch excuſes to his father, as might prevent the ſuſpicion of unfair practices in his brethren. Some time was employed in debates upon this matter; and it was, at length, reſolved to take the travelling coat which had been ſtripped from Joſeph, and, after tearing it and ſtaining it with goat's blood, to produce it to Jacob, as an evidence that his child had been deſtroyed by ſome voracious animal. With this pretence, they went to their father, and ſhewed him the coat, in a torn and bloody condition; ſaid they had not ſeen him, and were apprehenſive he had fallen a prey to ſome wild beaſt. Jacob, who had before received ſome ſlight intimation of his ſon's misfortune, entertained a hope that he might have been taken priſoner, or, that he was detained by a ſtill more favourable accident: but upon ſeeing the bloody coat, he inſtantly knew it to be Joſeph's, and concluding him to have been devoured, clothed himſelf in ſackcloth, and gave way to the moſt paſſionate lamentations and inconſolable ſorrow for his ſuppoſed death.

† Dreaming has by many been conſidered as the living active ſtate of the ſoul during ſleep; and we find from many paſſages in the ſacred ſcripture, that while people were aſleep, God often revealed future events to them, either in a way of mercy, or upon ſome extraordinary occaſion. A viſible repreſentation was here made to Joſeph, that one day he would be ſuperior to his brethren; but all the effect it had on them was, to procure and increaſe their hatred to him, as appears by the ſequel.

* In the language of the preſent times, it is called a *caravan*; merchants not daring, even to this day, to travel alone, or in ſmall numbers, in thoſe eaſtern countries, through the deſerts, for fear of robbery or of wild beaſts.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Joseph is sold into Egypt. His exemplary Continence, when tempted to Lewdness by the Wife of Potiphar, who, at her Instigation, throws him into Prison.

Joseph in Egypt.

THE merchants who had purchased Joseph, proceeded to Egypt, and there sold him to Potiphar, an officer of distinguished rank in the service of king Pharaoh, by whom he was not treated as a menial servant, but, on the contrary, with every instance of liberality and kindness: he was allowed opportunities for cultivating the study of literature, and, in a short time, was advanced to be superintendent of Potiphar's house. This change of fortune had no effect upon the steady integrity of Joseph, the propriety and prudence of whose conduct afforded an instance that true virtue will not yield to the temptations and circumstances of life.

His mistress tempts him to commit lewdness.

He was remarkable for personal attractions; and the wife of his master soon distinguished his superior qualifications, and became violently enamoured of him. Presuming on the inferiority of Joseph's situation, she imagined that a motive of ambition would incite him to a ready acceptance of her offer, but entertained not the least idea of the inflexible dignity of his mind. She signified her intention to prostitute herself, by intimations too palpable to be misconceived: but upon the first hint, he rejected her invitation, and advised her utterly to suppress her unruly desires of what she could not possibly obtain; urging, that he could not return affront and treachery for the kindness and generosity he had experienced from his master. He said, he would chearfully obey her lawful commands, and should think himself highly honoured by them; but that he could not condescend to perform a guilty action. She was greatly disappointed by this refusal, which, however, served but more to inflame the passion she had conceived, and was determined to gratify; and for effecting this, she suggested the following stratagem: A festival was holden, whereon it was usual for the women of rank to assemble; she counterfeited indisposition, and remained in her chamber, where she procured Joseph to be introduced to her, and behaved to him with singular complacency and tenderness.

Joseph flies from the adulteress.

She accompanied her lascivious conversation with tears, prayers, and menaces; but all were ineffectual to seduce him from his duty; and, conscious that no punishment could be adequate to his demerits, should he yield to the solicitations of this base woman, he resolved to brave every danger, rather than to comply therewith. Neither did he omit to represent to her the duties she owed to herself, her husband, and the world*. He urged many arguments, to bring her back to a sense of decency and reason: but this was only adding fuel to flame; for, perceiving that she could effect nothing by intreaty, she had recourse to violence, and, seizing hold of his garment, endeavoured to force him to a compliance with her libidinous desires. But his indignation against this shameless woman rose to such a height, that, breaking from her, he hastily quitted the chamber, and left his garment in her hand. For a short interval, her mind was violently agitated, between the indignity of the repulse, and the apprehension of a discovery; but she quickly determined to shelter herself from every dangerous consequence, by accusing Joseph: thus, at once providing for her own security, and gratifying her malice. She, accordingly, confined herself closely to her chamber, affecting to be in great trouble and affliction. Just at this juncture, her husband came into the chamber, and, observing the disorder and confusion which was visible in her face, earnestly requested her to acquaint him with the cause thereof.

She made a most plausible speech accusing this innocent young man, which, together with the tears and passionate gestures with which it was accompanied, so effectually imposed on the credulity of Potiphar, that, without making any manner of inquiry into the foundation of the charge against Joseph, he ordered him to be confined in the common prison, which was appropriated to the reception of the most notorious criminals.

CHAP. IV.

In consequence of a groundless Accusation, Joseph is lodged in Prison. Circumstances attending him during his Confinement. His Interpretation of several Dreams.

Pious Conduct of Joseph in prison.

JOSEPH patiently submitted to his severe treatment, appearing neither solicitous to vindicate his own conduct, nor to destroy the credibility of the charge alledged against him; but, satisfied with his innocence, cherished the comfortable hope that the power of the supreme Being would enable him to rise superior to the rage of his malicious enemies; and the providence of God was shewn towards him in the following instance: the gaoler became so prejudiced in his favour, by the gracefulness of his person, his pleasing address, candour, diligence, and integrity, that he freed him of his irons, and shewed him other marks of favour

* Joseph does not reproach this shameless woman (as he justly might have done) with want of modesty, with indelicacy, and adultery; but nobly and piously urges the heinousness of the crime, calling it "a great wickedness, and sin against God;" and, in his expostulation with her, collects together all the aggravating circumstances that would attend his complying with her unlawful desires.

and reſpect, which his fellow-priſoners were not indulged with*.

Times were allowed for the priſoners to converſe together; and Pharaoh's butler, who formerly held a high place in the eſtimation of the king, being under confinement, on account of ſome diſpleaſure his maſter had conceived againſt him, an intimacy was contracted between him and Joſeph. This man, diſtinguiſhing Joſeph for the ſuperiority of his underſtanding, communicated to him a dream, and requeſted him to give an interpretation of it; ſaying, that his unhappineſs, conſequent on the king's diſpleaſure, was aggravated by the perplexity occaſioned by ſeveral extraordinary dreams and viſions. "I imagined," ſaid he, "that I beheld three bunches of ripe grapes, depending on three ſeveral branches of a vine: and that the king held a veſſel, into which I preſſed the fruit, and then preſenting the liquor to his majeſty, he pronounced it to be wine of a delicious flavour." Upon this relation, Joſeph informed him, that the king, having occaſion for his ſervices, would reſtore him to liberty, and re-eſtabliſh him in his office within the ſpace of three days. The butler was, as it may naturally be ſuppoſed, highly delighted with this interpretation, and waited with confidence for the event.

The butler's dream.

It happened that the chief baker of Pharaoh was confined in the ſame priſon. He alſo communicated a dream to Joſeph; hoping that it would bear an interpretation equally favourable with that of the chief butler. "I dreamt, laſt night," ſaid he, "that I had upon my head three baſkets, one containing meats of ſundry ſorts, and the other two containing bread for ſupplying the king's table. As I paſſed along, the birds, in ſpite of all my endeavours to drive them away, fell upon the proviſions with great eagerneſs, and intirely devoured them." Joſeph told him that his dream would not bear ſo favourable an explanation as he could wiſh. "The baſkets," ſaid he, "denote, that at the expiration of two days, you will infallibly be hanged on a tree†, and that your body will be expoſed, to be devoured by the fowls of the air."

The baker's dream.

Theſe explanations were verified in every particular; for, preciſely on the third day, as Joſeph had predicted, which was on the anniverſary of Pharaoh's birth, the king commanded the chief baker to be hanged, and re-inſtated the chief butler in his poſt. Two years had now elapſed, and Joſeph ſtill remained in priſon, utterly forſaken by the ungrateful butler: but he ſuddenly obtained his liberty, by the following extraordinary means:

Pharaoh's two dreams.

The king had two dreams in the ſame night, and the interpretation of them was revealed to him, during his ſleep. The viſion he recollected, but had totally forgotten every particular of the meaning, ſave that, in general, it betokened him no good. Pharaoh, early the next morning, convened an aſſembly of the moſt learned men of the realm, and deſired them to expound the viſions. They conſulted together on the ſubject, but were unable to ſolve the difficulty; and the king's chagrin was greatly increaſed by this diſappointment. The chief butler now recollected the proof which Joſeph had formerly given him of his ſkill in the art of interpretation. He, therefore, waited on the king, and related to him the circumſtances of the viſions which he himſelf, and the chief baker, formerly had in priſon, and of Joſeph's explanation thereof; which was, in every reſpect, confirmed by the events; adding, that Joſeph paſſed for an Hebrew, and was ſuppoſed to be of no mean extraction. Pharaoh, thereupon, ſent for Joſeph in haſte, received him with great courteſy, and, familiarly taking hold of his right-hand, addreſſed him in theſe words: "One of my domeſtics has repreſented you to me as a perſon of great learning and wiſdom; of which, he ſays, he has himſelf had frequent proofs, and that you particularly excel in a certain faculty, in which I chance at this time to have urgent occaſion to employ you. He informs me, that you are well verſed in the interpreting of dreams, and that you formerly explained a viſion which he had. I ſhall eſteem it as a favour, if you will do the like for me: but I muſt caution you, not to diſguiſe the truth, in the ſmalleſt degree, but to impart to me minutely the circumſtances, whether they may be propitious or otherwiſe. I imagined that, walking by the river's ſide‡, I ſaw ſeven large and well-fed oxen riſe from the water, and direct their courſe towards an adjacent paſture: after which, I ſaw ſeven lean oxen, and they paſſing from the paſture towards the river, encountered the firſt-mentioned ſeven, and devoured them; yet without appearing to have increaſed in bulk. Waking, I began to make ſome reflections on the nature of dreams, and, inſenſibly falling aſleep again, I had a ſecond viſion, of a ſtill more extraordinary and fearful kind than the former. I dreamt that I ſaw ſeven ears of corn growing upon one ſtem. They appeared to be ready to cut, and the ſtalks to bend

* As there is no doubt that the place of Joſeph's confinement was a ſtate priſon, allotted for the moſt dignified criminals, therefore his being intruſted with the care of it was a ſtrong proof of his upright conduct.

† The expreſſion in Gen. xl. 19. 20. "Pharaoh ſhall lift up thy head from off thee", &c. intimating, that his head ſhould be ſtruck off from his body; after which his carcaſe ſhould be hanged on a tree; it having been cuſtomary, in that country, firſt to behead the criminal and then to hang him up. That paſſage in Jeremiah, Lam. v. 12. "Princes were hanged up by their hand," alſo implies, that their heads were cut off before.

‡ This river was the famous Egyptian Nilus, or Nile, ſo frequently alluded to in profane hiſtory. It takes its riſe in Numidia, and runs northward through a country ſcorched with almoſt inſufferable heat. It continues its courſe as far as Grand Cairo, after which it divides itſelf into three branches, in form of a triangle, and finally empties itſelf into the Mediterranean. It overflows the greater part of Lower Egypt once a year, and from thence the plenty or ſcarcity of the ſeaſons are determined. If it riſes exceeding high, the water lies too long on the ground, and ſcarcity is the conſequence; and if it does not riſe to a certain height, the ſoil is not ſufficiently fertilized; ſo that the inhabitants are always very anxious with reſpect to the proportion of the annual overflow.

under



Lupton Sculp.

And on the third day was Pharoah's birth day, that he made a Feast unto all his Servants; his Butler he restored into favour; but he hanged the chief Baker.

under the weight of their burden. At a ſmall diſtance from theſe, I remarked ſeven other ears, which were very bare of grain; and, to my great amazement, theſe thin ears totally ſwallowed up the others."

Interpretation of the king's dreams.

Hereupon Joſeph informed the king, that but one interpretation could be given to both dreams. "The ſeven fat and ſeven lean oxen," ſaid he, "and the ſeven full and ſeven withered ears of corn, were meant to predict ſeven years of abundance, to be followed by ſeven years famine in Egypt; and by the lean cattle devouring the fat, and the blighted devouring the full ears of grain, an emblem was afforded, to ſhew that the plenty of the firſt ſeven years would be inſufficient to provide againſt the extremities of the ſeven to follow: and this appears to be demonſtrated by the lean oxen not being ſatisfied, when they had devoured the fat ones. The famine will, doubtleſs, be extreme. The purpoſes of heaven are not revealed ſolely to alarm and diſtreſs mankind, but are intimated with a view of inducing them to provide againſt future extremities: therefore, the calamities of the ſeven years of ſcarcity will be greatly alleviated, if it ſhall pleaſe your majeſty to iſſue your royal command for providing a ſupply againſt the time of need, by a neceſſary reſerve of ſtores during the years of plenty."

Joſeph the preſerver of Egypt, &c.

The penetration of Joſeph ſtruck the king with admiration, and he requeſted his advice to the moſt ſucceſsful method of guarding againſt the threatened diſtreſs. He adviſed a reduction of all ſuperfluous expences, and that quantities of corn ſhould be ſtored in magazines, and delivered out only in ſuch portions as ſhould be indiſpenſably required for the preſent ſubſiſtence, with a ſmall reſerve for ſeed at the end of the famine.

The credit Joſeph had obtained with Pharaoh, on account of his ſkill in the ſolution of dreams, was greatly improved by the above inſtance of his expert and ready turn for œconomy; and he, beſides, entertained ſo great a deference for the ſolidity of his judgment and the importance of his counſel, that he appointed him ſuperintendent of the ſtores, giving him full commiſſion and authority to adopt the meaſures he had ſuggeſted, and to execute them according as he ſhould himſelf judge moſt expedient. At the ſame time, the king conferred on him the office of keeper of his ſignet, and inveſted him with certain diſtinguiſhed privileges; ſuch as wearing a purple habit, and riding publicly in a chariot.

Joſeph made chief director of the affairs of Egypt.

Joſeph now began his progreſs through the kingdom, ſtoring up the corn in all parts where he came, and diſtributing among the farmers and huſbandmen ſuch a quantity only as would be barely ſufficient for the ſuſtenance of themſelves and their families; without making any perſon privy to the cauſe of his conduct on this occaſion.

CHAP. V.

Joſeph becomes the Favourite of the King. Particulars of what paſſed between himſelf and his Brethren, on their Arrival in Egypt.

JOSEPH had now attained his thirtieth year, and was ſo highly eſteemed for his wiſdom, that the king gave him the title of Pſonthomphanec, which, in the Egyptian language, ſignifies the *Diſcoverer of hidden things*.

Joſeph marries Aſenath.

He married Aſaneth, the daughter of Potiphera*, the high-prieſt of Heliopolis; and this match was effected by the mediation of the king himſelf. By her he had two children, previous to the famine, the eldeſt of whom he named Manaſſes, which ſignifies *Oblivion*, becauſe the preſent proſperity of Joſeph had cauſed him to forget his former misfortunes; and the younger was called Ephraim, or *Reſtitution*, on account of his being reſtored to the liberty enjoyed by his forefathers.

Beginning of the famine.

The ſeven predicted years of plenty were now expired, and in the eighth the ſcarcity began. This calamity ſpread an univerſal conſternation throughout the kingdom, and the people came in great bodies to the palace, ſoliciting relief. Joſeph took ſuch prudent meaſures, to alleviate the public diſtreſs, that the people unanimouſly hailed him as their deliverer. Not only the natives, but foreigners alſo, were ſupplied from the public granaries; it being the opinion of Joſeph, that all mankind were of the ſame family, and that the diſtreſs of the unfortunate gave them an indubitable claim to the aſſiſtance of thoſe in more proſperous circumſtances.

Joſeph's brethren come to Egypt to buy corn; and are ſeverely treated by him.

The famine was not confined to Egypt, ſeveral other countries, and particularly Canaan, being under the ſame predicament: and Jacob, having learnt that ſtrangers were permitted to purchaſe corn in Egypt, ſent all his children thither, for that purpoſe, ſave Benjamin, the brother of Joſeph by the ſame mother, whom he detained at home with him. Such was the influence which Joſeph poſſeſſed at court, that no favour could be obtained from the king, but through his intervention. The ten brethren, therefore, applied themſelves to him, on their arrival, for leave only to buy the quantity of grain they wanted. Joſeph immediately recollected his brethren, though they did not know him; neither

* This marriage of Joſeph was not with the daughter of Potiphar above, who was Joſeph's maſter; for this was a prieſt, the other captain of the guard; this was of On or Heliopolis, the other reſided at Memphis with the king; beſides, their names are ſomewhat different. Moſt of the Jewiſh writers however take them to be the ſame, and are followed by Origen and others. They tell us, that this daughter of Potiphar informed her father of the true ſtate of the caſe between Joſeph and his miſtreſs, that ſhe had ſolicited Joſeph, and not Joſeph her: And thus, by turning informer againſt her own mother, ſhe recommended herſelf to Joſeph's good graces.

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was it at all probable that they ſhould, he being very young at the time of their ſeparation, and now greatly altered in his perſon*. Perceiving that he was in no danger of being diſcovered by his brethren, Joſeph determined to make trial of them. He therefore, not only refuſed to ſupply them with corn, but alſo accuſed them of being ſpies. "My friends," ſaid he, "inſtead of brothers, as you pretend to be, you are no other than a band of conſpirators, of different countries. It is not probable that you, who plainly appear to be poſſeſſed of ſuch extraordinary qualifications, ſhould all be the ſons of a private individual, when ſcarcely any ſovereign on earth can boaſt of ſuch a progeny." The motive which influenced Joſeph to this conduct was, that he might thereby draw from his brethren ſome information of what had paſſed in the family ſince his departure, and whether his brother Benjamin was ſtill at home; being very apprehenſive leſt they ſhould have treated him in a manner ſimilar to what he experienced from them in his own perſon.

Their fearful apprehenſions; and Reuben's eloquent ſpeech.

The brethren were greatly alarmed with the proſpect of their danger, and clearly perceived, that the deſign of their long journey was effectually defeated. Reuben, however, took courage, and in the name of the reſt, addreſſed Joſeph in theſe words: "We do not come hither," ſaid he, "either with the view of penetrating into myſteries of ſtate, or of attempting any thing againſt the ſafety of the king, or the tranquillity of his government. It was merely the ſcarcity of bread which compelled us to reſort hither; or, ſhould I rather ſay, that your humanity, in throwing open your market to ſtrangers, as well as natives, has invited us. The very reſemblance which we bear to each other in our countenances, beſpeaks us, as we in reality are, the ſons of one man. Our father is, by birth, an Hebrew, and he is named Jacob. He had twelve ſons by four wives, and, whilſt they all lived, every thing proſpered with us; but from the time that one of the number, named Joſeph, was taken away from us, our misfortunes have continually accumulated. Our father ſtill repines at that loſs, and his inconſolable ſorrows afflict us equally with the untimely fate of our beloved brother. Our deſign in coming hither was, with your permiſſion, to buy corn; and, during our abſence from home, the care of our reverend father is intruſted to our younger brother, Benjamin. Should you have any doubts of the truth of what I have now advanced, you have only to diſpatch a meſſenger to our father, to be ſatisfied that I have not uttered a falſehood."

Joſeph, perceiving by this diſcourſe that his father and Benjamin were ſafe and in health, ordered his brethren into cloſe confinement, till he ſhould be at leiſure to examine them with greater ſtrictneſs. At the expiration of three days, he commanded them to be again brought before him; and, upon their entrance, addreſſed them thus: "You have aſſured me," ſaid he, "that you entertain no deſigns againſt the ſtate, and that you are all brethren, and the ſons of Jacob? In confirmation of the truth of what you have aſſerted, you ſhall leave one of your brethren with me, as an hoſtage, and the reſt ſhall carry home to your father the corn you purchaſe; after which you ſhall return hither, with your youngeſt brother, whom, you ſay, you have left at home; and this ſhall be the indiſpenſable teſt of the rectitude of your intentions. In the mean time, give yourſelves no concern about the hoſtage you leave with me, as he ſhall experience every indulgence during your abſence." This ſpeech afflicted them in the higheſt degree, and, conſidering themſelves to be on the very verge of ruin, they lamented their misfortune, and repeatedly obſerved to each other, that it was an effect of the divine vengeance, which purſued them for the barbarity of their conduct towards their unhappy brother. Reuben reproached them with the folly and inefficacy of their late repentance; frankly telling them, that they had no other remedy than patience, under the judgment which they had drawn upon themſelves by their wickedneſs. Thus they converſed together, in the perſuaſion that no one preſent underſtood their language. The bitter reflections which Reuben caſt on them ſo powerfully awakened their feelings, that Joſeph, who obſerved the violent agitation of their minds, was obliged to retire, leſt his emotions ſhould diſcover him. After a ſhort abſence, he returned to them, took Simeon‡ for an hoſtage, and gave the reſt a licence to purchaſe whatever corn they might want; but he ſecretly inſtructed one of his ſervants to put the money they ſhould pay for it into each man's baggage; which order was accordingly executed.

Joſeph requires Benjamin to be ſent, and retains Simeon as a pledge.

On their return into Canaan, they acquainted Jacob with all the particulars of their adventures in Egypt; concluding with an urgent requeſt to their father, to permit Benjamin to go with them at their return to that kingdom, in order to vouch for the truth of their former declarations, and to procure the releaſement of Simeon. Jacob was not at all ſatisfied with their conduct in leaving Simeon behind them; but he would not give the leaſt ear to the propoſal of ſending Benjamin thither with them, although Reuben offered to pledge the lives of his own children for the ſafe return of his brother. They were reduced, by this refuſal, to a terrible dilemma; to which the diſcovery of their money in their ſacks

* The dreſs and manners of the Egyptian court were undoubtedly adopted by Joſeph the favourite of Pharaoh; ſo that, in addition to his years, (twenty years having now elapſed ſince they ſold him to the Iſhmaelites,) there were ſufficient circumſtances to diſguiſe him from the knowledge of his brethren, who appeared in the dreſs, and ſpoke the language of Canaan.

‡ Simeon is ſelected from his brethren as an hoſtage, becauſe he was a principal active in this cruel and unnatural behaviour againſt Joſeph.

greatly



Luyken inv.

Joseph grants an audience to his Brethren.

greatly contributed. But, their proviſions being nearly exhauſted, Jacob, at times, ſeemed to be partly inclined to permit his ſon, Benjamin, to accompany the reſt of his brethren, being convinced that they muſt never think of returning to Egypt, unleſs they complied with the terms which had been preſcribed to them, at their departure from thence. Their wants ſtill increaſing, the brothers were very urgent upon their father to comply with what had been propoſed to him; but Jacob ſtill refuſed to liſten to them, till at length, Judas, a man of a reſolute temper, and great freedom of ſpeech, adopted another method to engage his father to yield his conſent to what they required of him. "In my opinion," ſaid he to Jacob, "you expreſs too great a degree of ſolicitude for the ſafety of Benjamin. Whether he goes with us, or continues at home, he muſt ſtill ſubmit to whatever God ſhall ordain. Yet you ſeem inclined to ſuffer us all to periſh, for want of food, which muſt inevitably happen, if we ſhould forfeit the favour of Pharaoh, through an ill-founded fear of what may happen to our brother. But would you not blame yourſelf ſeverely, ſhould the Egyptians put Simeon to death in the mean time? Place an intire confidence in the power of the Almighty, and reſt aſſured, that I will either conduct our brother back in ſafety, or periſh in the attempt."

Joſeph's brethren, with Benjamin, ſent again into Egypt.

Jacob, at length, ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded, and delivered the child into their care; furniſhing them with a double portion of money, that they might pay for the corn they had purchaſed in the former journey, and with preſents of balm, myrrh, turpentine, honey, and other productions of the land of Canaan, for the uſe of the officer with whom they were to treat for the grain they intended to buy. Thus provided, they began their journey; leaving Jacob in the utmoſt anxiety for the ſafe return of his beloved children, and being themſelves very apprehenſive leſt this ſeparation ſhould ſo far affect their father, as to be the cauſe of his death.

They are favourably received.

Immediately on their arrival in Egypt, they waited on Joſeph; not without ſome fear, that the circumſtance of their diſcovering the money in their ſacks would be imputed to them as a fraud. When they mentioned the matter, however, to Joſeph's ſteward, he utterly diſavowed all knowledge of the tranſaction. They now, therefore, began to take courage, more eſpecially when they ſaw their brother Simeon had obtained his liberty. Joſeph inquired after the health of his father, and other particulars: and his apprehenſions for Benjamin being now removed, he aſked him whether he was the younger brother, whom they had before mentioned to him; to which they replied in the affirmative. He thereupon exclaimed, "God's providence is conſtantly over all his works;" and withdrew, with tears in his eyes, to indulge the impulſe of nature. The ſame evening he invited them to ſup with him, and placed them at the table in the ſame order in which they were accuſtomed to ſit at their father's houſe, conducting himſelf towards them with all imaginable courteſy; but the portion allotted to Benjamin was double that of either of his brethren*.

Stratagem to detain Benjamin.

Joſeph gave orders, after the repaſt was finiſhed, that their corn ſhould be meaſured, and that each man's money ſhould be put into his ſack, as before; ſecretly inſtructing his ſteward, to convey a certain ſilver cup, which he uſed at his meals, into that particular ſack which belonged to Benjamin. His intention in this was, to try whether, in caſe Benjamin ſhould be detained for the pretended theft, the reſt would remain with him, for the purpoſe of obtaining his releaſement; or whether they would not rather abandon him to his fate, and return to their father. The orders given on this occaſion were punctually executed.

The brethren ſtopt on their journey, and accuſed of theft.

The next morning, by break of day, they began their journey, totally unconſcious of the deſign which was in agitation againſt them, and pleaſing themſelves with the reflection, that they had both Simeon and Benjamin in their company, whom, they truſted, they ſhould deliver up ſafe to their father, according to their promiſe. They had not proceeded far, before they found themſelves ſuddenly ſurrounded by a party of horſe, accompanied by the ſervant who had been commiſſioned to ſecrete the cup in Benjamin's baggage. This unexpected event incenſed them to a high degree, and they exclaimed bitterly againſt the people who had ſo recently treated them with the moſt remarkable honour and hoſpitality. The Egyptians, on the other hand, reproached them, in terms equally ſevere, with the baſeneſs of returning injuries for the numerous civilities and benefits they had received, and threatened them with a ſpeedy puniſhment, adequate to their demerits; telling them, that howſoever ſecretly they might imagine they had perpetrated this crime, there was an all-ſeeing eye above, from which it was not poſſible to conceal their iniquity. In this manner the Egyptians continued to reproach them, but the ſervant was more vociferous and inſulting than the reſt; inſomuch that the unfortunate brethren concluded that he was little leſs than inſane. They urged the improbability of their committing a crime of that nature, ſince, uninfluenced by any conſiderations but thoſe of honour and juſtice, they had, with the ſtricteſt fidelity, reſtored the money which they had paid for the corn, and afterwards found put into

* This has been laughed at by Deiſts and Infidels; but they do not conſider that it was the cuſtom of the ancients to diſtinguiſh thoſe whom they meant to honour, by an increaſe of proviſion, and many changes of raiment. If theſe gentlemen will give themſelves the trouble to read Homer in the original, or, what perhaps may be more eaſy to them, Mr. Pope's Verſification of it, they will find this circumſtance frequently alluded to, particularly in Agamemnon's Addreſs to Idomenæus.

their ſacks. "But," ſaid they, "the moſt effectual way to evince our innocence or guilt, will be to ſearch our baggage, to which we are ready to ſubmit with the utmoſt confidence; and ſhould any of us be found to have committed this action, we are all willing to ſuffer whatever puniſhment he may be deemed to have deſerved."

The Egyptians, accordingly, began to examine each man's baggage; declaring, however, that no one but the perſon in whoſe cuſtody the cup ſhould actually be found, ſhould meet with the leaſt moleſtation†. They had now examined all the baggages, ſave that of Benjamin, without effect, and the brethren were felicitating themſelves on the proſpect of being quickly rid of theſe troubleſome people, when, upon opening his ſack, the cup inſtantly appeared. This unexpected diſcovery plunged them into inconceivable anguiſh; they burſt into tears, tore their garments, and uſed the moſt extravagant geſtures, declaring that themſelves and their brother were inevitably ruined by this accident; and, with the moſt poignant lamentations, deplored their incapacity to fulfil the promiſe they had made to their father, on leaving him, to convey Benjamin home in ſafety.

Their diſtreſs, and return to Egypt.

Benjamin was conducted in chains before Joſeph, his brethren accompanying him. Joſeph received them with an aſſumed ſternneſs, and reproached them in terms ſimilar to theſe: "Is it thus, ye baſeſt of men, that, regardleſs of the hoſpitable treatment you have received, and contemning the anger of an offended Deity, you give the moſt ſenſible affront to your patron and benefactor?" The reſt of the brethren earneſtly requeſted that their lives might be accepted, in lieu of that of the unfortunate Benjamin. They repeatedly obſerved to each other, how much the ſituation of Joſeph, if actually dead, was to be envi[illegible] in compariſon with theirs; or, if he was ſtill li[illegible]g, how much it redounded to his honour, that the vengeance of God ſhould thus be exerted againſt them, in conſequence of their cruelty to him. They alſo reproached themſelves with being the authors both of the preſent as well as the former ſorrows of their unhappy father; Reuben continually recalling to their minds the guilt of their brother's murder. Joſeph, pretending to deliberate for ſome time on the courſe he ſhould take, told them, at length, that, as he neither thought himſelf juſtified in puniſhing the innocent indiſcriminately with the guilty, nor in releaſing the culpable at the inſtance of thoſe who bore no part in the perpetration of the crime, they were at liberty to return home when they pleaſed, and that he ſhould content himſelf with detaining Benjamin, to receive the puniſhment due to his offence.

This ſpeech threw them into the utmoſt conſternation; but Judas, a man of courage and abilities, and who alone had been able to prevail on his father to part with Benjamin, reſolved to defy every danger in the attempt to ſave him, and, accordingly, addreſſed himſelf to Joſeph in theſe words: "We do not pretend to deny, moſt excellent governor, that the crime charged upon our brother is of a heinous nature, and merits a ſevere puniſhment. It is certain that the guilt of the action can be imputed to one only of our number, and he chances to be the youngeſt; yet we are all willing to yield up our lives for the preſervation of his."

The ſpeech of Judas.

Judas, and the reſt of his brethren, then threw themſelves at Joſeph's feet, to ſolicit him in behalf of their brother Benjamin. The paſſions of tenderneſs and brotherly affection now became ſo powerful in the breaſt of Joſeph, that he could no longer ſupport the character he had aſſumed *, but ordered his attendants to retire, that he might diſcover himſelf to his brethren without witneſſes; and being alone with them, he addreſſed them in theſe words: "I am infinitely happy," ſaid he, "to ſee you thus tenderly affected towards your brother; as, I muſt confeſs, I could not refrain from entertaining ſome doubts of your regard for him, when I reflected on certain circumſtances of your former conduct, with reſpect to myſelf. In the whole of my late behaviour towards you, I propoſed only to put your affection to the teſt; and, from the event, I am convinced that, by whatever motives you were actuated in all your proceedings relative to me, yet the providence of God has wonderfully interpoſed therein, making thoſe actions the means of procuring for us the happineſs which we at this time enjoy, and the proſpect of greater bleſſings in future.

Joſeph makes himſelf known to his brethren.

"But, as I now find my father to be in ſuch a ſituation as I could rather have wiſhed, than expected; and that you have all that affection in your tempers, which is the true characteriſtic of brethren; all paſt injuries are forgotten, and I ſhould rather return you my thanks, as the agents of Divine Providence, for our common benefit, than recall to your remembrance any tranſactions of ancient date, which might, perhaps, at the time, appear to have an evil tendency. I deſire that you will forget all theſe matters, and not render yourſelves uneaſy by

† Various reaſons are given by commentators for Joſeph's making uſe of this ſtratagem to detain his brethren; but perhaps he intended no more than to find a judicious pretence for ſtopping Benjamin, being ignorant of the peremptory charge which Jacob had given with regard to this favourite child.

* We are told in the former part of the narration, that Joſeph found great difficulty to conceal himſelf ſo long; that he was obliged now and then to withdraw, in order to give vent to his tears; and after that, compoſing himſelf, he returned. But now his tender paſſions are wrought up to ſuch a pitch, by this laſt ſcene, eſpecially by the moving ſpeech which Judah makes him, that he can contain himſelf no longer; nature burſts through all reſtraint, and forces the *diſcovery*, even in ſpite of himſelf, and the regard he had to thoſe who were preſent: for it is obſerved, *he could not refrain himſelf, before all them that ſtood by him.* Gen. xlv. 1.

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the recollection of former ill deſigns, which never took effect; ſince it has pleaſed the Almighty thus to bring good out of evil.

"Return, therefore, to your father, with the happy tidings of the unexpected bleſſings which God hath conferred on you. Haſten your departure, leſt his very ſorrows and fears ſhould bring any ill accident upon him; which would utterly deſtroy all the comfort I propoſe to myſelf in ſeeing him once again, and in participating with him the bleſſings which I now enjoy. Begone, therefore, and return with all poſſible diſpatch; and do not neglect to bring with you, your wives, children, and all your kindred: as, at this time in particular, when there are yet five years of the famine unexpired, I ſhould be very unwilling that my deareſt friends ſhould remain at ſo great a diſtance from me." Joſeph then tenderly embraced his brethren, who, with many tears, acknowledged and lamented their baſe practices againſt ſo worthy a brother. He afterwards entertained them at ſupper.

On their departure homewards, the king ordered ſeveral waggons laden with corn, gold, and ſilver, and various other preſents to be ſent to their father; to which Joſeph added many others from himſelf; ſome being intended for the father, others for the brothers themſelves, but the moſt valuable portion was deſtined for Benjamin.

CHAP. VI.

Jacob, having learnt the ſplendid Condition of his Son Joſeph, in Egypt, repairs thither, accompanied by his whole Family.

Jacob repairs to Egypt.

WHEN the ſons of Jacob returned to their father, they acquainted him that Joſeph was ſtill living, and enjoying great authority and magnificence, and holding, next to Pharaoh, the moſt diſtinguiſhed rank in the Egyptian dominions. Jacob readily credited what was told; and theſe extraordinary incidents furniſhed him with many reflections on the infinity of God's grace and kindneſs to him; and without any further delay, he began his journey to Egypt*.

Jacob, ſeeking the divine direction, is favoured with a viſion.

When Jacob arrived at the *Well of the Oath*, he offered an oblation to God; yet fearing, leſt the plenteous ſtate of Egypt ſhould ſeduce his ſons to ſettle there, and thus divert them from returning again to Canaan, the country which God had promiſed him for an inheritance. He was alſo partly apprehenſive, leſt God ſhould inflict ſome calamity on him and his followers, as a puniſhment for undertaking the preſent journey, without firſt imploring his advice and direction; or, leſt he ſhould die before his arrival in Egypt†. In the midſt of theſe reflections, he fell into a profound ſleep, during which the Almighty appeared to him in a viſion, and called him twice by his name. Jacob demanded, who it was that called him? and the Lord anſwered him thus: "Haſt thou, then, forgotten thy God, Jacob? the God of thy forefathers, who never rejected the prayer either of them or their poſterity, in the time of their need; that God who placed thee at the head of thy family, contrary to the inclination of thy father; and, when thou didſt retire into Meſopotamia, being at that time unmarried, bleſſed thee with an advantageous match, and brought thee back to thine own country, full of riches, and with a numerous progeny; that God, who hath been the perpetual protector and guardian of thy family, and hath preferred thy ſon Joſeph to a ſtation in Egypt next in honour to that of the king? I am now come to be thy guide on the way, and to intimate to thee that thou ſhalt finiſh thy life in the arms of thy ſon Joſeph; that thy deſcendents ſhall be powerful and renowned for many ages, and ſhall, at length, poſſeſs the land which I have promiſed them." This viſion gave Jacob freſh courage, and he continued his journey with his family, conſiſting of ſeventy perſons.

Affecting interview between Jacob and Joſeph.

When Jacob and his company had travelled a part of the way, Judas was diſpatched to give notice of their approach to Joſeph, who immediately ſet out to meet his father, and they accordingly met at a place called Heliopolis. The joy of this interview was ſuch, that both father and ſon almoſt ſunk under mutual tranſport. Joſeph afterwards, accompanied by five of his brethren, haſted away to acquaint the king with his father's arrival, deſiring the reſt of the company to continue their journey at a moderate pace.

Pharaoh's kindneſs to them.

Pharaoh expreſſed great ſatisfaction on receiving the news, and inquired of Joſeph what profeſſion his kindred chiefly followed; who replied, that they had been wholly accuſtomed to a paſtoral life. He anſwered thus for two reaſons: firſt, that they might, by this means, be kept together, and thereby be enabled to give the neceſſary attendance to their father; and, ſecondly, to obviate all cauſe of jealouſy between them and the Egyptians, by any interference of the former in the employments to which the latter devoted their time. Jacob was introduced to the king, and met with a very gracious reception. Pharaoh, aſking him his age, and receiving for anſwer, that he was in his hundred and thirtieth year, manifeſted ſome ſurprize at the circumſtance; which being noticed by Jacob, he acquainted the king, that his anceſtors uſually lived to a much later period. Jacob and

* This narrative of Joſephus is beautiful; but cannot be compared with the inexpreſſible elegance and native ſimplicity we meet with in that of the ſacred Hiſtorian, recorded in Geneſis.

† Upon ſeveral accounts, Jacob might be afraid to go into Egypt, eſpecially with his whole family: Abraham had been injured there, Gen. xii. 15. It had been foretold, that his ſeed ſhould be afflicted by the Egyptians, xv. 13. and Iſaac had been warned not to go into Egypt, xxvi. 2. Add to this, the Egyptians were people of very different manners and religion from thoſe of the Hebrews, xliii. 32.

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his family had a reſidence aſſigned them by the king, at Heliopolis, where the royal flocks were conſtantly kept.

Dreadful increaſe of the famine.

At this time, the famine in Egypt became daily more grievous. The waters of the Nile, that ſource of fertility to the country, were dried up; nor had they any rain, to ſupply the defect. The bulk of the people were, in conſequence, involved in the utmoſt miſery imaginable; being, through want of foreſight, totally deſtitute of ſuſtenance, which could not be obtained but for ready money; and, when that failed, they were obliged to barter their lands, cattle, ſlaves, and what other effects they had, in exchange for corn. Thus the poſſeſſions of the whole community came, by degrees, into the hands of the king; and the wretched people ſubmitted to every inconvenience and miſery, to preſerve themſelves from ſtarving. The prieſts were the only claſs of people, throughout the kingdom, who, in the general calamity, retained the poſſeſſion of their property and freedom*.

Joſeph's happy policy.

In conſequence of the Nile's having reſumed its ancient ſtate, and the refreſhing ſhowers again deſcending, to fertilize the ſoil, the famine began gradually to abate, and the face of the country once more put on its wonted appearance. Joſeph, hereupon, made a progreſs through all the principal towns and cities of the kingdom, and, ſummoning the inhabitants together, re-inſtated them in the poſſeſſion of their lands, which they had ſold to the king, on a condition that they ſhould pay a fifth part of the produce thereof for the uſe of their ſovereign; ſtrictly enjoining them to be equally ſedulous in the improvement of the ground, and, of courſe, in promoting his majeſty's intereſt, as if the whole of the land was their own property. This unexpected reſtitution rejoiced the people to that degree, that they with the utmoſt alacrity ſet about repairing the damage which their lands had ſo lately ſuſtained. This truly magnanimous act of juſtice, which had been ſuggeſted to the king by Joſeph, greatly increaſed his reputation and influence, both with the ſovereign and the people: and, from this time, the above fifth part was, by an act of the ſtate, ſettled upon the crown in perpetuity.

CHAP. VII.

Jacob dies in the Arms of his Children. The Death of Joſeph.

Death of Jacob.

JACOB having reſided ſeventeen years in Egypt, and arrived to the age of an hundred and forty-ſeven years, reſigned his breath while in the embraces of his children, invoking heaven to beſtow health and plenty upon them, and to proſper them in all their undertakings. Before his deceaſe, he predicted that their iſſue ſhould acquire the dominion of a part of the land of Canaan, and this was verified by the events which will be related hereafter. He highly applauded the virtuous conduct of Joſeph, in generouſly returning offices of friendſhip for the iniquity which had been manifeſted towards him; and, in fine, he expreſſed a more tender conſideration even for his enemies, than was uſual for moſt others to entertain for their deareſt friends. He particularly enjoined them to admit Joſeph's ſons, Ephraim and Manaſſes, as ſharers with them in the diviſion of the land of Canaan. Jacob experienced the particular bleſſings of heaven, which were beſtowed upon him as a reward for his uniform practice of virtue, and a due reverence to his Creator, whereby he rendered himſelf equally eminent with the moſt diſtinguiſhed of his anceſtors. Having expreſſed a deſire that his remains might be depoſited in Hebron, Joſeph obtained the king's permiſſion, and cauſed the body to be removed to that place, where the funeral was ſolemnized with great magnificence.

Joſeph comforts his brethren.

The ceremony being over, the brothers were greatly alarmed, dreading that, as they had been deprived of their only mediator in their deceaſed father, Joſeph might execute a juſt and ſevere revenge for the injuries he had ſuſtained, and on this conſideration, for their perſonal ſafety, they judged it improper to return; but Joſeph removed all their ſcruples, and beſtowed upon them valuable and large poſſeſſions, and in every inſtance behaved to them with generous reſpect and brotherly affection. Joſeph departed this life at the age of one hundred and ten years †. He was a man of rigid virtue and great prudence, and he exerciſed the power intruſted to him with ſuch judgment, modeſty, and forbearance, as to acquire the veneration of all ranks of people; and his character was ſo perfectly eſtabliſhed, and free from every injurious imputation, that even the aſperſions of Potiphar's wife were diſcredited. He was advanced to the moſt exalted offices in the government; and the ſuperiority of his qualifications and unimpeached integrity ſecured him from envy and reproach, while his penetration and addreſs in buſineſs gave him the ſingular advantage of eaſily conquering

His death and excellent character.

* The prieſts of Egypt were compoſed of the nobles; they were the king's counſellors and principal agents. They were well ſkilled in aſtronomy, and occupied the chief offices in the ſtate. Joſeph did not purchaſe their eſtates, becauſe of the greatneſs of their authority, and the ſacredneſs of their perſon and property: they were conſequently under no neceſſity of diſpoſing of their lands during the famine, eſpecially as the king diſtributed among them a ſufficiency of proviſions for the uſe of themſelves and families.

† The bones of Joſeph were not carried out of Egypt till the miraculous departure of the Iſraelites from thence, though the remains of the other Patriarchs were interred in Hebron.

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The BURIAL of JACOB.

ſuch difficulties as others would not have attempted to overcome. The reſt of the brethren remained in Egypt, enjoying the greateſt happineſs; and after their deceaſe, their bodies were conveyed to Hebron, and there buried. The remains of Joſeph were the laſt removed; as he had directed, they were conveyed into Canaan, at the period when the Hebrews evacuated the country.

We ſhall firſt ſhew the occaſion and manner of theſe people quitting Egypt, and then proceed to the relation of their hiſtory and adventures.

CHAP. VIII.

The wretched Condition of the Hebrews in Egypt, for the Term of four hundred Years. Moſes is born. The wonderful Interpoſition of Providence in his Preſervation, by the means of Pharaoh's Daughter.

Envious conduct of the Egyptians towards the Hebrews.

THE Egyptians are habitually a peeviſh, indolent nation, equally addicted to the indulgence of pleaſure and the accumulation of wealth, by whatever baſe means it could be obtained. It is not at all ſurpriſing, therefore, that they ſhould caſt an eye of envy on the Hebrews, who, they perceived, were in direct contradiction to their genius, an active and laborious people, abounding in numbers and wealth: a people, in ſhort, whoſe proſperity they could not behold without regret; being apprehenſive, moreover, that they might in time, from the increaſe of their riches and numbers, become dangerous neighbours *. The government of the kingdom having paſſed into other hands, and the ancient ſervices which Joſeph had rendered the ſtate being totally forgotten, the Iſraelites were no longer conſidered in the light of friends, but of ſlaves; the Egyptians racking their inventions to diſcover new modes of harraſſing and oppreſſing them.

Severe bondage of the Iſraelites.

In the proſecution of this deſign, they employed them in draining rivers, and directing their courſe into new channels; walling of towns, throwing up banks to repel inundations, and forming dykes; nay, even in erecting uſeleſs and fantaſtic pyramids; forcing them to acquire the knowledge of various painful and pernicious occupations, and condemning them to a life of continual labour. Such was the bondage to which they were ſubjected for nearly four hundred years; the Egyptians endeavouring, by the hardſhips which they cauſed them to endure, totally to extirpate them; while the Hebrews, on the other hand, ſubmitted to their misfortunes with a reſignation truly exemplary.

* It is very likely that Joſephus here uſes the liberty of other hiſtorians, and diſcovers an unwarrantable partiality to his countrymen, and unjuſt ſentiments of the Egyptians: Moſes, on the contrary, pays them no compliments, but ſays, that the Iſraelites were a perverſe and ſtubborn generation.

Prediction concerning Moſes.

While matters were in this ſtate, a report was ſpread, which raiſed the rancour of the Egyptians againſt them to a greater height than before; inſomuch that they now determined utterly to deſtroy them from the face of the earth. A certain ſcribe, a man particularly famous for his knowledge in future events, predicted to the king that a Hebrew child would be born nearly about that period, who, if he lived to attain the age of manhood, would be a ſcourge to the people of Egypt, highly advance the glory of his own nation, and would acquire immortal fame by his virtue and bravery. This intelligence gave ſuch an alarm to the king, that, by the advice of the ſcribe, he commanded the Egyptian midwives diligently to attend the delivery of every Hebrew woman; preſerving each female infant, and caſting every male into the river. He intruſted the execution of this order to the Egyptian women, as being leaſt likely to neglect the ſtrict performance of it from any motive of pity; and enjoined them, upon pain of death to themſelves and their families, not to ſecrete any child, or, in the leaſt reſpect, to deviate from this command †. This decree was inhuman to an extreme: firſt, as it deprived ſo many parents of their children; ſecondly, as it rendered the parents themſelves acceſſories to the deſtruction of their own offſpring; and, laſtly, as it tended to the utter extinction of the whole race of Hebrews. Their ſituation now ſeemed deſperate; but the providence of God will ever be ſuperior to all human cunning and violence; for this child, of whom the ſcribe had foretold, was born, and ſecretly and ſafely nurtured, in ſpite of all the methods put in practice to deſtroy him, and lived to verify the predictions concerning him. All this was effected in the following manner.

Pharaoh's cruel decree.

Amram's prayer anſwered by a viſion.

There was an Hebrew, named Amram, a man of high rank, and great reputation, whom this decree affected in a particular manner; both as it tended to the extermination of the Jewiſh people, and alſo as it particularly regarded his own family, his wife being at that time pregnant. In this emergency he prayed to God, that he would commiſerate the preſent wretched condition of a people who had never deviated from his worſhip: that he would be their director and preſerver; and that he would, at a proper ſeaſon, extricate them from a calamity which threatened nothing leſs than the utter extirpation of the whole race. The Almighty liſtened to his prayer, and appearing to him in a dream, told him, that as he had not forgotten the piety of his anceſtors, neither would he neglect to reward him alſo according to his merits; encouraging him to hope for a favourable change. When Amram awaked, he commu-

† Had this inhuman edict been intruſted to the hands of the Hebrew midwives, it certainly had failed of its effect; Pharaoh, therefore, in this inſtance, added the wiſdom of the ſerpent to his own malignity, in the iſſuing this barbarous decree.

nicated his dream to his wife Jochabel, and they were greatly embarraſſed, not knowing what conſtruction to put upon this extraordinary viſion. Soon after this the time of Jochabel's pregnancy expired, and ſhe was delivered with little pain, and in ſo ſhort a time, that the child came into the world before the Egyptian midwives could be called to her aſſiſtance: this circumſtance occaſioned them to put more confidence in what had been foretold to Amram in his dream.

The birth of Moſes,

The child having been kept for three months in the moſt ſecret manner, Amram became apprehenſive leſt a diſappointment of the prediction, and the deſtruction of father, mother, and infant, ſhould be the conſequence of a diſcovery, and therefore reſolved to leave the diſpoſal of events intirely to the direction of Providence. He revolved in his mind the difficulty and danger of a longer concealment, ſuggeſting that if the child ſhould be ſecreted from obſervation, yet many difficulties and infinite hazard muſt attend himſelf and his family; but he entertained not the leaſt doubt of the veracity of the Almighty, nor of his power to preſerve them from the dangers which appeared to hang over them at that period. They accordingly determined to expoſe the child. For this purpoſe they framed a kind of baſket of bulruſhes* twiſted together, and having pitched the joints, to keep out the water, put the child into it, and ſet it afloat; offering up, at the ſame time, the moſt fervent prayers to God to interpoſe his providence for the preſervation of the infant. The daughter of Jochabel, named Mariam, was ordered by her mother to walk on the oppoſite bank of the river, and to obſerve what became of the child. The following inſtance may ſerve to convince mankind, that it is in vain for human wiſdom to oppoſe the will and pleaſure of ſupreme Being; and that ſuch perſons as, from motives either of advantage or ſecurity, contrive the ruin of others, with whatever ſubtilty their deſigns may be concerted, will find their malicious intentions finally defeated: while thoſe, on the other hand, who calmly and patiently ſubmit to the divine will, ſhall be extricated from their troubles, and ſometimes by ſupernatural means.

Who is expoſed on the water;

It chanced that Thermuthis, the king's daughter, was, at this juncture, taking the air by the river's ſide, and perceiving ſomething floating at a diſtance, ſhe ordered a ſwimmer to go into the water and bring it on ſhore; when the princeſs found it was a child which her attendant was bringing to her, ſhe was highly delighted with the circumſtance. She inſtantly directed that ſome women ſhould be immediately ſought for, to ſuckle the infant. Several were accordingly brought and tried, but without effect, as the babe ſhewed the utmoſt averſion to take the breaſt. Mariam, who came to the ſpot at the time, apparently from mere curioſity, obſerved to the princeſs, that the method then taken would anſwer no purpoſe; "For," ſaid ſhe, "the child being of one country and the nurſe of another, it is not likely that the milk of the ſtranger ſhould be either wholeſome or palatable to him; but, if any Hebrew woman could be procured, he may, perhaps, receive her milk with readineſs and ſatisfaction." This propoſal appeared ſo reaſonable to the princeſs, that ſhe ordered Mariam to endeavour to find ſuch a nurſe without delay. She returned, in a ſhort time, with the mother of the child, who was totally unknown to the princeſs and all preſent; and no ſooner did Jochabel offer the infant the breaſt, than he began to ſuck with the utmoſt eagerneſs; which being remarked by the king's daughter, ſhe deſired her to take charge of the infant. Thus, as a ſpecial inſtance of God's favour to Moſes, he was ſaved from impending death; and was nurtured and educated by thoſe very perſons who had devoted the whole race of the Hebrews to deſtruction on his account alone †.

And afterwards preſerved by Pharaoh's daughter.

The child was named Mo-Yſes, with reference to the circumſtance of his preſervation; Mo, in the Egyptian language, denoting *water*, and Yſes ſignifying *preſerved* ‡. This child became, in proceſs of time, beyond diſpute, the moſt accompliſhed perſon throughout the kingdom, as the Almighty had predicted to Amram. He was deſcended, in the ſixth generation, from Abraham; his father Amram being the ſon of Caath, the ſon of Levi, the ſon of Jacob, the ſon of Iſaac, who was the ſon of Abraham. As he grew up, he manifeſted a maturity of underſtanding far ſuperior to his years. His childiſh amuſements partook of ſeriouſneſs, and were of ſuch a nature as even to convey inſtruction, all his actions being accompanied with ſuch a grace, as gave the world a ſpecimen of what might be expected from him in future. At three years of age, the beauty of his perſon created univerſal admiration, and rendered him pleaſing to men of the moſt cynical and moroſe diſpoſition.

Extraordinary endowments of Moſes.

Thermuthis, from a principle of pure affection to the child, and being herſelf unmarried, determined to adopt him. She introduced him to her father, whom ſhe addreſſed, on the occaſion, in theſe words: "This infant is of the ſweeteſt and moſt tractable diſpoſition that can be imagined. I have brought him up myſelf, and am indebted to the bounty of the Nile for the precious gift. It is my intention to adopt him; and I now preſent him to you as a ſucceſſor to your

Who is adopted by Thermuthis.

* It is moſt probable that what is here rendered bulruſhes, were the flags of the tree papyrus, of which the Egyptians made their paper; and Clemens Alexandrinus confirms this aſſertion.

† Profane writers aſſert, that Thermuthis being married, and having no iſſue, ſhe pretended pregnancy, and that ſhe was delivered of a male child, who was this Moſes.

‡ This etymology of Moſes is confuted by Scaliger, in his notes upon the fragment of Berоſus, p. 48.

throne."

throne." The king received the child from her hands with an affectionate tenderneſs, and fondling him, to gratify his daughter's humour, took the crown from his own head, and placed it on that of the child, who, handling it in a wanton, careleſs manner, let it fall to the ground, after which he trampled on it.

Prediction concerning Moſes.

This incident was conſidered, by thoſe preſent, as a bad omen, both to the king and the ſtate; inſomuch that the ſcribe, formerly mentioned, declared aloud, that the boy ought to be deſtroyed; for this, ſaid he, addreſſing himſelf to the king, "is the child, who, I predicted to you, would bring deſtruction upon Egypt; and he has, in the preſent inſtance, partly verified the prophecy, by the contempt he has manifeſted for your government, in thus treading your crown under his feet. This is he, in ſhort, from whoſe death alone you can hope for the peaceful enjoyment of your authority; and, by adopting my advice, you will deprive the Hebrews of all hope, and will remove every future cauſe of apprehenſion in the Egyptians." The king, however, gave no heed to this warning, but ſuffered his daughter to remove the child, without the leaſt oppoſition: a further inſtance of the eminent favour with which the Almighty conſtantly diſtinguiſhed Moſes. The liberal education which the princeſs beſtowed on him, created an expectation in the Hebrews that he would, in the courſe of time, effect their deliverance; while the Egyptians, on the other hand, were equally apprehenſive of miſchief from the ſame cauſe: but, as they had no proſpect of a ſucceſſor to the throne worthy of that dignity, the barbarous deſign, which had been concerted againſt Moſes, was ſuffered to drop.

CHAP. IX.

The Exploits of Moſes in the War againſt the Ethiopians.*

The Ethiopian war.

SUCH was the education which Moſes received; and as he approached to manhood, he gave repeated proofs of his conduct and courage, and of the eminence which it might be expected he would acquire in future by his military atchievements. He particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf for his ſkill in the ſcience of war on the following occaſion.

The Ethiopians had made an incurſion upon the territories of Egypt, and laid waſte a conſiderable tract of the country. This action highly incenſed the Egyptians, who raiſed a numerous army, with the view of taking ample vengeance for the inſult and injury. A battle enſued, and the Egyptians were defeated; a certain number were killed in the action, and the reſt ſhamefully repulſed, and driven back to their own home. The Ethiopians purſued their advantage ſo cloſely, that they over-ran the whole country as far as Memphis, and from thence to the ſea; burning and deſtroying every thing whereever they came, without oppoſition on the part of the inhabitants. In this dilemma, the Egyptians applied themſelves to their prieſts and oracles for advice. The anſwer they received was, that they muſt ſolicit the aſſiſtance of a certain Hebrew to extricate them from their difficulties. The king thereupon acquainted his daughter, that he propoſed to ſend another army againſt the Ethiopians, and that he was very deſirous that Moſes ſhould take upon himſelf the command of his forces. The princeſs readily engaged to exert all her influence to induce him to comply with the king's deſire; but ſhe previouſly bound her father, by a ſolemn oath, ſtrictly to prohibit every attempt againſt his perſonal ſafety; at the ſame time reproaching the prieſts with the baſeneſs of imploring the aid of a perſon whoſe deſtruction they had ſo lately meditated and adviſed.

Moſes appointed commander of the Egyptian forces.

Thermuthis and the king found little difficulty in prevailing on Moſes to accept of this commiſſion, and his compliance gave infinite ſatisfaction to thoſe inveſted with the ſacred function of both nations. The joy of the Egyptians aroſe, firſt, from the hopes of ſubduing their enemies under his conduct; and, next, from the proſpect of being able, after having obtained the ends for which he was advanced to the above poſt, to effect the deſtruction of Moſes. The Hebrews, on the other hand, were happy in the idea, that, under the direction of ſo expert a leader, they might probably, in a courſe of time, be enabled to throw off the yoke of the Egyptians. Moſes deliberated on the propereſt method to attack the enemy unexpectedly in their quarters. The paſſage through the interior part of the country was much infeſted with ſerpents, both of the flying and creeping kinds, and all remarkably fierce and venomous. This route was generally conſidered as being too dangerous to riſque the march of an army through it. Moſes, for this very reaſon, preferred it to the other road along the banks of the Nile, and the event juſtified his choice. To provide againſt the dangers of this perilous paſſage, he adopted the following ſtratagem. The Ibis† is a mortal enemy to all kinds of ſerpents, who conſtantly fly from its preſence with the utmoſt precipitation. Though this bird is deſtructive of thoſe reptiles, it is gentle and

* We do not find, in the ſacred records, this part of the hiſtory of Moſes, which makes him general of the Egyptians againſt the Ethiopians; it is, however, cited by Irenæus, who writes, that "When Moſes was nouriſhed in the king's palace, he was appointed general of the army againſt the Ethiopians, whom he conquered; and that he married the king's daughter, becauſe, out of affection for him, ſhe delivered up the city into his hands."

† This bird approaches to the ſtork kind, and is by ſome confounded very erroneouſly with the hæmatopus or red-legged heron. It is all over of a fine ſhining black; its beak is long, ſomewhat hooked, and all over of a fine red, as are alſo its legs, which are as long as thoſe of the bittern; its neck is as long as that of the common heron.

inof-

inoffenſive to all other creatures. The method which Moſes adopted, to preſerve his troops from the attacks of theſe venomous animals, was, to carry with him a number of the above mentioned birds, confined in cages made of bulruſhes, or of the flags of papyrus before mentioned.

He obtains a complete victory over the Ethiopians.

When Moſes had arrived at that part of the country which is infeſted by the above-mentioned noxious animals, he turned the birds looſe, and the ſerpents diſperſed, as from a natural enemy. He now haſted in purſuit of the Ethiopians, whom he ſurpriſed and defeated; and having effectually cut off a retreat into Egypt, ſuch as eſcaped the fury of the battle were under a neceſſity of returning home. After this he beſieged and laid waſte ſeveral towns and cities, and committed great ſlaughter upon the people.

This victory revived the drooping courage of the Egyptians; while the Ethiopians, on the other hand, were reduced to deſpair, having no proſpect but death or ſlavery. They were at length compelled to retire to Saba, the capital of Ethiopia, to which city Cambyſes afterwards gave the name of Meroe, in compliment to his ſiſter. Moſes laid ſiege to this place, although nature and art ſeemed to have combined to render it impregnable: it being ſituated at the conflux of the rivers Aſtaphus and Aſtabora with the Nile: it is likewiſe ſeated on an iſland, encompaſſed with a ſtrong wall, and defended by ramparts and other works, from the attacks of an enemy and the inundations of the Nile.

Moſes was much diſſatisfied with his preſent ſtate of inactivity, the enemy keeping cloſe within their walls: but, in the interim, an incident happened of a very extraordinary nature. On a certain day, Tharbis, the daughter of the king of Ethiopia, obſerving Moſes, ſword in hand, conducting himſelf with great bravery under the walls of [illegible] town, was ſo charmed with his behaviour, that ſhe fell paſſionately in love with him. Her affection increaſing, ſhe opened her mind on the ſubject to ſome of her moſt intimate friends, and commiſſioned them to make an offer to Moſes of her hand. He accepted the propoſal, on condition that the city ſhould be ſurrendered previous to the celebration of the nuptials; this agreement was ratified with an oath, and, almoſt in the ſame inſtant, carried into execution. A great ſlaughter was made of the Ethiopians; and, after the ſolemnization of the marriage, the Egyptians returned home crowned with victory.

Moſes marries an Ethiopian princeſs. See Numb. xii. 1.

CHAP. X.

The Ingratitude of the Egyptians towards Moſes, who flies to Midian.

The Egyptians ſeek to deſtroy Moſes.

THE only return which thoſe ungrateful people made for all the benefits they had received from the preſerver of their nation was, to carry their envy and hatred of him to ſuch extremity as to lay ſnares for his life. They were apprehenſive leſt the great reputation he had acquired by his military atchievements, might inſpire him with the deſign of rendering himſelf independent, and therefore accuſed him to the king of having murdered a native of the realm *. The king was but too well inclined to liſten to the calumny, from a jealouſy of his fame for valour and wiſdom, and from the inſinuations of the prieſts and ſcribes, who never ceaſed their importunities till they had prevailed on that prince to become a party in the combination againſt him. In ſhort, Moſes was doomed to death; and it was by a particular interpoſition of Providence that he was enabled to eſcape, in the very moment that his enemies had fixed on for the execution of their deſign.

Being accuſed of murder, he flees from Egypt, and comes to Midian.

Having learnt that the roads were way-laid, he directed his flight through a deſert, naturally concluding that no one would think of tracing him thither. Throughout his whole journey he could not procure any kind of food. About noon he arrived within a ſmall diſtance of Midian, a city on the coaſt of the Red Sea, which was ſo named from one of the ſons of Abraham by Keturah. Being come within ſight of the city, he ſat himſelf down by the ſide of a fountain. As he ſat there, an incident happened, which took its riſe, in ſome meaſure, from a cuſtom of the country; and it afforded him an opportunity, not only of ſignaliſing his courage and regard for juſtice, but alſo of advancing his fortune. Such is the ſcarcity of water in that country, that each ſhepherd ſtrives to be firſt at the fountain in the morning, before it be drawn dry. At this time there came to the fountain ſeven virgin ſiſters, the daughters of Raguel, a prieſt, held in much eſtimation in that part of the country.

In the country of the Troglodytes, the women are employed in attending the flocks; and the daughters of Raguel, or Jethro, having brought their father's ſheep to the well, and drawn a ſufficiency of water, emptied it into troughs, the better to divide it amongſt them †. In the interim, certain ſhepherds

* We are told in ſcripture (Exod. ii. 11, 12.) that "Moſes ſpied an Egyptian ſmiting an Hebrew, one of his brethren—and he ſlew the Egyptian, and hid him in the ſand." So ſtrongly was Moſes animated with an abhorrence of oppreſſion, and ſuch ardent love he breathed to his country, that he could not ſuffer this outrage to paſs unpuniſhed. The ſcripture intimates, that he intended by this action to rouſe the dormant ſpirit of liberty in his countrymen, and prepare them for accepting that general deliverance from thraldom he was about to offer them in the name of God. Refer to Acts vii. for a full account of him.

† As in thoſe countries there is a great ſcarcity of water, and but few wells, the ſhepherds were apt to ſtrive who ſhould get firſt poſſeſſion of the wells, leſt others coming before ſhould not leave water enough for their cattle. And therefore to prevent quarrels, it was a law in ſome places, that the ſhepherds ſhould wait for one another, and water their flocks all together. See Gen. xxix. 8.

came

came to the ſpot, and obliged the virgins to retire, intending themſelves to make uſe of the water which had been drawn. The brutality of this behaviour enraged Moſes, who eſpouſed the cauſe of the virgins, and compelled the ſhepherds to relinquiſh their deſign. The daughters of Raguel expreſſed a due ſenſe of the obligation which the ſtranger had conferred upon them; and, on their return to their father's houſe, acquainted him with all the particulars which had paſſed: unanimouſly requeſting, that he would make ſome return for the kindneſs which had been ſhewn them. Raguel was charmed with the grateful diſpoſition of his daughters, and ordered them to bring the ſtranger to his houſe, that he might reward him according to his merit. Moſes being introduced to him, he aſſured him, that he would give him ſpeedy conviction, that he had not conferred an obligation on a perſon deſtitute of gratitude. He afterwards received him into his family, adopted him, beſtowing one of his daughters on him in marriage; and appointed him to the ſuperintendency of all his cattle, which in thoſe days, when paſturage was the general ſource of wealth, was eſteemed an honourable ſtation.

Raguel adopts Moſes, and ſets him over his flocks.

CHAP. XI.

God appears to Moſes in the burning Buſh. The Rod of Moſes converted into a Serpent.

Divine appearance to Moſes.

MOSES was now eſtabliſhed in the houſe of his father-in-law, Jethro, or Raguel, and had the intire management of his flocks. Mount Sinai was famous for its excellent paſture, and exceeded all the mountains of the country in height. A tradition prevailed among the neighbouring people, that this mountain was the reſidence of the Almighty; and, in this perſuaſion, they conſtantly forbore either to feed their ſheep, or even to walk thereon. It chanced that Moſes drove his ſheep hither on a certain day, and, while he was employed in attending them, a phænomenon * of a very extraordinary nature appeared to him: he perceived a fire burning in a buſh, the flames of which were remarkably fierce, yet neither the leaves, flowers, nor branches received the leaſt damage. This ſight greatly ſurpriſed Moſes; but his aſtoniſhment was raiſed to the higheſt pitch, when he heard a voice from the midſt of the buſh, calling him by name, and addreſſing him in theſe words: "How durſt thou preſume to ſet foot on this ſpot, where no mortal ever trod before, ſolely on account of the univerſal reverence in which this place has ever been held? Retire; and be contented with the privilege you have enjoyed, in conſequence of your own virtues, and of thoſe of your anceſtors; nor dare to purſue your curioſity any farther." The voice alſo predicted to him, that he ſhould acquire great reputation; and ordered him to return to Egypt, where he ſhould obtain an unlimited command over the nation of the Hebrews, and ſhould finally deliver them from their preſent bondage; "For," ſaid the voice, "they ſhall inherit the lands which Abraham poſſeſſed: and to your wiſdom they ſhall be indebted for the acquiſition of all thoſe bleſſings. But do not fail, when you ſhall have conducted the Hebrews out of Egypt, immediately to offer up a ſacrifice on this very ſpot."

The burning buſh.

When the voice had done ſpeaking, Moſes, in the utmoſt amazement, replied in the following terms: "I know thee, Lord, and, after the example of all my anceſtors, have conſtantly adored thy power. It were madneſs, therefore, in the extreme, to heſitate to obey thy mandates. Yet how ſhall I, without abilities, and in an obſcure ſtation, be enabled to prevail on ſuch a multitude, firſt, to abandon their preſent ſettlement; and, ſecondly, to follow me, intirely, under an uncertainty, whitherſoever I ſhall be pleaſed to conduct them? Nay, admitting that my intereſt with them ſhould be ſufficient to induce them to conſtitute me their leader, who ſhall compel Pharaoh to permit them to depart; ſeeing that the revenues of Egypt would be ſo much diminiſhed by the loſs of their labour?" The voice again ordered him to make himſelf eaſy, promiſing that he ſhould want for no aſſiſtance of which he ſhould ſtand in need. But effectually to remove every doubt which he might ſtill entertain, the voice commanded him to caſt the rod which he held in his hand on the ground. This being done, the rod was inſtantly converted into a ſerpent, twining itſelf in folds, and threatening an attack: and in a ſhort time it returned to its former ſhape. Moſes was then ordered to put his hand into his boſom, which he did, and, upon drawing it out again, it appeared to be as white as chalk, preſently reſuming its native colour. He was further commanded to throw a ſmall quantity of fair water on the ground, where it appeared to have acquired the quality of blood. As Moſes expreſſed the utmoſt aſtoniſhment at the ſight of theſe ſupernatural operations, God aſſured him that he would confer on him the power of working the like miracles, in order to evince to the Hebrews, that he was inveſted with a commiſſion from the Deity, to take upon him the office of their leader.

Moſes pleads his inſufficiency.

The Lord then commanded Moſes to return immediately to Egypt, and, for the greater diſpatch, to continue his journey night and day. Moſes could no longer, after what he had heard and ſeen, have any doubts remaining of God's power and juſtice; he, nevertheleſs, requeſted that he might retain the faculty of working miracles, when he ſhould arrive in Egypt; and that God would condeſcend to communicate to him the name of that awful Being, of whoſe infinite power he had ſo lately

He is ordered to return to Egypt.

* St. Stephen, *Acts* vii. 30. calls this Appearance, and the ſame perſon is called, *ver.* 4. *the Lord*. He was either the Meſſiah, the angel or meſſenger of the covenant, *Mal.* iii. 1. and thought to be the ſame who is called Michael the prince of the angels, *Dan.* x. 21. with *Rev.* xii. 7. Or it was a created angel repreſenting Jehovah, and acting in his name. Biſhop Patrick takes it to have been the appearance of the Shechinah, or Jehovah himſelf accompanied with a glorious retinue of angels as his miniſters.

received ſuch convincing proofs; in order that he might be enabled, on all occaſions, to invoke him by his proper appellation. The Almighty was pleaſed to grant this requeſt: but the name was, till then, never heard by any man, and I am with-held from mentioning it by a reverential awe*. The gift of performing miracles, at all times, was alſo conferred on Moſes, who was now convinced that he ſhould live to be an eye-witneſs of the happy deliverance of the Hebrews, and of the confuſion of their enemies the Egyptians.

CHAP. XII.

Upon the News of Pharaoh's Death, Moſes and Aaron return to Egypt.

Departure of Moſes from Midian to Egypt.

MOSES having received intelligence of the death of the king of Egypt†, who had compelled him to abandon that country, requeſted permiſſion of Raguel to return thither to his friends and relations. His requeſt being complied with, he began his journey, accompanied by his wife Zipporah, the daughter of Raguel, and the two children he had by her, Gerſhom and Eleazar. Gerſhom, being interpreted, ſignifies a *Foreigner*; and by Eleazar is ſignified, *the Help of God*; becauſe it was through the intervention of Providence that Moſes was preſerved from the ſnares laid for him by the Egyptians.

When he had approached nearly to the borders of Egypt, he was met by his brother Aaron, to whom he communicated the wonderful occurrences upon the mount, and the revelations, inſtructions, and ordinances which God had delivered to him. Having made ſome farther progreſs in his journey, great numbers of the moſt conſiderable among the Hebrews came forth to give him welcome. After ſome converſation, Moſes was convinced that the power of words was not alone ſufficient to obtain his point; and therefore, in ſupport of his commiſſion and authority, he had recourſe to miracles, appealing to the evidence of their ſenſes in regard to the wonders he performed; which they beheld with aſtoniſhment, and conſidered as an indiſputable token that God would relieve and provide for the ſafety of his people.

Moſes recounts his ſervices in the Ethiopian war.

Moſes having ſo far prevailed upon the Hebrews, as to obtain a promiſe of obedience to him, repaired to the new king, mentioned the toils he had ſuſtained, and the dangers he had encountered in conducting the war of the Egyptians againſt the Ethiopians; in the proſecution of which he had conſtantly obſerved as unremitting an attention for the advantage of the party to which he was attached, as he could have manifeſted in behalf of his own countrymen; and he remarked, that the rewards he had received were inadequate to his ſervices. He circumſtantially related what the Almighty had communicated to him in his viſion upon Mount Sinai; adding that, to induce a confidence in his promiſes, the Deity had given him tokens by miracles and revelations; finally, importuning Pharaoh not to betray a diſbelief of God by oppoſing his divine pleaſure.

His relation deſpiſed by Pharaoh.

Pharaoh treated the above relation with contempt, ſcorn, and ridicule; whereupon Moſes endeavoured to force conviction upon him by repeating, in his ſight, thoſe miracles which he had performed upon Mount Sinai: but this provoked Pharaoh to a violence of anger and opprobrious language. "Contemptible runagate," ſaid he, "for the ſafety of your perſon you made a ſcandalous retreat from Egypt, and now return to delude the people by the exhibition of your magical ſleights; and have the effrontery to aſſume as much conſequence, as if you were the only man converſant in the divine myſtery; ſo extravagant is your vanity, that you imagine yourſelf an object worthy public adoration: but, notwithſtanding this oſtentation, be informed, that my prieſts can rival your utmoſt dexterity." The prieſts being now called, were directed to throw down their rods, which were inſtantly changed into ſerpents. "I am not unacquainted with the addreſs of the Egyptians," ſaid Moſes, "nor do I hold them in contempt, therefore this circumſtance does not affect me: but I may with confidence declare, that their magic is as much inferior to the works I perform, as human things are to thoſe of divine origin: and I ſhall immediately convince you that I mean not, under the ſemblance of truth, to impoſe illuſions upon the populace; but that I act under the authority of an omnipotent Being, who will puniſh the obſtinacy of thoſe who ſhall wilfully ſhut their eyes againſt ſuch demonſtrative evidence." Thus ſaying, he threw his rod alſo upon the ground, which inſtantly aſſumed the appearance of a ſerpent, and ſwallowed up thoſe of the magicians, one after another; after which it returned to its former ſhape‡.

Moſes's rod devours the ſerpents of the magicians.

This miracle, inſtead of convincing the king, ſerved only to incenſe him ſtill more. He, accordingly, reproved Moſes, and iſſued freſh orders to the officers appointed to overlook the Hebrews at their work, not only to keep them conſtantly em-

* The Jews, to this day, ſeldom or ever mention the name JEHOVAH, or, I AM, even upon the moſt ſolemn occaſions. Would to God that Chriſtians refrained from taking this name in vain; as there is a dreadful curſe denounced againſt all thoſe who wantonly and lightly profane it.

† That is, within the ſpace of forty years, during which Moſes abode in the land of Midian, Acts vii. 23. Exod. vii. 7. Biſhop Uſher takes this king to have been Rameſes, and places his death in the year of the world 2494. His ſucceſſor was Amenophis, who was drowned in the Red ſea about nineteen years after.

‡ This was a ſufficient demonſtration, that the power, by which Moſes was influenced, greatly exceeded that of the Egyptian prieſts. By this Pharaoh would have been convinced, had it not been for the artful inſinuations of the magicians; and a promiſe from them, that they would ſhortly perform greater miracles than Moſes.

ployed,

ployed, but alſo to make an addition to their ordinary taſks; they were, in conſequence, deprived of their former indulgence, in having the ſtraw they uſed in making bricks brought to them, and were compelled to fetch it during the night, that their day-labour might not be interrupted. But neither the king's diſpleaſure, nor the murmurings of his own people, who were very urgent with him to deſiſt from all further application in their behalf, could prevail on Moſes to recede from the plan he had adopted, to effect their deliverance. He, therefore, again waited on Pharaoh, to requeſt that he would permit the Hebrews to go to mount Sinai, there to offer up an oblation to the Almighty, as they had been commanded.

CHAP. XIII.

The ten Plagues inflicted on the Egyptians, in conſequence of the Obſtinacy of Pharaoh.

THE king did not pay the leaſt regard to the interceſſion of Moſes, and this obduracy proved the ſource of many miſeries to the Egyptians.

Plagues of Egypt.

The firſt miracle which Moſes wrought for the puniſhment of the Egyptians was, by converting the waters of the Nile, which were their only drink, into blood; and this alteration was not in point of colour only, but all thoſe of the natives who were neceſſitated to drink of it were afflicted with a violent cholic, while to the Hebrews it was perfectly wholeſome. The king, being apprehenſive of the total deſtruction of his ſubjects, conſented, at length, that the Hebrews ſhould depart: but, no ſooner was this plague removed, than he immediately recalled his promiſe.

1. The Nile waters turned to blood.

2. Of frogs.

This ingratitude and duplicity ſo highly provoked the Almighty, that he quickly viſited the land with a ſecond judgment: cauſing frogs to be produced in every quarter, in ſuch numbers, that the whole earth was covered with them, and the waters of the river became ſtagnant and corrupted *. The bed-chambers and tables were infeſted by theſe animals; no place was free from them; and the inconvenience was heightened by the noiſome ſtench which they occaſioned. Pharaoh, hereupon, again ſent for Moſes, and acquainted him that he might retire, with the Hebrews, whenever he ſhould think proper. This permiſſion was no ſooner granted, than the frogs totally diſappeared, and all things returned to their former ſtate.

But Pharaoh again refuſed to fulfil his promiſe, on the plea of its having been extorted from him by fear, and, conſequently, that he was under no obligation to comply with the terms thereof. This breach of faith, ſo derogatory to the character of a monarch, was ſucceeded by a farther manifeſtation of the vengeance of the Almighty. The natives were infected with a terrible and uncommon diſeaſe: be-

3. Of lice.

ing covered with lice, which ate into their bodies, and gave them the moſt excruciating pain: neither could any remedy be found for this diſorder, baths, ointments, and all other applications proving equally inefficacious. Pharaoh, therefore, once more conſented that the Hebrews ſhould retire; but, when he perceived that God had freed his ſubjects from the above calamity, he declared that they muſt leave their wives and children in his hands, as pledges for their return.

This circumſtance diſpleaſed the Almighty more than all the reſt of that prince's conduct: as it ſeemed to denote a deſign of deceiving Providence, and an opinion that it was not God, but his ſervant Moſes, who had inflicted theſe puniſhments on the Egyptians, for their injurious and oppreſſive treatment of the Hebrews. The whole country was there-

5. Of flies.

fore filled with numberleſs ſwarms of flies and inſects, many of them of ſuch ſpecies as the inhabitants were totally unacquainted with. They lay on the ground in ſuch abundance as to put a ſtop to all tillage; and ſo venomous were they, that multitudes of the people were deſtroyed by them; ſome being ſuddenly taken off, while others fell a prey to lingering diſeaſes, which were generated from the putrefaction

5. Of murrain.

of theſe inſects; which for a time alſo ſuſpended the purſuit of agriculture, for what they did not deſtroy was killed by a diſtemper that was baneful to the cattle. But even this was not ſufficient to induce Pharaoh to deſiſt from his oppoſition to the will of God; he would not ſuffer the Iſraelites to go but on the terms of their leaving ſome of their women, and all the children behind them.

The next judgment which the Lord in-

6. Of ulcers.

flicted on the Egyptians, in conſequence of the incorrigible obſtinacy of their ſovereign, was a kind of inward ulcer, of which vaſt numbers of the people died. Pharaoh ſtill perſiſting in his con-

7. Of hail.

tempt of the divine will, God was pleaſed to viſit the Egyptians with a plague of hail, which utterly deſtroyed the fruits and vegetables in the bud. This hail, excluſive of its being a phænomenon in Egypt, far excelled in ſize whatever had been hitherto ſeen of the kind in the coldeſt climates; and what

8. Of locuſts.

eſcaped the hail, fell a prey to a devouring ſwarm of locuſts, and in this manner was the whole produce of that year utterly conſumed †. It will naturally be ſuppoſed, that, had not this prince been as fooliſh as

* This plague was well adapted to ſubvert the ſuperſtitions of Egypt; frogs being the inſtruments of their abominations, and the repreſentatives of thoſe impious demons whom they invoked by their incantations.

† Many countries have been partially viſited with locuſts, ſuppoſed to reſemble thoſe in the eaſt. Different parts of England were plagued with them, in 1748; but happily their ſtay was ſhort; ſome of theſe were from two inches and a half to four inches in length. They totally deſtroyed all the vegetables wherever they came; and the deſtruction cauſed by them was ſo great, that they almoſt put a ſtop to vegetation itſelf.

he was wicked, these judgments would have awakened him to a due sense of his danger; but the truth is, that Pharaoh had impiously determined to contest the matter with the Almighty, even at the risk of the destruction of himself and his people. He, at length, yielded that the Hebrews should be at liberty to depart with their wives and children, leaving only their effects behind them, to compensate the Egyptians for the losses they had sustained. But Moses objected to this proposal, as being unreasonable, as, in that case, they should be totally unprovided with sacrifices.

9. Of darkness. This point was debated so long between the king and Moses, that in the interval, a thick darkness was spread over the land, during the continuance of which many persons perished; whilst not a few were apprehensive of being swallowed up in one general abyss. At the expiration of three days and nights, light re-appeared; and Pharaoh still continuing obstinate, Moses once more presented himself before him, and addressed him in these terms: "How long will you set your will in competition with that of the Almighty; he enjoins you, by me, to dismiss his people, the Hebrews; and nothing but a compliance with his pleasure in this respect, can preserve you from the impending destruction." The freedom of this expostulation so incensed the king, that he ordered Moses, at the peril of his life, never to mention another syllable to him on the subject. Moses replied, that he had now fully executed his commission; but that he was perfectly convinced that, in a very short time, both the king and his nobles would, of their own accord, urge the Israelites to hasten their departure: and with these words, he retired.

The Almighty retained still one plague in store, to punish the impious obstinacy of Pharaoh. He commanded Moses to give notice to the Hebrews to make ready on the thirteenth, the sacrifice which they were accustomed to offer on the fourteenth day of the month Xanticus. This month, which the Macedonians term Xanticus, is called, by the Hebrews, Nisan; and Pharmuthi by the Egyptians. Moses, in obedience to the command, convened all the Hebrews in one place; dividing them into tribes and companies. The assigned day being arrived, and all the necessary preparations made, early in the morning they offered up a sacrifice, sprinkling their houses with the blood of the victims for the purpose of purifying them. The flesh which was not eaten, they burnt; being upon the point of entering upon their journey. Such are the ceremonies, which we observe to this day, in the celebration of the Pascha, which signifies *passing over*; because God passed over the Hebrews without doing them the least hurt, when the Egyptians were struck dead by the pestilence;

10. Death of the first-born, by pestilence. which, in the course of one night, made such devastation among the first-born* of Egypt, that multitudes of people of all ranks beset the palace, loudly importuning the king to dismiss the Hebrews without any further delay. That prince, thereupon, sent for Moses, and ordered him to assemble his countrymen, and to retire with them out of the land; being strongly prepossessed, that the deliverance of Egypt could never be effected while they should remain in the country. At their departure, many of the Egyptians presented them with valuable gifts; some merely with the view of hastening them away, others from motives of friendship; nor could they refrain from tears at parting from the Hebrews; many feeling a sincere compunction for the barbarities they had been guilty of towards them.

* Calmet writes, that the term First-born in scripture often signifies the chief ones, the most distinguished, Exod. iv. 22. Psal. lxxxix. 27. Mic. vi. 7. So it may signify here the princes or chief ones of Egypt, as it seems to have been understood, Wisdom xviii. 12. The Jewish doctors tell us, that all the idols of Egypt were destroyed this night; and Artapanus, in Eusebius, says that most of their temples were overthrown by an earthquake; to which some add, that God also destroyed their sacred animals.

CHAP. XIV.

The Hebrews depart from Egypt, under the Conduct of Moses.

THE route which the Israelites took was by Letopolis, a city at that time uninhabited; and on the site of which Cambyses, in his expedition against Egypt, built the city of Babylon. They marched with great expedition, and, on the third day after their departure, arrived at Beelzephon, on the borders of the Red Sea. As they could obtain no provisions in their passage through the wilderness, they subsisted, for the space of thirty days, on no other food than meal kneaded with water, and made into cakes. They had now exhausted all the food they had brought out of Egypt, although they had used it with all possible parsimony. It is in commemoration of that scarcity, that the festival of *eight days* is held, which we call that of *Unleavened Bread*. But the number of the Hebrews was prodigious: there being sixty thousand men capable of bearing arms, exclusive of the women and children.

Departure of the Hebrews from Egypt. On the fifteenth day of the month Xanticus, the Hebrews departed out of Egypt; Moses being, at that time, in the eightieth year of his age, and Aaron, his brother, in the eighty-third. A period of two hundred and fifty years had elapsed from the time of Jacob's arrival in Egypt; and of four hundred and fifteen years from the æra of the entrance of Abraham into Canaan. They carried with them the bones of Joseph, as he had enjoined his sons, some time previous to his death.

They are pursued by the Egyptians. The Egyptians quickly repented of the permission they had granted the Hebrews to withdraw themselves; the king in particular, who imputed all the misfortunes which had befallen the nation, to the enchantments of Moses.

They

They determined, therefore, to purſue them*; believing that they ſhould eaſily ſubdue and compel them to return in their wearied and defenceleſs ſituation, if they ſhould but be able to overtake them; but this they doubted, the road which they had taken being replete with difficulties even to a ſingle traveller, but much more ſo to ſo large a number of perſons marching in one body.

Their route near the Red Sea.

But the motives which induced Moſes to prefer this road to any other, were various: firſt, he hoped, that the very length of the way would deter the Egyptians from purſuing him, even if they ſhould incline to that meaſure. Another reaſon was, that he wiſhed to avoid paſſing near Paleſtine, leſt the people of that place, between whom and the Hebrews an enmity ſubſiſted of ancient date, ſhould gain intelligence of their march, and take that opportunity to fall upon and deſtroy them. He was further induced to paſs by the way of the wilderneſs, though inconvenient and round about, from a deſire of performing the vow, which he had formerly made, to ſacrifice on Mount Sinai, as God had commanded him; intending from thence to direct his courſe to Canaan.

Pharaoh overtakes the Iſraelites:

When they arrived on the coaſt of the Red Sea, they were overtaken and ſurrounded by the Egyptian army, which conſiſted of ſix hundred chariots, fifty thouſand horſe, and two hundred thouſand foot †; the main body being drawn up in battle array. The Egyptians had ſecured all the paſſes, and ſo effectually ſhut up the Hebrews between impaſſable mountains, and the ſea, that they had not the leaſt proſpect whatever of eſcaping. To fly or fight with ſucceſs was equally impracticable; and thus they were reduced to the wretched alternative either to ſtarve, or yield themſelves ſlaves to the Egyptians. In this deſperate ſituation, they imputed the blame of all their misfortunes to Moſes. The many wonders which God had wrought for their deliverance, and for the confirmation of their faith, were now obliterated. The clamours and cries of the women and children, who conſidered themſelves as being utterly loſt, incenſed the people ſo much, that they were on the point of ſtoning Moſes, whom they now conſidered as a falſe prophet, and of reſigning themſelves once more to the abject ſlavery from which they had ſo lately been delivered.

Who are encouraged to return to God.

Moſes, however, was not to be moved, either by the threats or outrages of this headſtrong multitude: he placed the firmeſt confidence in the power of God, who, he was convinced, after having afforded them ſo fair a proſpect of obtaining their liberty, would not ſuffer his people to return under the yoke of their enemies.

CHAP. XV.

The Red Sea dividing, affords a Paſſage for Moſes and his Followers: the whole Egyptian Army, being in Purſuit, is drowned by a ſudden Return of the Waters.

The Iſraelites at the Red Sea.

MOSES led the Hebrews towards the ſea, in ſight of the Egyptians, who, being fatigued with the purſuit, had reſolved to take ſome refreſhment, and defer giving battle till the next day. Having arrived at the ſea-ſide, Moſes, taking out his rod, addreſſed himſelf in prayer to the Almighty; which being concluded, he ſtruck the ſea with his rod (which was the enſign of his commiſſion for performing miracles), and the waters inſtantly divided; upon which, putting himſelf at the head of his men, he inſtructed them to offer thankſgivings to heaven for the remarkable providence manifeſted in their favour, and, in the name of the Almighty, called upon them to follow him. The Egyptians, obſerving them to proceed on the way which had been formed for their eſcape by the miraculous retreat of the waters, conſidered them as poſſeſſed of infanity, and judged that they were on the verge of inevitable deſtruction; but ſeeing them continue their courſe without impediment, they prepared to purſue them, flattering themſelves in the vain imagination, that they might paſs the ſame road with as little danger and interruption. While the Egyptians were arming themſelves, and making other preparations for the attempt, the Hebrews reached the oppoſite ſhore. The Egyptians did not apprehend, that the paſſage had been opened ſolely for the preſervation of the people of God, and ruin of their perſecutors, but upon being witneſs to the ſucceſs of Moſes and his followers, they became more eagerly determined upon a purſuit, and more confident of ſucceſs in their intended enterprize. They proceeded on their deſign; and when they had got within the bed of the river, the waters returned to their former courſe, and the whole army periſhed. This ſignal judgment was attended with ſtorms of thunder, lightning, rain, and other violent contentions of the elements, ſo that nothing can be conceived more dreadful than the calamity of theſe infatuated people, who fell victims to the diſpleaſure of an offended God ‡.

Safe paſſage of the Iſraelites:

And deſtruction of the Egyptian army.

* Beſides their duty to the king, the proſpect of recovering their veſſels of gold and ſilver, and precious veſtments, tempted them to the purſuit. Of all the infatuations that ever poſſeſſed the Egyptians, this was the ſtrongeſt, that they ſhould adventure to purſue the Iſraelites, when they ſaw, or might have ſeen, the ſea opening her boſom to give them a paſſage.

† The Egyptian army conſiſted only of chariots and horſemen, for they were in haſte to overtake the Iſraelites.

‡ This diviſion of the Red Sea has given riſe to the profane laughter of thoſe deſcribed by the Apoſtle as "Scoffers, walking after their own luſts."—Their great leader and guide, Voltaire, has ſhewn them the way, and he has had many willing diſciples: but his impious aſſertions have met with ſuch ample refutation, that I need not trouble the reader with a detection of them here. Moreover, when we conſider that this great work was effected by the arm of Omnipotence, to whom univerſal nature is ſubſervient, the wonder and difficulty vaniſh at once.

It is not in the power of language to deſcribe the joy of the Hebrews for this unexpected deliverance. Seeing their cruel enemies utterly deſtroyed, and themſelves in the ſecure poſſeſſion of liberty, they abounded in expreſſions of the moſt ſincere gratitude towards the Divine Being, whoſe providence had indiſputably directed theſe ſingular events; and they employed the whole night in hymns, thankſgivings, and prayer; and, on the occaſion, Moſes compoſed a ſong in hexameter verſe, which he dedicated to the honour of God.

The dividing of the ſea for the preſervation of the Hebrews, is not to be diſputed; by reference to ancient records, it will be found, that a previous circumſtance of the ſame wonderful kind has occurred. The ſeveral hiſtorians who have given the life of Alexander, atteſt, that when the Macedonians, under the command of that prince, were at a loſs for a paſſage, the Pamphylian ſea divided; Alexander being appointed the inſtrument of God's providence, for the deſtruction of the Perſian empire.

Moſes leads the Hebrews, now armed, to Mount Sinai.

On the day following that of the above-mentioned judgment, the arms of the Egyptians were driven on ſhore, near to the ſpot where the Hebrews had pitched their tents; and this was conſidered by Moſes as an additional inſtance of God's providence, the people being greatly diſtreſſed for want of arms, which were thus provided for their uſe. In obedience to the will of God, Moſes now led his followers to Mount Sinai, there to offer ſacrifice and oblations to God, for their ſignal deliverance, according to his own ſpecial command.

B O O K III.

Containing the HISTORY of ſuch INCIDENTS as happened from the YEAR of the WORLD 2454, to 2455.

C H A P. I.

Journey of the Iſraelites from Egypt to Mount Sinai. The Difficulties they encounter on the Way. They murmur againſt Moſes, and are relieved by a Miracle.

Diſtreſs of the Hebrews.

THE extreme hardſhips which the Hebrews ſuffered on their journey through the wilderneſs of Mount Sinai, did not a little abate the joy they felt, on occaſion of their late miraculous and unexpected deliverance. They could procure no food; and the water they chanced to meet with, was in ſmall quantities, and of ſo bad a taſte, that the very cattle would not drink of it. At the inſtigation of their guides, they carried with them a ſupply of water when they firſt entered into the wilderneſs; and, that being exhauſted, they were under the neceſſity of ſinking pits; which, on account of the rocky quality of the ground, was not effected without great labour and fatigue.

In the evening they arrived at a place called Marah, which ſignifies, in the Hebrew, *Bitterneſs*; this name it acquired from the taſte of its waters. They were much wearied; and, their proviſions having fallen ſhort, they now began to feel the cravings of hunger. But they agreed to make a ſhort ſtay at this place, having fortunately diſcovered a pit of water on the ſpot. This pit, it is true, could not afford a ſufficient ſupply for ſo numerous a company; yet, when they conſidered the general ſtate of the country, and that this was the laſt place where they could expect to find any water till they ſhould arrive at Mount Sinai, the above diſcovery gave them no ſmall ſatisfaction. But this water was equally bitter with the reſt, and was utterly unwholſome, both for the people and their cattle.

Moſes ſaw that the ſpirits of the Iſraelites were much depreſſed; and he was incapable of affording them the leaſt comfort, as their preſent foes were not to be vanquiſhed either by ſkill or valour. The whole community partook of the danger, and unanimouſly importuned Moſes for relief in their diſtreſs. He again had recourſe to ſupplications, praying that God would be pleaſed to correct the bitterneſs of the water, and to render it fit for uſe. The Almighty inſtantly complied; and Moſes took from the ground a piece of wood*, which chanced to lay near at hand, and

The bitter waters of Marah made ſweet.

* In the text, Exod. xv. 25. we read, "*The Lord ſhewed him a tree*," &c. What tree it was, is quite uncertain: the Jeruſalem Targum calls it *ardiphne*, a tree which is ſaid to bear flowers like lilies, but exceeding bitter. So that the divine power appeared the more in making it produce a contrary effect. Others think it was ſome tree which had a natural virtue to correct the bitter taſte of the water, which ſeems to have been the opinion of the author of Eccleſiaſticus, ch. xxxviii. 4, 5. But to whatever ſecond cauſe it be aſcribed, the effect appears miraculous, ſince it was produced immediately, and to ſuch a degree, as to correct the taſte of the water for many thouſands.

cleaving

cleaving it in the middle, threw it into the water; acquainting the Hebrews that God had liſtened to their prayers, and had engaged to provide them with ſuch water as ſhould be fit for drinking; conditionally, that they ſhould yield the moſt implicit obedience to all his commands. This they promiſed; and Moſes ordered them to empty the well of half the water which it contained; aſſuring them that the remainder would, in that caſe, be pure and agreeable. This was accordingly done; and the effect was exactly as Moſes had predicted.

The wants of the Iſraelites increaſing, they threaten Moſes.

The ſtock of proviſions, with which the people had furniſhed themſelves for their ſuſtenance, for the ſpace of thirty days, was now exhauſted, and no means appeared of obtaining a further ſupply. The reflections ſuggeſted by theſe various calamities, plunged them in abſolute deſpondency; and the impulſe of their preſent wants and miſeries obliterated from their minds the remembrance of all the former mercies of God towards them; whether proceeding directly from him, or whether communicated to them through the medium of his ſervant Moſes, whom they accuſed as the cauſe of all their misfortunes, and threatened with immediate death. In the midſt of this furious tumult, while the people, with ſtones in their hands, were preparing to put their threats in execution, Moſes appeared among them, with that firmneſs and confidence which faith in God, and conſcious integrity, will ever inſpire; and, with a force of elocution peculiar to himſelf, reproved them for their ingratitude and impatience. He reminded them of various inſtances ot God's kindneſs to them: ſuch as their redemption from the bondage of Egypt, with the attendant circumſtances; their ſafe paſſage through the Red Sea; the deſtruction of the Egyptians, who were drowned in the attempt to follow them; and the miraculous manner in which it pleaſed God to furniſh them with arms, of which they were before utterly deſtitute; with many other particulars of a like kind.

Theſe gentle chidings reſtored the moſt violent among the multitude to a degree of reaſon; Moſes himſelf palliating their late unruly conduct, which he modeſtly imputed to the peculiarity of their ſituation. He then withdrew to an adjacent rock, where he offered up ſupplications to God, humbly petitioning him to commiſerate the condition of this unfortunate people; to pardon their intemperate paſſions, and to charge the whole blame of their conduct on the weakneſs of their nature. To this prayer God returned for anſwer, that he would ſpeedily relieve the neceſſities of the people.

Moſes, having obtained this promiſe, returned to the people with a joyful countenance, which they conſtrued into a good omen; and, forgetting their late ſadneſs, began to aſſume an air of chearfulneſs. He communicated to them the declaration of the Almighty, that he would quickly take compaſſion on them; which was ſoon afterwards fully verified: for a numerous flight of quails, being over-wearied in their paſſage acroſs the Arabian Gulph, in the neighbourhood of which they are found in great abundance, dropt into the camp of the Hebrews, their ſtrength being totally exhauſted. The people conſidered this circumſtance as an evident interpoſition of Providence in their behalf; and each man eagerly exerted himſelf to procure as large a ſhare as poſſible of this unexpected bounty.

Quails ſent.

The Almighty, in a ſhort time afterwards, furniſhed them with a ſecond ſupply of food, of a different kind: for it chanced, as Moſes was at his devotions, with his hands ſtretched out towards heaven, a ſort of dew fell on them, and ſticking thereto, quickly acquired a conſiderable degree of conſiſtence: Moſes immediately conceived an opinion that this was intended as food for the people, and, taſting it, found to his infinite ſatisfaction, that he had not formed a wrong judgment. The populace entertained a notion that, it being now the winter ſeaſon of the year, this dew was nothing more than a kind of ſnow. Moſes ſoon convinced them of their error; and firſt taſting it himſelf, and then giving it to them to make an experiment, proved to them that it would be found to be a certain preſervative againſt famine: it had ſomething of the flavour of honey, was nearly the ſize of a coriander ſeed, and in its appearance was not unlike bdellium.

And manna.

The gathering of it cauſed, at firſt, much confuſion and ſtrife among the people, till the matter was regulated by an edict; enjoining all perſons to gather each day an equal quantity, which was limited to the meaſure of an omer; Moſes, at the ſame time, giving them the ſtrongeſt aſſurances that they ſhould have a conſtant ſupply of that food. This regulation was made, to prevent the ſtronger from gathering a larger portion than ſhould fall to their ſhare, to the prejudice of the weaker part of the community. To enſure obedience to the edict in queſtion, God ordained, that whatever ſhould be gathered by any perſon, over and above the ſpecified quantity, ſhould, on the next day, become putrid and unfit for food. This dew poſſeſſed one incredible and miraculous property, which was, that all who ate of it preferred it to every other kind of ſuſtenance. To the preſent time, certain dews and rains are common in that country, which nearly reſemble this which Moſes procured by his interceſſion with God. It is ſtyled, by the Hebrews, Manna*: the term *Man* ſignifying an interrogation: as if we ſhould ſay, *What is this?* The people expreſſed the utmoſt joy on the occaſion; conſidering this relief as coming immediately from heaven; and this was their ſole ſubſiſtence for the term of forty years, during which they remained in the wilderneſs.

* In ſeveral parts of ſcripture, manna is called angel's food. Pſal. xxviii. 25. &c. This proviſion fell but ſix days in the week; but ſo prodigious was the quantity, that it ſuſtained near three millions of people; every Friday there fell a double quantity, the next day being the ſabbath: it ceaſed as ſoon as the Iſraelites had the corn of Canaan for their bread.

They departed from hence to Rephidim, where they were again greatly diſtreſſed for want of water, not having been able to procure any for the ſpace of ſeveral days. They once more began to reproach Moſes, but he withdrew to a diſtance from them, and offered up prayers to God; beſeeching him that, as he had ſo lately preſerved them from periſhing by hunger, he would now be pleaſed to avert the danger which threatened them, through the want of water. The anſwer which he received was, that God would grant them a ſupply of water where they ſhould leaſt expect it; and ordered him with his rod to ſtrike an adjacent rock, which, in conſequence, ſhould produce a ſufficiency to ſerve their purpoſe. Moſes hereupon, returned to the people, who were become impatient of his ſtay, and intently gazing on his countenance, to try if they could diſcover the ſucceſs of his ſupplications. He acquainted them, that God would relieve them from this calamity alſo, by cauſing a river to flow from that rock. They imagined that they were to have dug a channel for the water through the rock; which to perſons in their exhauſted condition, would have been a work of infinite labour and toil. But they were preſently undeceived: for Moſes ſtriking his rod upon the rock, a conſiderable ſtream of water guſhed forth, which was equal to cryſtal in clearneſs*. It would have been difficult to have decided, whether the people were more aſtoniſhed at the performance of this miracle, or overjoyed at the unexpected relief, the water being perfectly ſweet and palatable. Perceiving by this event that Moſes ſtood highly in favour with the Almighty, the people were now extravagant in their praiſes of him, and offered ſacrifices to God, in token of their gratitude.

Water from a rock.

There is a paſſage in the holy ſcripture, which is preſerved in the temple at Jeruſalem, mentioning that God had predicted to Moſes all the circumſtances of this miracle, ſome time before it was carried into execution.

CHAP. II.

Five Kings enter into a Confederacy againſt the Hebrews. Joſhua defeats the Amalekites. The Hebrews arrive at Mount Sinai.

THE whole adjacent country now rang with the fame of the Hebrews; and the rulers of the various provinces entertained ſo ſtrong a dread of their proweſs, that they formed a confederacy among themſelves, the object of which was, either to compel them to retire to a greater diſtance, or otherwiſe utterly deſtroy them: and, with this view, they ſent embaſſadors to each other, to concert the neceſſary meaſures.

Five kings embarked in this enterprize againſt the Hebrews; and as many of their neighbours, as they could prevail upon, they engaged to favour their deſign.

They determined to engage in a war which might drive the Hebrews from their territories; which gave no ſmall alarm to Moſes, and the people were thrown into the utmoſt confuſion, by the proſpect of ſo unexpected a war with an enemy who were amply provided with every neceſſary, of which themſelves were totally deſtitute. Moſes, to remove their deſpondency, reminded them of the many proofs they had received of God's favour, and encouraged them to confide in his omnipotence and mercy for an aſſured victory over their enemies.

The drooping ſpirits of the people, were revived by the interference of their leader, who, convening the chief perſons of the ſeveral tribes, exhorted the younger part of the aſſembly to pay due attention to the advice of thoſe whom age had rendered more experienced than themſelves, and recommended to the reſt an implicit obedience to the orders of their commander. Their late apprehenſions were now totally diſpelled, inſomuch that they expreſſed the utmoſt contempt of every kind of danger, and manifeſted a vehement deſire of coming to action, in full confidence of obtaining ſuch a victory, as ſhould at once deliver them from all their troubles. They, therefore, earneſtly ſolicited Moſes to lead them inſtantly againſt the enemy†, whilſt the ſoldiers continued in ſo favourable a diſpoſition towards an engagement. Moſes thereupon ſelected from the multitude a number of men, whom he deemed the beſt qualified for the ſervice they were to go upon; and forming them into one body, appointed Joſhua, the ſon of Nun, and of the tribe of Ephraim, to be their leader, who was equally famous for his valour and prudence; he was of exemplary piety, a diſciple of Moſes, and one who did honour to the inſtructions of ſo great a maſter. He detached ſeveral parties; ſome to ſecure their water, others to guard their camp, and others to defend the women and children. All the neceſſary preparations were now made for an engagement: the troops lay upon

Joſhua choſen general againſt the Amalekites.

* Dr. Shaw, in his travels, particularly mentions this rock, and he ſays, "After we had deſcended with no ſmall difficulty down the other weſtern ſide of Mount Sinai, we came into the plain or wilderneſs of Rephidim, where we ſaw the rock of Meribah, which has continued to the preſent day, without any injury from time, or accident. The waters which guſhed out, and the ſtream which flowed, have made acroſs one corner of this rock a hollow channel, which is incruſted like the inſide of a tea kettle. The Arabs, who were our guides, were ready to ſtone me for attempting to break off a corner of it."

† Theſe were the Amalekites, who inhabited ſome part of Arabia Petrea, near Rephidim, where the Iſraelites had juſt been encamped, and lay between them and Canaan. They are ſuppoſed to have hated the Iſraelites, becauſe of the birth-right Jacob had taken from Eſau; and to have made war upon Iſrael, to hinder their ſettlement in Canaan, to which, perhaps, they imagined their own pretenſions to be as good as theirs, for they were the deſcendents of Eſau, Jacob's elder brother, Gen. xxxvi. 12. where it is ſaid, that Timna, the concubine of Eliphaz, bare to him Amalek,

their

their arms during the night, whilſt Moſes, Joſhua, and the other principal officers of the army, ſat in council, regulating the operations of the enſuing day. When the dawn began to appear, Moſes recommended to Joſhua and the other commanders of the Hebrews, and alſo to the ſoldiers in general, to fulfil, by their conduct on that day, the expectations which the world had conceived of them, and thereby to acquire immortal fame.

Having thus impreſſed their minds with a due ſenſe of piety, and an eager deſire of glory, Moſes recommended them to the divine protection, and retired to the top of the mountain. The two armies immediately joined battle, and the conteſt was carried on with great obſtinacy on both ſides. Whilſt Moſes held up his hands, the battle went in favour of the Iſraelites; but when, through fatigue, he was incapable of holding them up any longer, the Amalekites had the advantage. When Moſes noticed this circumſtance, he deſired Aaron and Hur, the huſband of his ſiſter Miriam, to place themſelves by his ſide, and ſupport his hands; with a ſtrict caution not to ſuffer them to drop again. The Amalekites were utterly routed, and not a man would have eſcaped, had not the darkneſs of the night favoured the flight of the wretched remains of their army. This victory ſtands unparalleled in the whole hiſtory of our anceſtors, both for the glory of the action, and for the beneficial conſequences with which it was attended; it being a deciſive conqueſt obtained over an invading enemy, the fame of which ſpread terror throughout all the adjacent provinces; and which was, likewiſe, attended with an immenſe booty. The plunder conſiſted of gold and ſilver plate, veſſels of braſs curiouſly wrought, money, ſplendid arms and habits, horſes, baggage, and other valuable articles. Such was the event of this battle.

The Amalekites totally routed.

On the next day, Moſes gave orders to ſtrip the bodies of the dead, and to collect their ſcattered arms: he alſo conferred rewards on thoſe who had particularly diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their valour. Nor did he neglect to aſcribe due praiſe to the merit of the general; giving him public thanks for his conduct on the occaſion, which were confirmed by the ſhouts and acclamations of the whole army. The number of the ſlain of the Amalekites was ſo great, as to baffle all computation, whilſt the Hebrews loſt not a ſingle man in the action. Moſes erected an altar on the ſpot, which he dedicated and inſcribed to *God the Conqueror*, and ſacrificed thereon; predicting, at the ſame time, the total deſtruction of the Amalekites, in conſequence of their treacherous conduct towards the Hebrews, when they were on the verge of periſhing in the wilderneſs. The ſolemnity concluded with feaſtings and rejoicings; Joſhua and the other officers, with the whole army, being entertained by Moſes in a manner ſuitable to the occaſion.

Moſes diſtributes rewards to the army, and, in token gratitude, erects an altar God.

This was the firſt action in which the Hebrews were engaged, from the time of their departure from Egypt. After having refreſhed themſelves for a few days, they proceeded forwards with a better regulated and more numerous army than before; the plunder which they took from the Amalekites having enabled them to ſupply a great number of the people with arms. Continuing their progreſs thus, by ſhort marches, they arrived at Mount Sinai, where, as we have already obſerved, God appeared to Moſes in the burning buſh *. This was the third month from the time of their leaving Egypt.

CHAP. III.

Jethro repairs to Mount Sinai, to felicitate his Son-in-law Moſes on his late Succeſſes.

WHEN the news of the miraculous ſucceſs which Moſes had experienced was communicated to Jethro, he immediately determined to pay his ſon-in-law a viſit, with the view of congratulating him on the occaſion, and of meeting with his daughter Zipporah and their children. Moſes received him with the greateſt joy imaginable; and, offering up a ſacrifice to God, feaſted all the people, diſtinguiſhing them according to their tribes and families, on a ſpot not far diſtant from the burning buſh already mentioned. In the midſt of their feſtivity, Aaron, Raguel, and the reſt, ſung hymns in honour of the Omnipotent Author of their late deliverance: nor did they omit to pay the due tribute of praiſe to the army, and to their preſerver, by whoſe authority and guidance ſo many wiſe and brave men were directed in their proceedings, which were attended with ſuch aſtoniſhing ſucceſs.

Jethro's prudent counſel to Moſes accepted.

While Moſes was attending to the judicial appeals of the public, his father-in-law obſerved, that he muſt be greatly embarraſſed by the diverſity of buſineſs in which he was engaged; but, conſcious that the people held his authority in ſo high a reverence as to ſubmit more chearfully to the moſt ſevere ſentence from him, than obtain a partial deciſion in their favour from another tribunal, he judged it not prudent to interrupt the courſe of public juſtice: but when the buſineſs of the day was concluded, he delivered his ſentiments, and adviſed that other perſons ſhould be united with Moſes in the adminiſtration of juſtice, and in the government of ſo conſiderable a number of people.

This propoſal was highly agreeable to Moſes; and

* There is a convent at Mount Sinai, dedicated to St. Catherine, where the ſhrine and relics of that ſaint are depoſited in a marble cheſt. Adjoining the church is the chapel of the Holy Buſh. Here are two wells: one is called the Well of Moſes, and the other, the Well of the Holy Buſh. The Turks deſtroyed the pavement of the church, expecting to find treaſures; but Athanaſius afterwards repaired it in an elegant manner.

he gave directions for immediately adopting the ſeveral regulations which Jethro had ſuggeſted; and before an aſſembly of the people, acknowledged them to be the production of his father-in-law.

CHAP. IV.

The Law of God is communicated to Moſes upon the Mount Sinai. The Ten Commandments.

Moſes aſcends Mount Sinai.

MOSES called an aſſembly of the people, and informed them of his intention of repairing to the mount for the purpoſe of addreſſing himſelf to the Lord; adding, that he entertained the hope of returning with comfortable aſſurances. Having directed them to pitch their tents at the foot of the mount, he aſcended.

As Moſes had directed, the Hebrews ſtationed themſelves at the foot of the mountain, where they humbled themſelves before the Lord, and ruminated on the agreeable information promiſed them on the return of their leader. During his abſence they obſerved the appointed feſtivals, frequently purified themſelves, and lived in the moſt rigid continence, in obedience to the command impoſed upon them, ſupplicating God to extend his gracious favour to Moſes, and through him to beſtow upon them what might be deemed expedient towards their happineſs. They feaſted on this occaſion, and their wives and children were dreſſed with more than ordinary pomp. Before ſun-riſe, on the third day, a thick cloud* appeared, covering the whole camp of the Hebrews, every other part of the hemiſphere being remarkably clear; this was the firſt prodigy known of the kind. A violent ſtorm of thunder, lightning, wind, and rain enſued, intimating that God was preſent. So greatly alarme[illegible]re the Hebrews by this circumſtance, that, wi[illegible]marks of the greateſt conſternation, they cloſely confined themſelves to their tents, admitting the belief that God, in his diſpleaſure, had taken away Moſes, and that they ſhould experience a ſimilar fate. While they were under this terrible apprehenſion Moſes returned, but with ſuch expreſſions of joy and dignity in his countenance, that their fears were removed: the air now recovered its former ſerenity.

Moſes led the people to a ſpot where they diſtinctly heard the immediate voice of God giving them inſtructions concerning the performance of their duty. To this he was induced by the conſideration, that theſe inſtructions would come with far greater weight from God himſelf than from the lips of any mortal. The voice was diſtinctly heard and underſtood by every one preſent; but with regard to the commandments, which were compriſed in the two tables left by Moſes, we are reſtricted from giving the identical words thereof, but the purport of them is as follows:

1. We are taught that there is but one God, and that he alone is intitled to our adoration.
2. That we are not to worſhip the image or repreſentation of any living creature.
3. That every man is bound to abſtain from ſwearing raſhly.
4. The ſeventh day is to be kept holy, and not to be profaned by labour.
5. That our parents have the ſtrongeſt claim to our obedience and reſpect.
6. That we muſt do no murder.
7. That we are prohibited from committing adultery.
8. That we are not to ſteal the property of another.
9. That we muſt not, in any manner, calumniate the character of others.
10. That no man muſt covet any thing that belongs to his neighbour.

The people expreſſed great ſatisfaction in hearing from the mouth of the Almighty thoſe particulars which had been before communicated to them by Moſes. A few days only had elapſed, however, when they began to importune Moſes to obtain for them a code of laws† for the regulation of their civil concerns, with which he complied.

Moſes re-aſcends the mountain, and remains there forty days.

Nearly about this period Moſes again repaired to the mount, having previouſly acquainted the people with his deſign, that a ſufficient number might be preſent at the time of his retiring thither. As he continued there longer than they had expected, forty days being elapſed before his return, the people began to be apprehenſive for his ſafety; and, in the midſt of their fears, they dreaded nothing ſo much as the being deprived of him by any ſiniſter accident. They were much divided in their ſentiments on the occaſion: ſome, who were not very favourably diſpoſed towards him, inſiſted that he had certainly been devoured by wild beaſts; others, more charitably inclined, fancied that the Almighty had taken him to himſelf; but thoſe of moſt prudence among them, conſidered the matter in both points of view.

He returns to the army.

At the expiration of forty days, during which he taſted neither food nor drink,

* The miraculous *cloud of glory* indicated ſome inviſible and majeſtic preſence; and the extraordinary commotion and perturbation in the courſe of nature, manifeſtly diſcovered his immediate interpoſition; and the heavenly miniſters, who were attendants upon the divine Majeſty, ſummoned the people by a ſound reſembling that of a trumpet.

† Though it be true that theſe judicial laws were given by Moſes to the Hebrews only, and that other nations muſt be governed by the laws of their ſeveral countries; yet ſuch is the juſtice and equity on which they are founded, as to render them worthy the imitation of other ſtates and kingdoms. And it is not without reaſon alledged, that many of the laws of Sparta, Athens, Rome, and other commonwealths, were borrowed from the Moſaic inſtitution.

Moſes

Moſes returned to the army, by whom he was received with inconceivable joy. He acquainted them, that, as a proof of the divine favour to them, the Almighty had communicated to him, for their uſe, a ſet of inſtructions which would render their lives virtuous and happy. He further informed them, that it was God's pleaſure that they ſhould build a tabernacle *, for his occaſional reſidence among them; whereby the neceſſity of any future journies to Mount Sinai would be precluded, as this tabernacle was ſtill to accompany the army wherever it went. With reſpect to the form and dimenſions of the building, he told them, that he was already provided with full inſtructions; and concluded with producing to them the two tables, on which were inſcribed, by the hand of God himſelf, the ten commandments, five on each table.

CHAP. V.

By the Appointment of God, Moſes erects a ſuperb Tabernacle for the divine Worſhip.

The people contribute largely towards building the tabernacle.

THE return of Moſes, and the diſcourſe he held, greatly elevated the affections of the people, who became emulous to ſurpaſs each other in contributions towards the intended ſtructure. Gold, ſilver, copper, ſcarce and valuable wood, that was not ſubject to injury from the worm; precious ſtones ſet in gold; rich perfumes of various kinds; ſcarlet, purple, white and blue ſheep-ſkins, wool of the ſame colours, and cattle for ſacrifices, were preſented in great abundance. Some of the people gave in proportion to their poſſeſſions, and others conſiderably more than they could afford without inconvenience. The public contribution being made, Moſes ſelected ſkilful architects, and ordered them to forward the building with all poſſible diſpatch, according to the commands he had received from the Almighty. Theſe architects are mentioned in the ſacred ſcriptures; one was named Bezaleel, and he was the ſon of Uri, of the tribe of Judah; and the other was Aholiab, the ſon of Aheſamath, of the tribe of Dan; and of ſo high a reputation were they for proficiency in the art they profeſſed, that they would have been appointed to the employment, had the election depended on the voice of the public.

Particulars concerning it.

Moſes judging it expedient to put a check upon the extenſive liberality of the people, iſſued a proclamation, ſetting forth, that what had been collected was fully ſufficient for the uſe and ſervice of the tabernacle, which was to be ſo contrived as to admit of removal as occaſion might require. In due obſervance of the commands he received from God upon the mount, Moſes gave inſtructions concerning the magnitude and proportion of the building, and the conſtruction of the ſacrificing and other veſſels and utenſils neceſſary for divine worſhip. In forming the ſacerdotal veſtments, the women diſplayed great zeal in the pompous ornaments they provided; and in other reſpects they employed their attention in contributing to the magnificence of the ſtructure, and ſupporting the dignity of the ſacred function. The materials being prepared, Moſes appointed a feſtival, enjoining every man to attend and offer ſacrifice according to his ability; and when this ceremony was performed, he began to conſtruct the tabernacle, which we ſhall endeavour to deſcribe with all poſſible accuracy.

Model of it.

In the outward court, which was an hundred cubits in length, and fifty in breadth, were twenty pillars of braſs, placed at equal diſtances, ten pillars being ranged along, and ten acroſs the building; each pillar was five cubits high, and decorated with borders and rings of ſilver: the baſes of theſe were of braſs curiouſly wrought and gilt, and were affixed to the earth by means of pins, each of a cubit in length. Cords being paſſed through the rings, bound the ſeveral parts together in ſo compact a manner, as to give it ſufficient firmneſs to withſtand the moſt violent guſts of wind: and, from the cornices, a veil of the fineſt linen wrought with great ingenuity, depended to the very baſes of the ſtructure.

The front of this edifice was fifty cubits in width. The entrance was twenty cubits wide, with two pillars of wood on each ſide the paſſage. The baſes of theſe were overlaid with braſs, and all the remaining part with ſilver. There were ſix other pillars, three on each ſide, which, for the ſake of ſtrength, were let into each other, and concealed from view by a curtain of exquiſite workmanſhip. The entrance, which, as it has been already obſerved, was twenty cubits wide, was alſo five cubits in depth; and before it hung a veil of fine linen, curiouſly wrought with flowers and figures, in colours of violet, ſcarlet, and purple; but the repreſentation of animated crea-

* God having now ſolemnly ratified his covenant with Iſrael, to be their God and king, and they his peculiar ſervants and people, gives orders next about a place for his ſolemn worſhip, where, by viſible ſymbols of his divine preſence, he ſhould reſide among them as their governor and protector, and the great object of their adoration. This was to be the tabernacle with the ark in it, which, agreeable to their travelling condition while in the wilderneſs, was to be a kind of portable temple to move along with them. Its frame, faſhion, utenſils, miniſters, and ſervices, to be ſuch as would be a model of that more magnificent temple ſervice in the land of Canaan, even as that temple itſelf was to be but a figurative reſemblance of a more complete and ſpiritual diſpenſation of religion under the Meſſiah. See Heb. viii. 5.

The myſtery of the tabernacle was fully underſtood by the learned Nachmanides, who, in few words, but pregnant, expreſſed himſelf to this purpoſe; "The myſtery of the tabernacle was this, that it was to be a place for the Shechinah, or habitation of Divinity, to be fixed in;" and this, no doubt, as a ſpecial type of God's future dwelling in Chriſt's human nature, which was the TRUE SHECHINAH.

tures

The laver. tures was avoided. A laver, being a large veſſel of braſs, with a foot of the ſame metal, was placed within the gate of the court, for the prieſts to waſh their hands and feet therein *.

The tabernacle ſtood in the midſt of the court, with its front to the eaſt, for the benefit of receiving the rays of the ſun at its riſing. Its length was thirty cubits, its breadth twelve, and its height equal to the breadth. Of its two ſides, one faced the ſouth, and the other the north; and the proſpect from the back front was towards the weſt. Each of theſe ſides was formed of twenty planks, of a quadrangular ſhape, a cubit and a half in breadth, and of the thickneſs of four fingers; theſe planks were overlaid with gold; with two tenons, let into as many mortiſes, to each plank, and two baſes of ſilver. The weſt-front was compoſed of ſix planks, of the ſame kind with the foregoing, which were alſo covered with gold, and were inſerted into each other with ſo much art, that they appeared to be one intire piece. Theſe ſix planks meaſured but nine cubits; but two others, of the ſame dimenſions with reſpect to length and breadth, but much thicker than the reſt, were added to them, and placed in the ſame poſition, one at each end, for the purpoſe of connecting more firmly the two ends, and the weſt-front of the tabernacle together.

Rings. Golden rings, or ſtaples, were faſtened to all theſe planks, and they were placed in regular order, anſwering in a direct line to each other. Several bars, plated with gold, and of the length of five cubits, were paſſed through theſe rings, and, extending from one end to the other, were deſigned to ſtrengthen that diviſion of the building, by compacting its various parts as cloſely as poſſible. The back part of this edifice was furniſhed, in like manner, with bars and rings; the bars being diſpoſed in ſuch order as to anſwer to each other. Bolts and ſtaples were alſo fixed at the corners; and theſe, with the aſſiſtance of mortiſes, to bind the different parts together, ſerved to ſecure the tabernacle from the injuries of the weather.

Diviſions of the tabernacle. The inner part of this tabernacle conſiſted of three diviſions, each of the length of ten cubits. At the above diſtance from the bottom ſtood four pillars, with equal ſpaces between them, reaching from one ſide of the tabernacle to the other: theſe pillars, and their baſes, were conſtructed on the ſame plan, and with the like materials, as thoſe mentioned before. Beyond theſe pillars, was the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, or *Holy of Holies*, into which even the prieſts, to whom all the other parts of the tabernacle were open, were prohibited entrance.

The tabernacle, being thus divided into three parts, appears to bear ſome analogy to the plan of the univerſe. The firſt diviſion, to which the very prieſts were denied acceſs, may be admitted, in ſome meaſure, to reſemble the heavens, as being the reſidence of the Deity: and the two other diviſions, which were free to the prieſts alone, may be conſidered as no unapt emblems of the earth and ſea. Five gilded columns, the baſes of which were braſs, ſtood at the entrance of this tabernacle, with curtains or veils of fine yarn, which were dyed blue, purple, and ſcarlet, and interwoven with each other.

Curtains. The firſt curtain, which ſerved to ſeparate the *Holy of Holies*, or the ſpace within the four pillars mentioned above, from the *Holy*, was ten cubits ſquare, and richly ornamented with flowers, and various other figures, except thoſe of living creatures. A ſecond curtain, of equal ſize and workmanſhip, overſpread the five columns at the entrance of the building, being faſtened with hooks and eyes to the top, and hanging down as low as the middle of the columns; the remaining part being left open for the entrance of the prieſts. This curtain was commonly concealed from view by another of the ſame ſize, placed at a ſmall diſtance from it, but leſs coſtly in its materials and workmanſhip. A number of rings were tacked to the outer curtain, with ſtrings paſſed through them, to draw it up at pleaſure; and, on particular occaſions, to expoſe the inner one to the view of the people. The outer one ſerved at ordinary times, and in bad weather eſpecially, as a kind of fence to that within, from the rain or any other injury. To this day, the ſame ſort of curtain is uſed at the door of the temple.

Hangings. The tabernacle was covered, both at the top and ſides, with ten pieces of hanging, which reached within a foot of the floor. Theſe hangings † were each twenty-eight cubits in length, and of the breadth of four cubits, and were joined together with golden loops, in ſo artificial a manner, that they ſeemed to form one whole piece. Eleven other pieces of the ſame breadth, but longer by two cubits each, than the former; and which were made of goat's hair, inſtead of wool, of which the others were compoſed, ſerved as coverings to the ten above mentioned: and the eleventh was hung againſt the door of the tabernacle, to which office it was particularly deſtined on account of its being the odd number. Over theſe coverings of goat's hair was another of ſkins, to preſerve them from the bad ef-

* Ablution was an ancient right obſerved in all acts of worſhip as a proper emblem of that moral and internal purity which renders every oblation acceptable to God. See *Gen.* xxxv. 2. *be clean.* This was the firſt thing that was done for *hallowing* the prieſts, as we read *Lev.* viii. 6. And therefore 'tis probable, that their *whole bodies* were now waſhed, in token of their obligation to ſtudy *univerſal purity*, and to cleanſe themſelves from *all* unrighteouſneſs in general; but afterwards they were appointed to waſh only their *hands and feet* before they entered into the tabernacle (*ch.* xxx. 19, &c.), to remind them of that particular reverence, and pious recollection which becomes men in their immediate approaches to God, and of thoſe partial blemiſhes, and daily imperfections, from which even thoſe had need to be cleanſed who are habitually pure and holy.

† The Hebrew word ſignifies "ſlings;" the Chaldee renders it "curtains:" they were, as Grotius aſſerts, pinked or perforated with holes, ſo as not to exclude the ſight, though they hindered the approach.

fects of the heat and the rain. This ſpectacle, at a diſtance, from its ſky-coloured appearance, ſeemed to many to be an exact repreſentation of the heavens.

The ark. The tabernacle being thus completed, they next began to conſtruct the ark, for which purpoſe they made uſe of a certain wood, which is called Heron by the Hebrews, the extreme hardneſs of which enables it, in a particular manner, to reſiſt either rottenneſs or the worm. The figure and dimenſions of the ark were as follow: The length of it was two cubits and a half, and the breadth and depth one and a half; the whole being overlaid with the fineſt gold, and contrived with ſuch ſkill, both within and without, that not the leaſt part of the wood could be ſeen. A number of golden hooks were employed to cramp together the different parts of the cover, all of which were highly poliſhed, and ſo firm as to preclude all danger of their grating againſt each other.

Four golden rings were faſtened to the frame, one at each corner: and through theſe were paſſed two bars of gilt iron, one on either ſide, for the purpoſe of removing the ark from place to place; for the ſole mode of conveyance uſed was that of carrying it on men's ſhoulders, which office was performed by the prieſts and Levites alone. On this cover were placed two winged figures, called by the Hebrews Cherubims *; and which correſponded with the deſcription given by Moſes of thoſe beings which he ſaw ſurrounding the throne of God; the like of which no mortal had ever ſeen before. The two tables of the decalogue were depoſited in the ark, which was appointed to be placed in the ſanctuary.

Cherubims.

Table of ſhewbread. A table, to which that at Delphos bore no ſmall reſemblance, was fixed in this tabernacle; the length being two cubits, the breadth one, and the height a cubit and a half. The feet of this table were round, from the bottom upwards to the middle, but ſquare from thence to the top; with a border projecting from them, of the thickneſs of four fingers, and a crown of gold encompaſſing it on every ſide: theſe feet, in ſhort, exactly reſembled thoſe which the Dorians make uſe of for their beds. Four rings of gold were faſtened beneath this border, into the upper parts of the feet, one to each corner; with gilt bars made of the moſt ſolid wood, to ſerve as handles for removing it as occaſion ſhould require. This table was placed on the north ſide of the temple, at a ſmall diſtance only from the ſanctuary. Twelve loaves of unleavened bread, ſix on each ſide, continually ſtood on the table, piled regularly one above another. Each loaf contained the quantity of two aſſars, or ſeven attic cotylas, equal to two omers, according to the Hebrew meaſure, of the fineſt flour: and above each pile of loaves was placed a golden diſh filled with incenſe. Theſe loaves were removed at the end of every ſeven days, and the table ſupplied with freſh ones. The ſeventh day is that which we term our *ſabbath*. But of this we ſhall ſpeak more at large in the ſubſequent part of the work.

Golden candleſtick. On the ſouth ſide, directly oppoſite to the tabernable, ſtood a candleſtick, caſt in gold, and hollowed throughout; the weight thereof being one hundred minas, called by the Hebrews, cinchares, and by the Greeks, a talent. The ornaments of this candleſtick conſiſted of bowls, lilies, pomegranates, and ſmall cups, amounting to ſeventy pieces, and were ſpread over the ſeven branches, anſwering to the number of the planets, of which the candleſtick was compoſed. Each branch was ſurmounted with a lamp; and, as the candleſtick ſtood in an oblique poſition, all theſe lamps fronted toward the eaſt and ſouth.

Altar of incenſe. In the ſpace between the aforeſaid candleſtick and table, a ſmall altar of incenſe was placed, which was conſtructed with the ſame impenetrable kind of wood ‡ with the ark. The length and breadth of this altar were each one ſquare cubit, and the height two cubits; with a golden fire-hearth, encompaſſed with a border of the ſame metal, and rings and ſtaves, for the convenience of removing it.

In the front of the tabernacle, another altar was erected, of the ſame kind of wood with the former; being five cubits ſquare, and three in height. It was framed upon the ſame model with that beforementioned, with this diſtinction only, that every part of it was overlaid with braſs, and that a grate, formed of a kind of net-work, was fixed in a middle ſpace between the top and bottom, to admit the paſſage of the aſhes. A number of phials, cenſers, cups, pans, and other inſtruments, were alſo provided for the ſervice of the altar, all which were made of fine gold.

* Theſe did not contradict the ſecond commandment, becauſe they were not made as ſymbols of any deity, or as objects of adoration; they were only to repreſent to the Jews, by their proſtrate attitude, the neceſſity of adoring the God of Iſrael, who reſided in his glory between them. Their form approached that of oxen more than that of any other animal, not but that they were a kind of chimera, reſembling no particular animal, according to the aſſertion of hiſtorians; and as their faces probably reſembled that of an ox, the ſymbol of the Egyptian deity, the Iſraelites might from hence be led to ſuppoſe them the ſymbols of the preſence of the true God.

‡ This altar was to be of wood rather than of ſolid braſs, that it might not be too heavy: but notwithſtanding its being overlaid with braſs, ver. 2. had it been common wood, it muſt have been ſoon conſumed to aſhes by the continual heat; wherefore Le Clerc conjectures, that this ſhittim-wood might be the larch-tree, which bears the fire like ſtone. Pliny ſays of it; *Nec ardet, nec carbonem facit, nec alio modo ignis vi conſumitur, quam lapides*, Nat. Hiſt. l. xvi. c. 10. Calmet ſuppoſes this altar to have been a kind of coffer or wooden frame of about five feet and a half high, and the one half of its height to have been occupied by feet on which it ſtood. Thus, he thinks it would both be more portable than as we commonly ſuppoſe it, and the fire having vent from below, would be leſs apt to melt the braſs or burn the wood. To which he adds, that all the altars of the Egyptian Iſis are repreſented in this faſhion, i. e. as frames ſupported by feet.

CHAP. VI.

The Garments of the Prieſts, High-Prieſts; the Purifications, and Feſtivals.

The prieſts' garments.

EVERY prieſt was prohibited from exerciſing the ſacerdotal office, till he had firſt been purified, in the uſual forms preſcribed by our law. The under garment, which he wore, was made of fine linen, twined in folds, and is called a manachaſe, or binder, by the Hebrews, and in ſhape much reſembles our trowſers, or drawers. The prieſt, in putting it on, drew it over his feet, and it was open from the top downwards, and cloſely tied upon the hips. Over this was a coat of very fine linen, called chethemene, ſignifying a linen cloth; chethon being the term uſed for flax, of which linen is made. It ſat very cloſe to the body, having narrow ſleeves reaching to the ground. This garment was faſtened about the waiſt with a linen girdle, of the breadth of four fingers, and ornamented with needle-work of divers colours, ſo ingeniouſly executed, as to reſemble, in a conſiderable degree, the ſkin of a ſnake. Various flowers and figures, in blue, purple, and ſcarlet, were embroidered on this girdle, which paſſed twice round the body of the prieſt, and, for ornament ſake, was ſuffered to hang down to his feet, except on thoſe occaſions when he was engaged in the duties of his office, at which times he threw it back over his left ſhoulder, that he might have his hands the more at liberty. This girdle was called abaneth by Moſes; but we now term it emian; a word which we have borrowed from the Babyloniaſis. There was neither plait nor fold in this garment, which was made wide at the neck, and was held together with a buckle, both before and behind; the Hebrews have given it the name of maſſabaanzes.

The maſnaemphthes, or cap.

The prieſts alſo wore a ſort of mitre or cap, called maſnaemphthes, which reſembled a ſmall helmet, and covered little more than one half of the head. This cap was made of linen, and being bound about the head with a fillet, covered with another of finer texture; and this came ſo low, as totally to conceal the under one, and to ſecure it from all danger of falling off, while the prieſt was performing ſacrifice.

Excluſive of the habits and ornaments abovementioned, the high-prieſt was accuſtomed to wear certain others, to which he was entitled by his office: ſuch as the methir, which is a purple robe reaching to his ancles, and is faſtened round him with a girdle, nearly reſembling that already deſcribed, except that the ornaments were variegated with gold. A fringe went round the bottom of this veſt, which was alſo ornamented with curious pomgranates and bells of gold, placed interchangeably, and at equal diſtances. This robe was without ſeam, and had two openings in it, both lengthways; the one reaching a little below the ſhoulders, and the other to the middle of the breaſt, with a border to conceal thoſe openings, and another to cover the parts through which the arms were to paſs into the ſleeves.

The ephod.

The prieſt wore over this garment another, which greatly reſembled the epomis of the Greeks, according to the deſcription which has been given us of the latter, and was named the ephod*. The length of it was a cubit, and it was embroidered in every part with gold and a great variety of the moſt beautiful colours: it had alſo ſleeves to it; and thus was in reality nothing more than a ſhort coat. Upon the middle of the breaſt of this robe was left a vacancy for receiving the eſſen, which by the Greeks is called logion, ſignifying the *Oracle*, or in the Latin, *Rationale*. To the corners of the eſſen were affixed rings of gold, through which purple ribbons were paſſed for the purpoſe of faſtening the eſſen and the ephod together. The ſeams and ſpaces were concealed by ſtrings of a colour correſpondent to the veſtment, being wrought over them. On each ſhoulder, the high-prieſt wore a ſardonyx ſet in gold; and theſe ſtones anſwered the purpoſe of claſps, by cloſing the parts of the ephod. The names of Jacob's twelve ſons were engraven upon the abovementioned ſtones in Hebrew characters; that worn on the right ſhoulder bearing the names of the ſix elder, and the other thoſe of the younger brethren. The eſſen was enriched by twelve ſtones of beautiful appearance and ineſtimable value; on theſe twelve ſtones the names of Jacob's twelve ſons were reſpectively engraven, according to the order of their births; and this diſtinction was given on account of their being eſteemed the ſuperiors of our ſeveral tribes. They were made faſt by ſmall partitions of gold, and diſpoſed into four rows; the firſt conſiſting of a ſardonyx, a topaz and an emerald; the ſecond a ruby, a jaſper and a ſapphire; the third a lygryus, an amethyſt, and an agat; and the fourth a chryſolite, an onyx, and a beryl. As a farther ſupport to the weight of theſe precious ſtones, two other faſtenings were conveyed to the upper part of the eſſen, and to them were joined two gold chains, worked in wreaths, and reaching to the ſhoulder-piece; the upper ends of the chains were carried about the back and hooked behind the border of the ephod. A girdle of the colour of the robe was alſo joined to the eſſen, and this paſſing twice round the body, was formed in a knot before, where the ends, depending from the waiſt, were terminated by taſſels of gold fringe, curiouſly wrought.

The oracle.

The high-prieſt's mitre.

The tiara, or mitre of the high-prieſt, differed no otherwiſe from that of the in-

* Whoever conſiders the compoſition of the ephod, the breaſt-plate ſet with the richeſt jewels, the robe, the crown of gold, the gems on the ſhoulders of the ephod, together with their ſize, their arrangement, and the engravings upon them, muſt, with Philo confeſs, that the laity adorned the prieſts like ſo many kings, who awed the ſpectator by their ſolemnity and the magnificence of their dreſs, βασιλεως εις σεμνοτητα και τιμην. And it was partly owing to the effect of this dreſs, that Alexander was ſo ſtruck with the appearance of the high-prieſt, that he proſtrated himſelf, and ſaluted him. See Book XI. c. 8.

ferior

ferior prieſts, than in being covered with another, of a purple or violet colour, and ſurmounted with a triple crown of gold. A kind of cup, much reſembling the bud of a plant which is called, by the Hebrews, ſaccharus, and hyoſceamos by the Greeks, was placed over this crown. But, for the information of thoſe to whom this plant is utterly unknown, or known by name only, it may not be amiſs to ſubjoin a ſhort deſcription of it. The plant in queſtion, grows uſually to the height of ſomething more than two ſpans; the root of it bearing ſome reſemblance to that of a turnip, and its leaf to mint. The bud is ſhaped like a round knob, and is incloſed in a coat, which cracks and falls off, in proportion as the fruit grows ripe. This cup, which, as I before obſerved, was placed over the golden crown, was much about the ſize of the joint of a man's little finger, and round and hollow, like the inſide of a goblet; but, for the benefit of the reader, I will explain myſelf a little more fully on the ſubject. It was partly of a hemiſpherical figure, narrow towards the top, and widening itſelf towards the brims, like a pomgranate cut in two: nature had furniſhed it with a cover, ſo curiouſly rounded, that it ſeemed to have been turned for the purpoſe, and from this there aroſe a number of ſharp points, reſembling the prickles of a pomgranate: and within this cup was the fruit contained. Its ſeed was ſhaped like that of the plant ſideritis, or wall-ſage, and it bore a flower which differed very little in its appearance from that of plantane. Such was the figure of the ornaments on that part of the mitre which reached from the neck round to the temples; but on that part which covered the forehead, was fixed a golden plate, on which was inſcribed the holy name of God. It is unneceſſary to add any thing further, reſpecting the habits of the high-prieſt.

CHAP. VII.

Aaron conſtituted High-Prieſt by the Command of God.

THE Almighty appeared to Moſes, and commanded him to appoint his brother Aaron to the high-prieſt-hood. Hereupon Moſes aſſembled the people, and in a moſt pathetic manner repreſented to them the great virtues of his brother Aaron, mentioning that he had repeatedly expoſed his life to imminent danger for the public welfare, for which he entertained the moſt zealous attachment.

Aaron made high-prieſt.

The people unanimouſly coincided in the appointment of Aaron; than whom no man had a better claim to the prieſthood, either with regard to the high rank of his family, or the gift of prophecy with which he was endued. Superadded to theſe conſiderations, the public were greatly influenced in his favour on account of his relationſhip to Moſes, whoſe extraordinary qualities had procured him a high degree of veneration.

The ſurplus of what had been collected towards building the tabernacle Moſes ordered to be expended in veils and coverings for the edifice in queſtion, the golden candleſtick, the altar of incenſe, and the other ſacred veſſels, in order to ſecure them from damage, in caſe of removal. He afterwards aſſembled the people, and laid a tax on them of half a ſhekel each perſon, to defray the expences of the work; computing four Attic drachmas to the Hebrew ſhekel: and to this they ſubmitted with all imaginable chearfulneſs. The number of thoſe upon whom this tax was levied was 605,550; who were all denizens, and from twenty to fifty years of age. The money thus raiſed was wholly appropriated to the ſervice of the tabernacle.

Moſes purified the tabernacle, and the prieſts who were ordained to offer ſacrifice, in the following manner: he mixed five hundred ſhekels-worth of the fineſt myrrh with an equal quantity of iris, to which he added half that quantity of cinnamon and balſam, both articles remarkable for their fragrancy. Theſe ingredients, being firſt pounded together, and ſteeped in a hin, equal to two Attic choas, of the beſt olive oil, were ſet over the fire, and melted down into an ointment of the moſt pleaſing odour conceivable. The ceremony of purification conſiſted in anointing the prieſts and the tabernacle with this ointment, and in offering up certain ſacrifices, of different kinds, in the tabernacle.

The tabernacle conſecrated.

The dedication of the tabernacle, and of all the veſſels belonging thereto, took place in the year following, on the new moon of the month Xanticus, or Niſan. The Almighty, on this occaſion, gave the Hebrews a convincing proof of his gracious acceptance of their zeal for his ſervice, by deſcending to take poſſeſſion of the building which they had erected for his reſidence. The circumſtances attending this miraculous event were as follow: The ſky was totally clear, ſave juſt over the tabernacle, which was covered as well as partly environed, with a cloud*, neither ſo thick as to indicate the approach of bad weather, yet ſufficiently opaque to intercept the ſight. From this cloud iſſued ſo gentle and refreſhing a dew, as convinced all true believers that God himſelf had deigned to viſit them in perſon on the occaſion.

* This cloud had for ſome time reſted on the tent of Moſes; but when the tabernacle was finiſhed, it ſettled upon the tabernacle, where it continued in the form of a cloud by day, and a glorious light by night, till they entered the land of Canaan, which had long before been promiſed to their fathers. The tabernacle was a type of our bleſſed Redeemer's dwelling in our nature, "The word was made fleſh, and dwelt amongſt us." The altar of burnt-offering pointed out the death and ſacrifice of our Lord. The altar of incenſe denoted our Lord's powerful interceſſion for us. And the ark of the covenant was an eminent emblem of him, from whoſe mouth we receive a law, founded upon better promiſes; by whoſe interceſſion we have acceſs to the throne of grace with all boldneſs, and whoſe ſatisfaction to the Divine Juſtice is our true propitiatory, or mercy-ſeat.

Moſes,

Offerings for sin.

Moſes, after having rewarded the various artizans who had been employed in erecting and ornamenting the edifice, according to their reſpective merits, offered up, in the door-way of the tabernacle, a bullock, a ram, and a kid, as an atonement for the ſins of the people, in obedience to the orders which he had received from the Almighty on that ſubject. When the beaſts were killed, Moſes took a part of the blood of each animal, and ſprinkled Aaron and his ſons therewith; after this, he purified them with water of the fountain, and anointed them with oil; and thus were they conſecrated prieſts of the Lord. This ceremony was performed for ſeven ſucceſſive days, on each day an oblation or ſacrifice being made to heaven. Moſes appointed the celebration of a feſtival on the eighth day, and on this occaſion enjoined the people to provide ſuch ſacrifices as their circumſtances would permit. They not only acquieſced in this order with chearfulneſs, but with an emulative piety ſtrove to excel each other in the value of their offerings. No fire had been carried to the altar; but when the ſacrifices were prepared and laid thereon, a flame, reſembling a flaſh of lightning, burſt forth and conſumed them, to the amazement of the ſpectators.

Nadab and Abihu conſumed by fire from heaven.

Had not Aaron been perfectly reſigned to the will of the Almighty, his ſorrow muſt have been extreme and inconſolable on account of the judgment of heaven upon Nadab and Abihu, the two eldeſt of his four ſons. Diſregarding the injunction of Moſes, they were preparing to ſacrifice, according to the ancient manner, when they were ſtruck to death by a judicial fire from heaven. Moſes directed their father and brothers to convey their remains out of the camp, and cauſe them to be interred in a proper manner. The people gave way to the moſt immoderate grief for the loſs of theſe brothers: but Moſes exhorted Aaron and his remaining [illegible] to bear the ſhock of this dreadful circumſtance with a becoming fortitude, obſerving that it was not conſiſtent with the dignity of the prieſt-hood to indulge the weakneſſes and private paſſions of humanity, in prejudice to the glory of the univerſal Creator.

Moſes paid no regard to the acclamations of the multitude, but intirely reſigned himſelf to the worſhip and ſervice of God, conducting himſelf as a private individual, excepting only that he continued to perform the duties of his holy function. Inſtead of repairing to Mount Sinai, he now retired to the tabernacle for inſtructions to regulate his conduct for the public advantage. He delivered to the people written laws and precepts for rendering them acceptable in the ſight of the Almighty, and for the preſervation of peace and unanimity.

The conſecration of the tabernacle, and of all thoſe things which were deſtined to its ſervice, being now completed, the people gave an unbounded looſe to their joy, which they expreſſed in continual hymns and ſacrifices; flattering themſelves that, as the Almighty had now condeſcended to take up his reſidence among them, all their difficulties would be at an end, and that they ſhould for the reſt of their lives enjoy an uninterrupted courſe of proſperity. All the tribes offered ſacrifice, both jointly, and ſeparately; and the leaders and princes of the different tribes brought each ſix waggons, drawn by two horſes, to aſſiſt in removing the tabernacle, in caſe of need: to theſe they added a charger weighing one hundred and thirty ſhekels, and a ſilver bowl of ſeventy ſhekels, both filled with fine flour mixed with olive-oil, and intended for the oblations; with an incenſe-cup, filled with perfumes, and eſtimated at the value of ten daricks. Their burnt-offering conſiſted of a young bullock, a ram, and a lamb of a year old; and, for their ſin offering, they ſacrificed a he-goat. They alſo ſacrificed each day two bullocks, five rams, as many lambs of the firſt year, and a like number of he-goats, for their peace-offerings: and theſe ſacrifices were continued at the rate of one each day, for the term of twelve days.

Moſes now conſtantly repaired to the tabernacle inſtead of Mount Sinai, to receive inſtructions from the Deity, relative to the laws which were to be eſtabliſhed for the government of the Hebrews; which, being of divine origin, and far above all human comprehenſion, were intitled to an implicit and perpetual obedience from thoſe for whoſe benefit they were promulgated.

CHAP. VIII.

Of Sacrifices and Purifications, with their Forms and Ceremonies.

Deſcription of ſacrifices.

SACRIFICES are either public or private, and there are two modes of celebration. One is called a burnt-offering, or holocauſt, ſignifying that "*the whole ſacrifice is to be burnt.*" The burnt-offering of a private man conſiſts of a bullock, a lamb, and a goat*; they muſt be males, and the two latter not more than a

Burnt-offering.

* By reſtraining the ſacrifice to bullocks, goats, and ſheep, God might poſſibly have had a reference to the rites made uſe of in this age, and by claiming theſe animals have vindicated his peculiar right to them in oppoſition to the idols to whom they were reſpectively offered. The Jewiſh ſacrifices might be conſidered as fines, and therefore limited to ſuch animals as were moſt uſeful, and the gratitude of the ſacrificer was ſhewn more manifeſtly, than if the uſeleſs ſpecies had been required, which may be one reaſon why ſwine were not offered, for the Jews never uſed them for food. As theſe animals were ſuch as were offered by the patriarchs, the enjoining them now was recalling the ſimplicity of thoſe early ages. Theſe animals were always at hand, and could for that reaſon be offered on any preſſing and ſudden emergence. Beſides this, we may conſider, that the ſacrifices were followed by a feaſt on the victim, which was eſteemed a federal rite, and therefore ſuch animals as were allowed for food, muſt neceſſarily be offered in ſacrifice. *Herod.* Lib. ii.

year old, though the first may somewhat exceed that age. Being killed, the priest sprinkles the blood of the animal about the altar, and, after being divided, salt is thrown upon the parts, and they are laid upon the wood, which is previously kindled to consume them. The entrails and feet being washed by the priest, he casts them into the flames, to be intirely consumed with the other parts of the offering. The skins are the property of the priest.

Peace-offering. For peace-offerings, or offerings of thanksgivings, the same species of creatures being male and female, upwards of a year old, and free from blemish, are sacrificed. The priest sprinkles the altar with blood, and lays thereon the kidneys, caul, fillets of the liver, and the rump of the lamb. The breast and right shoulder belong to the priest. The persons who offer the sacrifices are allowed to eat of what remains for the space of two days; but what is not consumed in that time, must be burnt.

Sin-offering. The sin-offering is performed in the same manner; but such as cannot provide the above sacrifices are allowed to substitute two young pigeons, or two turtles; one as a burnt-offering, and the other as a due to the priest.

For sins of ignorance. A lamb, or young she-goat, is the offering for the sin of ignorance; and in this ceremony the priest only sprinkles the corners of the altar with blood; after which he places upon the altar the kidneys, the caul, and the fibres of the livers of the sacrifices. The flesh and the skin belong to the priests in virtue of their office, and our law expresly orders that the whole of the flesh shall be eaten on the day of sacrifice.

For wilful sins. If a man is guilty of a wilful sin, of which no legal evidence can be adduced against him, he shall offer a ram as an atonement; the flesh of which shall be given to the priests; conditionally, that it be eaten in the tabernacle, and on the same day. The sole difference between the sin-offering of a private person and that of one of the heads of the tribes was, that the oblation of the latter consisted of a bull and a he-goat, instead of a ram, which was required from the former.

Laws for sacrifices, It was also ordained that in all sacrifices, whether private or public, a certain quantity of fine flour should be brought with each victim: the proportion being one assar to a lamb, two for a ram, and three to a bullock; and this was to be mixed with oil previous to its consecration. The proportion of oil used on these occasions was, half a hin to a bullock; a third part of one of those measures to a ram, and a fourth part to a lamb. A like quantity of wine was also provided for the same purpose, and was by the law ordered to be poured upon the altar. The method of offering fine flour, without sacrificing, for the performance of a vow, was, to spread a handful of it upon the altar, and to deliver the rest to the priest, to be eaten either boiled, or being kneaded with oil, or made into cakes; the person sacrificing, at the same time, reserving such a quantity as he deemed requisite for burnt-offerings. It is prohibited by the law to sacrifice the young with the dam, unless the former be at least eight days old. Divers sacrifices are appointed for the recovery of health, and in other cases; on all such occasions, cakes are eaten with the flesh of the victims, and the priests are admitted to take their share; but no part of it is allowed to be left till the next day.

CHAP. IX.

Laws relating to the Priests, the Sacrifices, solemn Days, and other religious and civil Matters.

IT is strictly ordained by the law, that a lamb of the first year shall be sacrificed every morning and evening, the charge to be defrayed out of the public treasury; an on the seventh day, or sabbath, two are to be offered up in like manner. At the beginning also of every month*, exclusive of the customary oblations, seven lambs, each one year old, and a ram were sacrificed; likewise a he-goat, as a propitiation for sin, lest any offence should, perchance, remain unexpiated. Numb. xxviii. xxix.

At the commencement of the seventh month, called Hyperberetæus, the offering consisted of a bullock, a ram, seven lambs, and a he-goat, for a sin-offering.

The tenth day of the same month was observed as a fast till night: and the offerings were a young bullock, two rams, seven lambs, and a he-goat for a propitiation, exclusive of two other goats; one of which was presented alive at the altar, and afterwards suffered to go loose into the wilderness, as a scape-goat, to atone for the sins of the people; the other goat and the bullock were conveyed to a clean spot, at a small distance from the camp, and there totally consumed to ashes. The high-priest afterwards returned to the temple, with the blood of the two animals, which he sprinkled with his finger, seven times, on the cover of the tabernacle, the golden altar, the great altar which stands before the door, the floor, and in general, the whole edifice: the bullock was provided on the occasion by the high-priest. The extremities, together with the kidneys, the fat, and part of the liver, were placed on the altar: and, with a ram, which was also furnished by the high-priest, were all sacrificed to the Almighty, as a burnt-offering.

The people received orders to put their tents in such a condition, by the fifteenth day of the same month, as to resist the rigour of the approaching winter: and they were further enjoined, immediately upon their entrance into the promised land, to repair to the capital, as being the place destined for the seat of the holy temple, and there to solemnize a festival of eight days, with burnt-offerings, oblations, and

* The Greeks also, probably in imitation of the monthly sacrifices of the Hebrews, appointed a person to observe, from an eminence, and give notice to the people, when the new moon first appeared, in order to their keeping, at the return of every month, or new moon, their feast of *Neomenia*. See the plate facing this page.

peace-offerings; carrying in their hands branches of myrtle, willow, and palms, with ſprigs of peach-tree.

The firſt of the eight days was ſet apart for the burnt-offering, which was to conſiſt of thirteen young bullocks, fourteen lambs, two rams, and a goat, for a propitiatory ſacrifice. A like number of the lambs and rams were daily offered up for the ſpace of ſix days: but of the bullocks, one was abated in the ſacrifice of each day, till they amounted to no more than ſeven. The eighth was to be kept as a day of reſt and relaxation: and the people offered up, as I have already obſerved, a calf, a ram, ſeven lambs, and a goat, for an atonement. In commemoration of the incident of the Hebrews erecting their tents, was the feaſt of tabernacles * inſtituted; and it is to this day obſerved by our people with all imaginable ſtrictneſs. On the fourteenth of the moon, of the month Xanticus, or Niſan, which is conſidered as the beginning of the year, we celebrate the feaſt of the paſſover †, as did our anceſtors at the time of their deliverance from the yoke of the Egyptians: in the celebration of this feſtival, we are enjoined by our laws to take eſpecial care not to leave any part of the oblation till the next day.

Feaſt of tabernacles.

The paſſover.

Feaſt of unleavened bread.

The feaſt of unleavened bread, which continues ſeven days, commences on the fifteenth of the ſame month, and is next in ſucceſſion to that of the paſſover. The oblations directed to be made on this occaſion are, two bullocks, one ram, and ſeven lambs, for a burnt-offering, and a goat each day, for a ſin offering, for the benefit of the prieſts. The people, on the ſecond day of the feaſt, and the ſixteenth of the month, offer up an oblation to God of the firſt fruits of their grain, before they preſume to taſte of it themſelves. The mode of the oblation is as follows; they parch a quantity of corn in the ear upon a clean hearth, and having bruiſed it well, they take the c ity of an aſſar, and place it upon the altar, whe one handful is ſuffered to remain, and the reſt falls to the ſhare of the prieſt. The people are then permitted to reap their corn as they pleaſe; and the oblation uſual in this caſe, is a lamb for a holocauſt, or burnt-offering.

Pentecoſt.

The feaſt of Pentecoſt was celebrated on the fiftieth day, that is, at the concluſion of ſeven weeks, or forty-nine days, ſubſequent to that of the paſſover: the term Pentecoſt ſignifies in the Greek tongue, *fifty*; which number is denoted in the Hebrew, by the term aſſartha, by which title the above feaſt is diſtinguiſhed by the Jews. The ſacrifice appointed for this day was two wheaten loaves of leavened-bread, containing two aſſars of flour, and the ſame number of lambs, which were to be eaten in the evening by the prieſts: but no part thereof was to be reſerved till the next day. The burnt-offerings were three calves, two ſheep, fourteen lambs, and two goats, for an atonement for ſin. There were alſo various other ordinances, regulating the number and quality of the burnt offerings, and the times in which they were allowed a relaxation from labour, in their ſeveral feaſts; together with certain rules, preſcribing which of the ſacrifices might be eaten.

It was further ordered that this bread ſhould be baked on the eve of the ſabbath, and placed the next morning on the holy table, forming two piles, each conſiſting of ſix loaves, which were to be placed oppoſite each other, with a golden cup of incenſe on the top of each pile: and theſe loaves were to remain till the next ſabbath-day, when they were to be given to the prieſt, and their places ſupplied with others. The incenſe was to be renewed in the like manner; and that which was taken away was ordered to be thrown into the holy fire, in which the burnt-offerings were conſumed. The quantity of an aſſar of fine flour ſteeped in oil, and ſlightly baked, was offered by the high-prieſt twice a day; the one half in the morning, and the remainder in the evening.

CHAP. X.

The Levites ſet apart. Laws and Ceremonies reſpecting Purifications.

MOSES, having ſeparated the tribe of Levi from the reſt of the people, to officiate at the altar, purified them with water from the ſpring; and after they had ſacrificed in the manner preſcribed by our law, committed to their care the tabernacle, the holy

* The tabernacles or walks for the celebration of this feaſt, were anciently made with the boughs of ſuch beautiful trees as abound with oil, fat, or reſin; becauſe the boughs of thoſe trees, by means of their oleaginous or reſinous nature, long retain their verdure. Nehemiah, ch. viii. 15. thus deſcribes them: "Go forth unto the mount, and fetch olive-branches and pine-branches, and myrtle-branches, and palm-branches, and branches of thick trees, to make booths, as it is written." But the practice now-a-days is a quite different thing.

† This feaſt is a ſolemn and religious duty, from which none, who are of age, are exempted, but the female ſex. It is ſolemnized twice every ſeaſon, on two ſucceſſive days; the ſame rites and ſervices being performed on each. The doubling of the feſtival is owing to the pretended uncertainty of the Jews in the matter of computing the time. The book of the law is brought out twice: five men read ſuch portions of it as relate to the offerings which were made on this feſtival, and likewiſe a haphtara out of the prophets. About noon there is ſometimes a ſermon in praiſe of the law. The book of Ruth is likewiſe read on this feaſt, becauſe Ruth's adventure happened in the time of the wheat harveſt.

In memory of the promulgation of the law, they ſtrew the ſynagogue, their houſes, and ſometimes the ſtreets they dwell in, with graſs and green herbs, and adorn all their windows with green boughs, and with roſes and other flowers, and ſometimes wear upon their heads chaplets of green herbs, becauſe all was green about mount Sinai when the law was delivered. With this view likewiſe, on this venerable anniverſary, they eat a great deal of that ſort of food which is produced from milk, as curds, cheeſecakes, cuſtards, &c. becauſe, ſay they, the law is white and pure, and ſweet as milk.

veſſels,

veſſels, and all things elſe thereunto appertaining, under the controul of the prieſts; and they were from this time conſidered as being conſecrated to the ſervice of the Deity.

At the ſame time, Moſes inſtructed the people in thoſe points which conſtituted the difference between meats clean and unclean; or thoſe which were allowed and thoſe which were prohibited from being eaten: but we ſhall ſpeak further with reſpect to this matter as opportunity ſhall offer. They were ſtrictly enjoined to abſtain from the blood of every kind of creature whatever, upon a perſuaſion that the very being of the animal was inherent therein: nor is the fleſh of any creature that hath died of itſelf; or the fat either of goats, ſheep, or oxen, to be eaten under any pretext whatever.

Unclean perſons. All lepers, and ſuch as were infected with a gonorrhœa, were obliged to retire from the city; and, in like manner, women, during the time of their courſes, were enjoined to withdraw themſelves from all communication with the other ſex for the ſpace of ſeven days, at the expiration of which they were conſidered as being purified, and were allowed to return to their families. They who had aſſiſted at the interment of a corpſe, were alſo deemed unclean for the ſeven ſucceeding days: but when the term of the pollution extends beyond ſeven days, the party muſt offer two lambs; one of which muſt be ſacrificed, and the other given to the prieſts. Leprous perſons are totally baniſhed the city, and excluded from all human converſation. But if it ſo happens that God is graciouſly pleaſed to free any perſon from this dreadful diſtemper, and to re-inſtate him in his former health, the party on whom ſuch bleſſing is conferred, is bound to offer various ſacrifices, in gratitude for the benefit beſtowed.

Laws for women in child-bed. A woman, who has lately brought forth a child, is reſtricted, if it be a male, both from entering the temple, and from attending on public worſhip, for the ſpace of forty days †; or, if it be a female, for double that term. But, at the expiration of that time, ſhe is admitted to make the oblations preſcribed in ſuch caſes; part of which are offered up to the Almighty, and the remainder falls to the ſhare of the prieſts.

For adultery, or jealouſy. If a man entertains a ſuſpicion of his wife's chaſtity, he muſt bring with him an oblation of an aſſar of barley-meal; ſpreading a handful of it on the altar, and delivering the reſt to the prieſt to be eaten. One of them, having placed the woman at the gate of the temple, which faces the tabernacle, takes off her veil, and, having inſcribed the ſacred name of God on a piece of parchment, orders her to declare upon her oath, whether ſhe had ever defiled her huſband's bed. To this ſhe replies with the following imprecation: "If I am guilty of the crime laid to my charge, may my thigh rot from my body, may my belly burſt, and let the laſt hours of my life be ſpent in torture: but if, on the other hand, it ſhall appear that the accuſation againſt me is founded ſolely on the unreaſonable jealouſy of my huſband, I beſeech thee, Lord, to grant me a ſon within the ſpace of ten months from the preſent day." The prieſt then waſhed the writing out of the parchment with fair water, into which, after having ſtrained it into an earthen veſſel, he caſt ſome of the duſt from the floor and walls of the temple, and preſented it to the woman to drink. In caſe ſhe proved innocent of the crime alledged againſt her, ſhe quickly afterwards conceived, and was, in due time, ſafely and happily delivered of her burthen; but if to the crime of incontinence ſhe added that alſo of perjury, her death was attended with all the circumſtances of horror and ignominy already mentioned.

† During the firſt ſeven, ſhe was denied the converſation of her friends, but, for the three days which ſucceeded, was permitted that liberty, being only excluded from the ſanctuary, and from partaking of the ſacrifices, which ſhe might otherwiſe have eaten. Maimonides imagines that this liberty was given to the Jews in oppoſition to the cuſtom of the Zabeans, who were religiouſly ſcrupulous,

CHAP. XI.

Laws prohibiting Adultery and Inceſt, and for regulating the Marriages of Prieſts. The Sabbath of the ſeventh Year, and the Year of Jubilee. Laws and Ordinances of War.

Divers laws and ordinances. MUTUAL confidence between man and wife was conſidered by Moſes as indiſpenſably neceſſary towards connubial happineſs; and he was convinced, that the intereſt of the government, as well as of private families, materially depended on the propagation of mankind under the ſanction of the marriage inſtitutes. Inceſt, either with the mother, mother-in-law, aunt, either on the ſide of father or mother, ſiſter, or daughter-in-law, he pronounced to be an abominable ſin. He forbad the cohabitation of man and wife during the periodical ſtate of purgation; and all unnatural intercourſe was ſtrictly forbidden, and ſeverely puniſhed.

Marriage of Prieſts. Beſides an obſervance of the general laws of matrimony, particular ordinations were made in reſpect to the prieſts. They were prohibited contracting marriage with maid-ſervants, ſlaves, women being divorced, or ſuch as came under the denomination of public hoſteſſes. A prieſt was permitted to marry a widow, but that liberty was not granted to a high-prieſt, who was enjoined to marry only a virgin. The high-prieſt was not allowed to approach the dead, but the inferior

and laid their women under great reſtraints in theſe caſes. The general idea, which all polite nations had of the uncleanneſs of women for the firſt month after child-birth, ſeems to have been originally derived from the Egyptians, from whom Pythagoras borrowed moſt of his doctrines, and eſpecially that relating to women in theſe circumſtances.

Perſons inveſted with the ſacerdotal function were permitted to ſhew the uſual forms of reſpect towards their deceaſed fathers, mothers, brothers, or children. A prieſt having any diſeaſe or bodily imperfection, was excluded from performing ceremonies at the altar, and even denied admiſſion to the temple, but he was allowed his full proportion of the oblations. Moſes judged that the exerciſe of the ſacred function required a purity of manners in the common concerns of life, and therefore deemed thoſe unworthy the ſacerdotal robe, who were not free from imputation on the ſcore of moral rectitude. The prieſts were not allowed the uſe of wine at the time of wearing the veſtments of their office; and the ſacrifices they made were appointed to be perfect in form, undivided, and free from impurity.

Year of Jubilee. At the approach of the year of jubilee*, which, being interpreted, ſignifies *Liberty*, all lands having been alienated, returned to the original proprietors: and the reſtitution was made in the following manner. An exact computation was formed of the produce of the land, from the time of the ſale thereof, and alſo of the charges which had accrued upon it, and, if the former were found to exceed the latter, the ground was reſtored to the ſeller, without any kind of condition whatever: but, if the expences amounted to more than the produce, the purchaſer received the difference, and relinquiſhed the poſſeſſion to the firſt owner: if the produce and the expences chanced to be equal, the land in that caſe alſo, again became the property of the ſeller. The ſame rule was alſo obſerved with reſpect to the ſale of houſes ſituated in villages; but a different mode was adopted in regard to thoſe in towns incloſed with walls. In this latter inſtance, if the ſeller refunded the purchaſe-money before the expiration of the twelve months, he was intitled to reſume the poſſeſſion; but, if he ſuffered that period to elapſe, he was deprived [illegible] by of all claim to this privilege till the year of jul[illegible].

Cuſtoms of war. Theſe neceſſary regulations being made for the religious and civil government of the ſtate, Moſes now directed his attention to the forming of certain ordinances relating to the military department. He, accordingly, iſſued orders to the heads of the ſeveral tribes (that of Levi only excepted) to form exact liſts of thoſe perſons in each tribe who were qualified to bear arms: the Levites, being conſecrated to the ſervice of God, were conſequently exempted from every other kind of duty. The number of thoſe thus qualified was found, upon the review, to be 603,650, from the age of twenty years to fifty. And Moſes advanced Manaſſeh and Ephraim, the ſons of Joſeph, to the rank of princes of the tribes; the firſt in the room of Levi, and the other in that of Joſeph, his father, in compliance with the requeſt which Jacob made to Joſeph, when he adopted the ſons of the latter, as we have already obſerved.

When the Hebrews, at any time, pitched their tents, the tabernacle was erected in the centre of the camp, three tribes being ſtationed on each ſide thereof, with wide ſtreets and intervals between; and with a market-place, in which were ſhops of various trades, arranged with ſuch regularity, as to reſemble a well-conſtructed city. The quarter next the tabernacle was aſſigned to the prieſts and Levites; the latter of whom were numbered apart from the reſt of the people, and were found to amount to 23,880 males, from the age of thirty days and upwards. While the cloud, before-mentioned, continued to hover over the tabernacle, the people, conſidering it as an intimation of the preſence of the Almighty amongſt them, remained in camp; but ſtruck their tents, and proceeded on their march, whenever it was removed. Moſes alſo directed two ſilver trumpets to be made: theſe were uſed for convening the people, at the removal of the tabernacle, marching of the army, &c.

The removal of the tabernacle from place to place was performed in the following manner: on the firſt ſounding of the trumpets, the three tribes which were ſtationed on the eaſt-ſide thereof began to put themſelves in motion, as did thoſe on the ſouth-ſide upon the ſecond ſounding of it. The tabernacle was then taken to pieces, and the ſeveral parts of it were laid upon the carriages; ſix of the tribes preceding, and the remaining ſix following it; while the Levites cloſely environed, to prevent the approach of all unqualified perſons. The three tribes which were poſted on the weſt-ſide of the camp began their march on the third ſounding of the trumpets; and the fourth ſounding was the ſignal for thoſe to move which were placed on the north-ſide. At this period Moſes and the Hebrews celebrated the paſchal-ſacrifice, being the ſecond return of that ſolemnity from the time of its inſtitution previous to their departure from Egypt.

CHAP. XII.

A Mutiny againſt Moſes, in conſequence of a Deficiency of Proviſions. Miracle of the Quails.

Sedition againſt Moſes. THE army now departed from Mount Sinai, and after ſojourning at different places, repaired to Jeremoth, where an inſurrection took place, the people violently upbraiding Moſes with having prevailed upon them to eva-

* Among the variety of reaſons aſſigned for its inſtitution, we may add the following: By this means God fixed the Jews to the land of Canaan, preſerved a diſtinct knowledge of their ſeveral tribes and families, aſcertained the very tribe and family from which the Meſſiah ſprung, and thereby enabled him to prove the validity of his claim to that character, from the correſpondence between his birth and the characteriſtics recorded in the ancient prophecies; and, as it has been obſerved, Providence prevented any confuſion in their genealogies, by limiting their captivity in Babylon to ſeventy years, in which ſpace they neither could have been corrupted nor loſt.

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cuate one of the moſt eligible parts of the globe, and under pretence of procuring the bleſſings of plenty and happineſs for them, deluding them into a ſtate of the moſt preſſing neceſſity; alledging, that they already were in the greateſt extremity from a deficiency of water, and if they ſhould be no longer ſupplied with manna, inevitable ruin muſt enſue. The popular clamour againſt Moſes being arrived at a great height, one of the people addreſſed himſelf to the deſperate multitude, reminding them of the hazards, fatigue, and toil which he had encountered in the cauſe of the public, and adviſed them to depend upon the Almighty for relieving their neceſſities: but this, inſtead of appeaſing, aggravated the mutiny to a more violent degree of deſperation. Notwithſtanding the inſult and indignity which had been caſt upon Moſes, he appealed to them in terms of the moſt gentle perſuaſion; and aſſured them, that they ſhould be ſpeedily ſupplied with meat ſufficient for their ſuſtenance for ſeveral days. They paid no regard to what Moſes ſaid, but gave vent to inſulting and opprobrious language, ſcornfully aſking him by what means he could provide maintenance for ſo many thouſand people. He replied, that the Lord and his ſervant would ſpeedily ſupply them. Upon his pronouncing theſe words, an immenſe number of quails fell into the camp, and were taken up by the people: but ſoon after this circumſtance, God judged it proper to execute vengeance upon the Hebrews for the iniquity of their conduct, and afflicted them with a terrible plague, to which great numbers fell a ſacrifice*. The place where this puniſhment was inflicted upon the Hebrews was called Cabrothaba, or the "*graves of luſt.*"

Quails ſent.

CHAP. XIII.

MOSES ſends Spies into CANAAN. They are delighted and alarmed at the Account they receive of the State of the Country, and its Inhabitants. A Conſpiracy is formed againſt MOSES, which is defeated by JOSHUA and CALEB.

Addreſs of Moſes to the people.

WHEN the Hebrews had arrived at a place called the Streights, which lies on the borders of Canaan, and is remarkable for the inconveniences of its ſituation, Moſes addreſſed himſelf to the people in theſe words: "It pleaſed the Almighty to promiſe us two ſignal bleſſings; liberty, and the poſſeſſion of a fruitful land. The firſt of theſe his bounty hath already beſtowed on us, and you will, ere long, be eſtabliſhed in the enjoyment of the other. We are now upon the borders of Canaan, and it will be in vain for the princes of the country, even with their united force, to oppoſe our progreſs. Yet muſt we not expect to effect a conqueſt over this country without great difficulty and danger. Let us, therefore, ſend proper perſons ſecretly to examine into the ſtate of the country, and of it's inhabitants: but, principally, let us act in concert, and let us aſcribe the glory of all our actions to God alone, who will be conſtantly preſent amongſt us, and in all our battles will be our guard and defender."

Spies ſent to Canaan.

This propoſal was highly approved by the people, who, at the advice of Moſes, immediately made choice of twelve of the moſt eminent perſons for courage and prudence, one out of each tribe, to be diſpatched before, in queſt of intelligence. They travelled through the whole country from Egypt and the parts adjacent, as far as the city of Amathe, and to mount Libanus. Having made ſtrict obſervations on the nature of the ſoil, the condition of the country, and the manners of the natives, they returned; having completed the undertaking in forty days. The account they gave of the extraordinary fecundity of the land, together with the ſight of the fruits which they had brought with them, in confirmation of their aſſertions, inſpired the people with the moſt eager deſire of rendering themſelves maſters of ſo deſireable a country.

The people diſmayed at the report of the ſpies.

But when the ſpies had repreſented to them the difficulties and dangers of the enterprize, the rapid and impaſſable rivers, the inacceſſible mountains, the numerous ſtrong holds, and impregnable cities; and a gigantic race of men, dwelling in Hebron, of ſuch enormous ſtature and ſtrength, that, from the time of their leaving Egypt to that day, they had never ſeen any thing ſimilar;—all theſe conſiderations, I ſay, which had already filled their minds with fears and apprehenſions, through their inſinuations, produced the ſame effect upon the multitude. Theſe ſuggeſtions diſcouraged the people to ſuch a degree, that they quitted the aſſembly in the utmoſt confuſion, and gave themſelves up, during the whole night, to deſpondency and lamentations; loudly venting their complaints againſt the Almighty and againſt Moſes. "God," ſaid they, "gives us the moſt flattering promiſes, but he performs nothing which he has promiſed." They next directed their reſentment againſt Moſes and Aaron; and having thus ſpent the night in imprecations on their leader and blaſphemy againſt God, they early in the morning entered into a combination to put

* Though the people expreſſed only a muttering which did not reach the ears of Moſes, yet the Lord, "who is about our habitations, and about our beds, who underſtandeth all our thoughts afar off," took notice of their diſcontent; and when he had heard it, then conſumed them by fire: whether it was only a "great fire, as the mountains of the Lord ſignifies great mountains," or it was lightning, which is termed "the fire of God," 2 Kings, i. 12. Job i. 16. or a "blaſting wind," common in theſe countries, we ſhall not determine. Yet it muſt be obſerved, that it ſpread *throughout the camp*, as the word tranſlated the *uttermoſt* parts generally ſignifies.

Moſes and Aaron to death without delay, and to return to Egypt*.

Caleb and Joſhua interpoſe their good offices to appeaſe the mutinous people.

In the midſt of this dangerous tumult, Joſhua, the ſon of Nun, of the tribe of Ephraim, and Caleb, of the tribe of Judah (who diſſented in opinion from their aſſociates in the late expedition to the land of Canaan) fearing the conſequences which might attend the tumult, addreſſed the people to this effect: "Can you poſſibly, entertain the leaſt doubt of the veracity and goodneſs of the Almighty, yet, at the ſame time, give ear to idle ſtories concerning the land of Canaan, which are calculated and propagated merely to impoſe on your credulity? Ought you not rather to confide in thoſe, who have exerted themſelves to the utmoſt to eſtabliſh you in the poſſeſſion of theſe bleſſings? The height of mountains, and the depth of rivers, are feeble obſtacles to check the progreſs of men of unſhaken reſolution, engaged in a glorious cauſe; eſpecially when God himſelf has promiſed to be their protector and defender. Let us advance, therefore, to the attack, without heſitation, nor harbour the leaſt doubt of ſucceſs. You have only to follow us where we ſhall lead you, and truſt to the power of the Almighty for the event." This was the method they took to allay the fury of the people: but Moſes and Aaron proſtrated themſelves before the Lord, and beſought him, not for their own ſakes, but for the ſake of thoſe who were committed to their guidance and care, to calm the troubled minds of the multitude, and to deliver them from the effects of their impotent rage. Their ſupplications were attended with ſucceſs; and the cloud appeared as uſual, over the tabernacle, denoting the preſence of the Deity.

A ſevere threatening denounced.

A confidence in the above viſion induced Moſes to inform the populace that God would ſubject them to a heavy judgment; ſaying, that it was not intended as a puniſhment adequate to their guilt, but as a ſalutary correction of a father to his refractory offſpring. "Upon my entering the tabernacle of the Lord," ſaid he, "to avert the vengeance of heaven by tears and ſupplications, and to implore that, in his infinite mercy, God would not extirpate you from the earth, the Almighty condeſcended to repreſent, that you had betrayed ſhocking inſtances of ingratitude for the bleſſings he had beſtowed, in rejecting the confidence due to the promiſes he had made, and depending on the falſities and miſrepreſentations which had been propagated by the ſpies. Be aſſured that God will not utterly deſtroy his choſen people; but the land of Canaan you muſt not expect to obtain; for you are irrevocably doomed, for the term of forty years, to wander in the wilderneſs. This ſentence, however, is not meant to extend to your children, to whom God, in his own good time, will beſtow the ſovereignty of that very fertile country, which the obſtinate infidelity of their progenitors has rendered them unworthy to poſſeſs."

The people now in amazement and terror applied to Moſes, imploring him to intercede with God in their favour, and obtain a remiſſion of the puniſhment denounced againſt them for their iniquities, and a deliverance from the wilderneſs. He gave them to underſtand, that the proceedings of the Almighty being founded in wiſdom and equity, it was folly to imagine that the puniſhments he was pleaſed to denounce againſt mankind might be averted by their importunate and unjuſtifiable ſolicitations.

* The unwillingneſs of the Iſraelites to leave Egypt, and their impatience to return thither, are convincing proofs of an overfondneſs for its cuſtoms and ſuperſtitions. When we conſider this, we ſeem more inclined than the generality of critics, to excuſe the falſe accounts of the pagan writers concerning the *Exodus*, or departure of the Iſraelites, who concur to repreſent the Jews as expelled or forcibly driven out of Egypt; for ſo indeed they were. Their miſtake was only about their driver. The pagans ſuppoſed him to be the king of Egypt; when indeed it was the God of Iſrael himſelf, by the miniſtry of Moſes.

BOOK IV.

Containing TRANSACTIONS from the YEAR of the WORLD 2454, to 2495.

CHAP. I.

The HEBREWS, contrary to the Advice of MOSES, attack the CANAANITES, and are defeated.

AMONG all the troubles and mortifications which the Hebrews experienced in the wilderneſs, nothing affected them more ſenſibly than the reſtriction by which God had forbidden them to attempt the conqueſt of the land of Canaan. This meaſure, however, they were determined, at all events, to carry into execution; and as Moſes from time to time earneſtly diſſuaded them from it, they acquainted him, in plain terms, that they would no longer ſubmit to be directed by him, but would follow the dictates of their own judgment: adding, that they were convinced he had no other motive in withholding his conſent, than to make himſelf neceſſary to them,

them, by detaining them as long as poſſible in their preſent diſtreſſed ſituation. Under this notion, they raſhly entered upon the war, in a full perſuaſion that God would afford them his aſſiſtance; not ſo much from any peculiar regard for Moſes, as from the fatherly affection which he had conſtantly expreſſed for their nation. They doubted not, if they conducted themſelves courageouſly, that he who had formerly conferred on them the bleſſings of liberty, would now grant them victory: and even admitting that Moſes ſhould exert all his endeavours to render the Almighty unfavourable to their cauſe, they imagined they ſhould ſtill be an over-match for the Canaanites. "Where is the difference," ſaid they, "whether we are ſubjected to the tyranny of Pharaoh or Moſes? We change our maſter, it is true, but our condition muſt ſtill continue the ſame, as long as we ſubmit to be deluded by the artifices of this vain, ambitious man. Unwilling to be longer deluded with the idle pretence of ſeeking God, or to yield to the arrogance and inſolence of an individual, we have no means left to extricate ourſelves from the inconveniencies of our preſent ſituation, and to avert thoſe with which we are threatened, than, depending on the guidance of the Almighty, to march immediately againſt the Canaanites, without waiting any longer for the concurrence of our legiſlator."

Such were the ſentiments of the people in general; and, under the influence of this impetuoſity, they marched with the utmoſt reſolution and confidence to the attack. But the Canaanites, though inferior in force to the Hebrews, received their ſhock with firmneſs, and put the aſſailants to the rout, killing a conſiderable number of them on the ſpot, and purſuing the reſt even to their camp. The Hebrews were totally diſpirited by this defeat, which they apprehended might prove ſtill more fatal to them in its conſequences; and they were ſo conſcious of the imprudence of having joined in battle with the enemy before they had received God's direction on the ſubject, that they readily imputed this ſhameful repulſe to their raſhneſs and diſobedience*.

The Canaanites were ſo elated with this ſucceſs, that Moſes, fearing leſt they ſhould attempt to puſh their advantage further, conſidered it as the moſt adviſeable ſtep he could take, in the preſent dilemma, to withdraw again into the wilderneſs. Having propoſed this meaſure to the people, who were now convinced of their abſolute dependence on him, they willingly aſſented thereto, with a full determination to attempt nothing further againſt the Canaanites, till they ſhould be duly authoriſed by the commands of the Almighty.

CHAP. II.

CORAH and his Aſſociates raiſe a Faction againſt MOSES and AARON, relative to the Appointment of the latter to the Office of High-Prieſt.

Rebellion of Corah, &c.

CORAH, a man of conſiderable reputation among the Hebrews, both on account of his rank and wealth, and thoroughly verſed in the arts of acquiring popularity, entertained a ſtrong jealouſy of the extenſive power which Moſes had obtained over the people. This man, being of the ſame tribe and family with Moſes, and his poſſeſſions being more ample than thoſe of the other, loudly exclaimed againſt the injuſtice which had been done to himſelf by the advancement of Moſes to the ſupreme authority; and his complaints made a ſtrong impreſſion on the Levites and thoſe of his own family.

Although Corah's pretext implied a regard for the public welfare, yet the real deſign he had in view was, to diſpoſſeſs Aaron of his dignity, and to eſtabliſh himſelf in his room. The plauſibility of theſe ſuggeſtions won ſo much on the minds of the people, that no leſs than two hundred and fifty of the chief men among them united in a plot, to deprive Aaron of the high-prieſthood, and to beſtow it on Corah.

The people were now thrown into a great ferment, and ran in the moſt tumultuous manner to the tabernacle, crying out, "Stone him! ſtone him!" (meaning Moſes.) "Take away this tyrant, and relieve us from the inſupportable burdens with which he has loaded us."

Moſes was well informed of the proceedings of Corah, and of the effects which they had produced on the multitude. But, depending on his integrity, and conſcious that the advancement of his brother to the prieſthood had been ordained expreſsly by God himſelf, and had not been effected through any ſiniſter views of his own, he made no ſcruple, being ſkilled in the arts of ingratiating himſelf with the people, to appear before the whole multitude aſſembled: and he addreſſed himſelf to Corah in theſe words:

"I conſider you, Corah, and the ſeveral perſons who have eſpouſed your cauſe, as thoſe who deſerve an honourable diſtinction: but ſtill ſome conſideration is due to the reſt of the people, notwithſtanding their inferiority in wealth and other qualities. Had I acted from a ſelf-intereſted motive, I ſhould have taken poſſeſſion of the place myſelf; but I was guided by principles of honour and juſtice. The Almighty himſelf appointed Aaron to the prieſthood, and that act of the Divinity diſcharges me of every criminal imputation. Suppoſing Aaron to be inveſted with the ſacred function in conformity to the divine pleaſure, excluding the idea of my partial interference in the cauſe, he ſhall ſtill depend upon a repetition of your ſuffrages, without availing himſelf of any advantage on the ſcore of his former election.

"Your preſumption, Corah, in contending againſt the liberty of the Almighty to ſelect a prieſt to ſerve at his altar, is an inſtance of impiety which muſt be looked upon with aſtoniſhment and horror. But another day will put a period to this controverſy. Let the candidates for this holy office aſſemble to-mor-

* Fear always accompanies guilt.—They had no courage to renew the attack, but gave themſelves up to deſpondency, and to the unlimited guidance of Moſes, notwithſtanding their recent vaunting, and contempt of him.

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row in the morning, with fire and incenſe in their cenſers. And, Corah, I enjoin you in particular, to curb your ambitious views, and not to attempt exalting your own power and authority above that of the Deity. In the diſcharge of his ſacred office, the conduct of Aaron having been unexceptionable, to his preſence on this occaſion no reaſonable objection can be formed. Being aſſembled, let the candidates offer up incenſe in the preſence of the multitude, and the ſacrifice proving moſt acceptable to the Lord ſhall diſtinguiſh the man to be conſtituted high-prieſt; and the poſſeſſion of the ſacred office ſhall be ratified and confirmed to him, by the authority with which I am inveſted. Thus will all contentions ſubſide, and I ſhall be no longer ſubject to the accuſation of ſhewing partiality to my brother Aaron."

The multitude were appeaſed by the above addreſs, which removed the unfavourable impreſſions they had entertained againſt Moſes, whom they acknowledged to be a man of ſagacity and virtue: and the council was now diſſolved.

CHAP. III.

The Judgment of God upon CORAH, DATHAN, and ABIRAM. The Prieſthood given to AARON and his Poſterity.

THE people attended the ſacrifice on the following morning, and were divided in the intereſts of the contending parties, ſome being deſirous of expoſing Moſes, as a man acting on partial and intereſted motives, and the more moderate endeavouring to preſerve tranquillity, from a conſideration that government and the public welfare would be greatly endangered if the commonalty were ſuffered to obtain the aſcendency.

Dathan and Abiram were ſummoned to attend in ſupport of their pretenſions, but upon the return of the meſſengers, Moſes was informed, that they poſitively determined not to abide by the propoſed deciſion, on the plea that by means of ſiniſter and indirect practices he had obtained an unwarrantable power: and that they had reſolved no longer to ſubmit to the authority he had uſurped*. Moſes now called to certain elders, and commanding them to follow him, repaired towards the ſpot where the mal-contents had aſſembled. Upon receiving intelligence of his approach, Dathan and his adherents, with their women and children quitted their tents, and attended by the guards, to reſiſt any attack which might be made, waited the event of this unexpected proceeding. Moſes deliberately approached Dathan, and then with up-liſted hands thus appealed to heaven in a voice ſufficiently audible to be underſtood by the ſurrounding multitude.

"Do thou, O Lord, who didſt condeſcend to appear from the fire upon Mount Sinai, permitting thy ſervant to hear thy voice, and making him a witneſs to thy wonderful prodigies; thou who didſt confer on him the honour of an ambaſſy into Egypt, lowering the arrogance and pride of the people of that country, and redeeming the Hebrews from their oppreſſion; thou who reduced the powerful Pharaoh and humbled him at my feet; who formed a dry paſſage through the ſea, and changed that paſſage into ſea again, for the preſervation of thy people and the deſtruction of the Egyptians; provided us with arms when in a defenceleſs ſtate; gave ſweetneſs to corrupt waters, and commanded ſtreams to burſt from the rocks when we were in danger of periſhing from extreme thirſt; afforded us food from the ſea, and ſupplied us with nouriſhment from heaven; thou by whoſe direction our laws were framed and our government eſtabliſhed; who art the righteous judge and infallible witneſs of all things in the creation; do thou eſpouſe my cauſe, and bear teſtimony, that in the appeals ſubmitted to my deciſion I have diſtributed juſtice equally, and never ſhewn partiality towards the rich man, or been corrupted to oppreſs the poor. Vindicate, O Lord, thy power and glory to future ages, by an exemplary puniſhment upon theſe blaſphemous detractors. Let them not meet the fate of common men, but as an example, teaching generations yet unborn, to hold thy divinity and power in due reverence, and as they are unworthy to inhabit the earth, let that earth ſwallow them with their families and all their deareſt poſſeſſions. If I am guilty of the crimes imputed to me, may the lot of my accuſers be happineſs and freedom, and may the imprecations I invoke upon them be directed to fall a juſt puniſhment upon myſelf. But when thou, O God, ſhalt direct thy vengeance againſt the oppreſſors of thy people, diſtinguiſh, I beſeech thee, the guilty from the unoffending; involve not ſuch as have lived in a due reverence of thy honour and glory in a common fate with thoſe who have dared to violate thy divine commands."

Their dreadful puniſhment.

Having delivered this appeal, which was frequently interrupted by tears, the earth became violently agitated, reſembling the billows of an enraged ſea; a general conſternation prevailed among the people, who confuſedly traverſed the camp with expreſſions of the utmoſt terror and amazement. At length, the ground on which they ſtood opened, with a horrible ſound, and ſwallowed up the whole faction, together with their families, their tents, and all their poſſeſſions: the fiſſure cloſing again immediately, with ſuch exact-

* In the moſt reproachful manner they ſent him word, that they hoped ſhortly to ſee the management of the nation in better hands than thoſe that had led them from a plentiful ſettlement, with promiſes of a fruitful country of their own, and at laſt left them to wander in a ſtarving wilderneſs, with nothing but a pretence that their children are to enjoy it forty years hence, when they are all dead; and as if it were not enough to loſe their *country*, they had loſt their *liberties* too, by ſubmitting to a man who impoſed what laws he pleaſed upon them; and, to advance himſelf, had given them nothing but one ſlavery in exchange for another.

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neſs, that not the leaſt mark of it could poſſibly be perceived.

Such was the miſerable end of this deſperate faction; and in this manner did God at once vindicate both his juſtice and his power. Nor was the fate of theſe perſons in the leaſt commiſerated by their friends or relations; nay, the whole multitude, on the contrary, expreſſed the greateſt ſatisfaction on the occaſion, conſidering them in no other light than as the peſt of their nation, and as men who were undeſerving even of human compaſſion. Moſes afterwards aſſembled all thoſe who had offered themſelves as candidates for the high-prieſthood; again referring the choice to God himſelf, that he, among thoſe who pretended to that dignity, might be elected, whoſe oblation ſhould be found to be moſt acceptable in the ſight of the Almighty. The number of thoſe perſons was two hundred and fifty; all men of great reputation with the people; both on account of their high rank, and of their perſonal qualifications; and with them came Aaron and Corah. The whole company placed themſelves before the tabernacle, and began to offer up the incenſe they had brought with them. At this inſtant a fire ſuddenly appeared, to which that of volcanos, or of whole foreſts involved in flame, bore no kind of proportion; and its brightneſs and intenſity plainly demonſtrated that it came from heaven alone. This fire ſo effectually conſumed the bodies of Corah and his aſſociates, that not the ſmalleſt remains whatever of their carcaſes could be found; yet, as a convincing proof that this was effected by a ſupernatural agency, Aaron received no kind of injury from it. In order to perpetuate the memory of this tremendous judgment, Moſes ordered Eleazar, the ſon of Aaron, to affix the cenſers* of Corah and the reſt to a braſen altar, which was erected for that purpoſe. It was now incontrovertibly proved that Aaron had not been advanced to the pontificate by any unfair means, but by the appointment of God himſelf; in virtue of which evidence he continued to hold it for the remainder of his life.

CHAP. IV.

Regulations reſpecting the PRIESTS, and other Incidents, during 38 Years.

A freſh mutiny againſt Moſes.

THE ſeditious diſpoſition of the people ſtill prevailed, notwithſtanding the late calamities of which it had been productive; and another tumult aroſe, which was more fatal, if poſſible, in its effects than the former; as the cauſes which gave birth to it were of a nature not eaſily to be removed. The Hebrews had conceived a notion that the puniſhments which God was pleaſed from time to time to inflict upon them, were the reſult of the applications of Moſes to the Almighty for that purpoſe. The relations of the deceaſed embraced this opportunity of incenſing the multitude againſt Moſes, by repreſenting to them the neceſſity of giving a timely check to his arrogance and luſt of power, which, they obſerved, might be very eaſily effected.

Moſes foreſaw the approaching ſtorm, and with great prudence, in order to avert the danger which was greatly to be apprehended from the preſent tumultuous conduct and diſpoſition of the people, convened an aſſembly, in which he patiently liſtened to their complaints; and that he might not increaſe the popular ferment, ordered the heads of the reſpective tribes, each man to bring his rod, with the name of his tribe inſcribed thereon; and that the poſt ſhould be conferred on him whoſe rod ſhould bear upon it any peculiar mark of the favour of God towards him. This propoſal was agreed to, and Aaron brought his rod with the reſt, on which he had inſcribed the title of the tribe of Levi. Moſes placed them in the tabernacle for the preſent, and, on the following day re-produced them to their reſpective owners in the preſence of all the people. All the rods were found to be in the ſame ſtate in which they were left the day before, ſave that of Aaron, which appeared not only covered with branches and buds, but, to increaſe the wonder, bearing a ripe almond alſo; the rod having been taken from a tree of that ſpecies. This extraordinary ſpectacle threw the people into the greateſt conſternation imaginable; and, although they could not diveſt themſelves intirely of their reſentment againſt Moſes and Aaron, the rancour of their enmity having in a great meaſure ſubſided, they acquieſced in the determination of the Almighty, with reſpect to the election of Aaron, who was thus a third time confirmed by God himſelf in the poſſeſſion of the office of high-prieſt, in which he continued, without any further interruption, to the time of his death. This incident happily concluded thoſe commotions in which the Hebrews had been unfortunately engaged, at different periods, for a courſe of time.

Separation of the Levites.

Moſes exempted the Levites†, who, were dedicated to the immediate ſervice of God, from all military duty and charges; and, that

* As the cenſers had been employed to a ſacred uſe, which made it unlawful to adapt them to common uſes, therefore God commanded they ſhould be beaten into broad plates, and laid over the great braſen altar, i. e. the altar of burnt-offering, not the altar of incenſe, for that was overlaid with pure gold, Ex. xxxvii. 26. and theſe cenſers were of braſs. ver. 39. Beſides, the altar of incenſe was in the holy place, out of the view of the people; and conſequently plates there placed would not ſerve as a ſign to them. The cenſers were to ſerve for a memorial, to perpetuate the memory of this rebellion, to warn poſterity from doing the like, and to teach them by this ſad example to pay a due regard to thoſe whom God has choſen to miniſter in holy things, leſt they be overtaken with the ſame ſignal perdition.

† God having, by the foregoing miracles, vindicated the honour and authority of the prieſthood, he now lets Aaron know (probably by the hand of Moſes) the importance of his office, wherein he was

that they might not be prevented from attending properly to the duties of their function by the care of providing a maintenance for themſelves, he directed that, as ſoon as the Hebrews ſhould, with the aſſiſtance of the Almighty, have acquired poſſeſſion of the land of Canaan, the revenues of forty-eight of the moſt flouriſhing cities throughout the country, together with the land round each, to the extent of two thouſand cubits, ſhould be appropriated to the uſe of the prieſts and Levites; granting them, beſides, a tenth part of the annual produce of the earth, which duty was to be paid by all the poſſeſſors of land in general; and this ordinance is to be obſerved, with the ſtricteſt punctuality, even to the preſent time. Having ſpoken ſufficiently reſpecting the revenues of this tribe, I ſhall now advert to thoſe particulars which relate to the prieſts alone.

Revenue of the prieſts.

Of the forty-eight cities above-mentioned, Moſes ordered that thirteen ſhould be aſſigned to the maintenance of the prieſts, and the tenth part of the amount of the tythes, and the firſt-fruits of all the productions of the earth, as oblations to God. The firſtling of every four-footed animal offered in ſacrifice, if a male, was delivered to the prieſts to offer up, and afterwards to be eaten by the owners and their families in the city; ſave only ſuch as, by our laws, are prohibited to be eaten, in which caſe the owner ſhall preſent a ſhekel and a half to the prieſt, in lieu of the animal, and the firſt-born of a man is to be redeemed with the ſum of five ſhekels: a duty is paid alſo upon wool and corn, as in the caſe of thoſe who bake bread, who are obliged to deliver a cake to the prieſt.

Vow of the Nazarenes.

With reſpect to the Nazarenes, who oblige themſelves by a ſolemn vow to ſuffer their hair to grow for a certain time, and during that period to abſtain from wine; when they repair to the temple, to conſecrate their hair, the time expreſſed in their vow being expired, whatever ſacrifices they offer, fall to the ſhare of the prieſts: and the ſame rule is obſerved with regard to the ſect, who ſtile themſelves Corban, which ſignifies, *a gift*. Theſe perſons, at the time they appear before the prieſts, and requeſt to be releaſed from their vow and engagements, are obligated to pay a certain ſum, which is fixed at fifty ſhekels for a man, and thirty for a woman; and thoſe who are unable to pay this tax, are obliged to ſubmit themſelves to the direction of the prieſt.

The breaſt and the right ſhoulder of every beaſt killed for private uſe belongs alſo to the prieſt. Such was the proviſion which Moſes made for the maintenance of the prieſts, excluſive of the ſin-offerings, of which we have already ſpoken in the foregoing book. The wives, children, and ſervants of the prieſts were alſo allowed to partake of all oblations, ſave in the caſe of ſin-offerings, which were to be eaten only by the prieſts officiating at the time, and that on the ſame day, and without quitting the temple.

The Idumeans refuſe to grant a paſſage.

Theſe regulations being made, and the public tranquillity being now fully reſtored, Moſes marched his troops to the frontiers of Idumæa, previouſly diſpatching his embaſſadors to the king of that country, to requeſt a free paſſage for the Hebrews through his territories; engaging that his troops ſhould be guilty of no irregularity on their march, and ſhould pay for whatever neceſſaries they might ſtand in need of. The king, however, refuſed to grant his requeſt, and, raiſing a numerous army, prepared to oppoſe him, in caſe he ſhould attempt to force a paſſage. Moſes, on this occaſion, applied to God for his direction how to act, and received for anſwer, that he muſt carefully avoid being the aggreſſor: whereupon he determined to purſue his route by the way of the wilderneſs.

Death of Mariam, ſiſter of Moſes.

At this period, Mariam*, the ſiſter of Moſes, died, in the commencement of the month Xanticus, forty years having now expired from the time of evacuating Egypt. She was publicly interred, with great magnificence, upon the mountain called Sin; and after thirty days, which was the time appointed for mourning, Moſes performed the ceremony of purification upon the people. A red heifer, which had not been ſubjected to the yoke, was brought by the prieſt to a clean ſpot at a ſmall diſtance from the camp, and there ſlaughtered; after which, dipping his fingers in the blood, he ſeven times ſprinkled it upon the tabernacle of the Lord; and the whole carcaſe was then put upon the fire, with a ſmall branch of cedar, ſome hyſſop, and ſcarlet wool. The whole being conſumed, the aſhes were gathered, and conveyed to the cleaneſt adjacent part, by a goat of unblemiſhed chaſtity. Such as required to be purified in conſequence of having rendered themſelves unclean, either by touching a corpſe, or attending the ceremony of interment, was to caſt a part of theſe aſhes into a fountain, and on the third and ſeventh day with a bunch of hyſſop to ſprinkle himſelf with the water. This ceremony of purification Moſes enjoined to be practiſed when the Hebrews ſhould poſſeſs the land promiſed them by the Almighty.

Death of Aaron.

The purification for the death of Mariam being performed, Moſes marched his army to Arabia, directing his road through the deſert; and upon his arrival at the principal city, which was called Arce, but now bears the name of Petra, Aaron aſcended an high mountain, and it having been predicted to him that the period of his life was near approaching, he diſrobed himſelf of the pontifical ſtole, and reſigned it to his ſon Elea-

was to behave with great care and circumſpection; and withal he again declares what was the duty of the Levites, as diſtinct from that of the prieſts. And from thence he proceeds to tell them what maintenance he had ſettled upon both, for their encouragement in doing their duty.

* Mariam, the ſiſter of Moſes, is ſuppoſed to have governed the Hebrew women, as Moſes did the men. She died a virgin; and Euſebius ſays, that in his time her tomb was diſcovered at Kadeſh, near the capital of Arabia.

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zar, as the rightful ſucceſſor to the dignity. In the firſt moon of the month called by the Athenians Hecatombæon, by the Romans Auguſtus, and by the Hebrews Sabba; he died upon this mountain in the preſence of the whole army, being in the hundred and twenty-third year of his age*. Thus in the ſame year Moſes loſt his brother and ſiſter.

CHAP. V.

MOSES ſubdues SEHON and OG, and divides their Kingdoms by Lot.

THE time allotted for the mourning for Aaron being expired, Moſes advanced with his troops to the banks of the Arnon, which takes its riſe among the mountains of Arabia, and, traverſing the whole deſert, finally diſcharges itſelf into the lake Aſphaltitis. The king of the Amorites was named Sehon, to whom Moſes ſent a very reſpectful meſſage, deſiring permiſſion to march through his country, and giving him the ſtrongeſt aſſurances that his ſubjects ſhould not ſuſtain the leaſt damage whatever. Sehon would not grant him a paſſage; but poſſeſſed himſelf of all the fords, to prevent his croſſing the river.

This refuſal, and the conſequent conduct of the Amorites, incenſed Moſes to a high degree, and he determined to diſappoint their meditated attack upon him, by carrying the war into their own country; being apprehenſive leſt the Hebrews, through inaction and the want of proviſions, ſhould again fall into their former irregularities. But, to avoid the imputation of rashneſs, he firſt applied himſelf to God, to know whether he might attempt to force a paſſage with the ſword; and the Almighty not only granted him permiſſion, but promiſed alſo victory in the conteſt. Thus encouraged, Moſes led his troops to the attack, having previouſly inſpired them with the fulleſt confidence of ſucceſs, by communicating to them the declaration of the ſupreme Being in their favour. Immediately upon the firſt onſet, Sehon and his army fled with the utmoſt precipitation, being ſeized with a terror which rendered them incapable of oppoſing the Hebrews. They flattered themſelves that they ſhould ſecure a retreat in ſome of their fortified cities: but the Iſraelites, who were lightly armed and very ſwift of foot, purſued them ſo cloſely, that their flight availed them little; Sehon and great numbers of his followers being ſlain on the banks of the river, where they halted to quench their thirſt. The victory, in ſhort, was complete, and the Hebrews obtained a prodigious booty on the occaſion; the moſt valuable part of which was a plenteous crop of corn, ſtill unreaped, of which they had long been in great want. The whole country, in fact, was now become their own, through which they ranged without coutroul; very few of the inhabitants having ſurvived the late defeat.

The Hebrews defeat the Amorites, and ſlay their king.

The Amorites manifeſted on this occaſion an equal deficiency of conduct and of courage; having neither prudence to avert the danger, nor firmneſs to ſuſtain it. The ſpot which the Hebrews had now acquired the poſſeſſion of formed a kind of peninſula, being ſituated between three rivers, *viz.* the Arnon on the ſouth; the Jaboc, which empties itſelf into the river Jordan, on the north; and the river Jordan on the weſt.

Og, and his army cut off.

But the Iſraelites had ſtill another formidable enemy to encounter, in the perſon of Og*, the king of Galadene and of Gaulonitis, who was haſtening to the aſſiſtance of Sehon, his friend and ally, at the head of a numerous and powerful army. He received intelligence on his way of the defeat of Sehon; but this did not in the leaſt diſcourage him from purſuing his deſign; and he continued his march, with a firm reſolution to riſk the event of a battle with the Hebrews. This temerity, however, coſt him dear; himſelf and his whole army being utterly deſtroyed. Moſes, in conſequence of this ſecond victory, croſſed the river Jaboc, penetrated into the territories of Og, razing the cities, and putting the inhabitants to the ſword.

CHAP. VI.

MOSES invades the Country of the MIDIANITES. Tranſactions between BALAAM and BALAK. PHINEHAS, from Motives of Zeal, puts ZIMRI and COSBI to Death.

THE Hebrews ſoon afterwards removed their camp to an extenſive plain, in the neighbourhood of Jericho; a city famous for its opulence, and abounding in palm-trees and balſam. Theſe people were ſo elevated with their late ſucceſſes, that they eagerly wiſhed for further opportunities of ſignalizing their valour; and Moſes deemed it highly impolitic to ſuffer this martial diſpoſition to be depreſſed through the want of exerciſe. He, therefore, after having ſpent ſome time in offering ſacrifices to God, and in rejoicings and entertainments, detached a body of his troops to ravage and deſtroy

* Aaron was buried in the ſame place where he died. He aſcended this mountain to prepare for his diſſolution; and conferred his ſacerdotal office, according to the divine direction, on Eleazar his ſon.

† This Og was of the remnant of the giants of Rephaim, who were a mighty people in the country of Baſhan, or Batanea. It would ſeem that this people too, as well as the Amorites, were the aggreſſors of the Iſraelites, and ſo brought their overthrow upon themſelves; unleſs we will ſay that the Iſraelites attempting to march their army through Baſhan without aſking the king's permiſſion, was equivalent to declaring war upon the Baſhanites; for we don't find that they aſked leave to paſs through their territories, as they did with reſpect to Edom and Sihon.

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the country of the Midianites. The motives which induced him to commence this war were these:

The growing power of the Israelies had of late given great umbrage to Balak, king of Moab, and an ally of the Midianites; insomuch that he began to be apprehensive for the safety of himself and his dominions: for he was ignorant that God had restricted the Hebrews from attempting the conquest of any other country than that of Canaan. He durst not openly attack a people whom repeated victories had rendered so confident of success; but being desirous to give some check to their further progress, he sent embassadors to the Midianites, to consult with them on the steps necessary to be taken, for the common safety of both nations.

Balak requests Balaam to curse the Hebrews.

With these embassadors the Midianites joined some of the principal men of their own nation, and sent them to Balaam, who resided beyond the Euphrates, and had acquired a great reputation by his predictions, requesting him to return with those persons, that he might denounce the vengeance of Heaven upon the Hebrews. He received them with great respect, and after supper was ended, addressed himself in prayer to God, for his direction how to act. The Almighty was pleased to order him not to comply with the request which had been made to him; and he thereupon went back to his guests, and acquainted them, that he would gladly have gratified their desire, but that God, to whom he was indebted for all his reputation as a prophet, had refused him his permission; adding, that the people whom they wished him to curse, were the peculiar favourites of heaven; and that he, therefore, would rather advise them to secure their friendship upon any condition whatever.

The embassadors now returned home; but were sent back again on the same business by the Midianites, at the earnest intreaty of Balak, who was greatly chagrined at the [illegible] success of their first journey. Balaam, being [illegible]ous of obliging them, again had recourse to the Lord to know his pleasure, who being incensed at this second application to him on the subject, abruptly answered, that he might return with the embassadors, agreeable to their request; which he accordingly did, without noticing the extraordinary mode in which this permission was granted. In passing through a narrow part of the road which lay between two walls, and would not admit of the passage of two persons at a time, he was

He is resisted by his beast, and reproved by an angel.

encountered by an angel of the Lord. The ass on which Balaam rode, stopped short at the appearance of this vision; and upon his endeavouring to make her proceed, she crushed his foot against the wall; the angel still remaining on the same spot, and the prophet continuing to correct the animal as before. But God being pleased to endue the creature with the power of speech, she reproached her master with the injustice and cruelty of his conduct, and explained to him the cause of her not going forward, pleading also, that she never till now had once given him the least offence. Balaam was equally amazed and alarmed at this circumstance, of the ass speaking with a human voice*; and the angel, now discovering himself, reproached him in very severe terms; telling him, that the beast was not in the least to blame on the occasion, but that he himself had incurred just censure, by presuming to enter upon a journey in direct contradiction to the express will of the Almighty. Balaam was very desirous to return immediately, but the Lord commanded him to proceed on his way, strictly enjoining him, however, to utter nothing but what he himself should suggest to him. The above condition being admitted, Balaam repaired to the king, who received him in a gracious and condescending manner, and he requested that he might be conducted to some adjacent eminence, commanding a view of the Hebrew army. Balak, attended by his courtiers and other persons composing the train of royalty, accompanied him to the top of a mountain about sixty furlongs from the camp. After mature deliberation, turning his face towards the spot on which the Hebrews were encamped, he delivered his predictions in these words:

Balaam's predictions.

"Happy people! God will bestow on you the blessings of this world in the utmost abundance; you shall be constantly directed and supported by the divine Providence, and shall render yourselves famous throughout the world for your virtues: the reputation of your offspring shall surpass even that of your progenitors; for the Almighty will make you his peculiar care, and will grant you a degree of happiness far superior to that of the other nations of the earth. You shall obtain possession of the promised land, which yourselves and your issue shall enjoy to the latest period of time. The whole universe shall be filled with your fame, and your offspring shall increase so abundantly, that they shall be found in every part of the earth. Blessed and wondrous nation! who, numerous as ye are, derive your origin from one common ancestor.

"You must, for a time, be satisfied with the possession of the land of Canaan, though a spot too confined, both for your numbers and your fame; but know, that the period approaches, when you shall have no other limits than those of the world. Your

* The angel of the Lord so moved her tongue, as to make her utter human accents. Maimonides takes all this that happened to Balaam for a prophetic vision, not being able, it seems, to reconcile the literal sense to reason. But there is no occasion for having recourse to that hypothesis; neither is there any thing absurd or incredible in understanding it literally; for if the Heathens believed their deities powerful enough to give speech to brute animals, as appears from the story of Achilles's horse in Homer, and of Phryxus's ram in Apollonius: how much more may Jews or Christians believe the same to have been effected upon an extraordinary occasion, by the special interposition of the Almighty or one of his angels.

This miracle of making the ass speak to Balaam, served to convince him demonstrably how vain it would be for him to endeavour to speak otherwise than God should order him; since the same power that here caused even a dumb animal to move its tongue very differently from what it was naturally capable of, would certainly over-rule even his tongue, and make him say just what, and no more than what was dictated to him.

issue

iſſue ſhall be numerous as the ſtars of heaven: yet ſhall no want of any of the conveniencies or comforts of life be found among that infinite multitude: but the Almighty ſhall confer on you the bleſſings of plenty, peace, valour and victory; and the children of your foes ſhall be your ſubjects and ſervants. May our enemies therefore, be yours alſo; ſince, by riſing in oppoſition againſt you, they will expoſe themſelves to inevitable deſtruction. It is to God, in ſhort, that you are indebted for all theſe favours; to that God who alone can exalt the oppreſſed, and humble the haughty, as in his wiſdom and juſtice he ſees fit."

Throughout the whole of this ſpeech, it was apparent that the prophet was actuated by a ſupernatural and divine impulſe. But Balak vehemently complained that he had falſified his promiſe, and, after having received many valuable preſents to denounce a curſe upon the Iſraelites, he loaded them with bleſſings. To theſe reproaches Balaam replied in the following terms:

"Can you imagine, O king, that a prophet, when delivering his predictions, is permitted to utter and omit what he thinks proper? In this caſe, he is merely the inſtrument of the Deity, who ſuggeſts to him every word he ſpeaks, and he is himſelf totally unconſcious of all he ſays.

"When the Spirit of God takes poſſeſſion of our breaſts, we no longer retain a command over ourſelves. It was far from my intention to utter a ſingle word in praiſe of the Iſraelites, or concerning the happineſs and glory which the Almighty deſigns to beſtow upon them: but I found myſelf compelled to declare what the Almighty has decreed in their favour. However, in order, if poſſible, to fulfil the wiſhes of yourſelf and the Midianites, let other altars be erected, and freſh ſacrifices be offered up, and I will again make trial whether God will permit me to curſe this people." This propoſal was immediately complied with; but God ſtill refuſed to hearken to the ſolicitations of the prophet, who, falling on his face, predicted the unhappy fate of various princes and ſtates, who ſhould unfortunately oppoſe that choſen people; ſeveral of the particulars of which have been ſo circumſtantially verified, that there is every reaſon to expect that the reſt will be accompliſhed in due ſeaſon.

This diſappointment incenſed Balak to ſuch a degree, that he diſmiſſed the prophet with evident marks of diſpleaſure, who immediately departed homewards: but when he arrived on the banks of the Euphrates, he bethought himſelf of an expedient to ingratiate himſelf with Balak, and the princes of Midian, and being again introduced to them, addreſſed them in theſe words:

"In order to convince you how ſincerely I am diſpoſed to gratify your wiſhes, though in ſome degree, at the hazard of God's diſpleaſure; I have deviſed a ſcheme which, poſſibly, may produce ſome effect in your favour.

"If you can derive any ſatisfaction from the acquiſition of a ſlight and ſhort-lived advantage over them, adopt the advice which I ſhall now give you. Select a number of the moſt beautiful virgins of your country §; and having ſet off their natural charms with the ornaments of art, let them be ſent into your enemy's camp, being previouſly inſtructed in what manner to demean themſelves. If the young men among the Hebrews ſhould appear to be captivated with their beauty, and ſhould expreſs their paſſion with any degree of warmth, either in their words or actions, let them peremptorily declare their intention to return home directly, unleſs their ſuitors will conſent to abandon the religion and laws of their country; ſubſtituting in the place thereof thoſe of the Midianites and Moabites; and, ſhould they comply therewith, they will draw upon themſelves the reſentment of the Almighty." Having concluded his ſpeech, he retired.

This advice was immediately carried into execution; and the Hebrews were effectually enſnared by the charms of the perſons, and converſation of theſe maidens, and urged their ſuit with the utmoſt fervency of paſſion. The women conducted themſelves in ſuch a manner as to raiſe the deſires of their lovers to the higheſt pitch; and, perceiving that they had fully ſucceeded in this part of their deſign, they inſtantly feigned a reſolution of returning home without delay; but conſented to remain where they were for a ſhort time, at the earneſt requeſt of the men, who, to induce them thereto, eagerly preſſed upon them the acceptance of their affections, their lives, and their fortunes. The virgins now perceived that their lovers were ready to ſubmit to any terms they ſhould preſcribe, and one ſpeaking in the name of the reſt, addreſſed them in theſe words:

"It was not from any motives of diſguſt towards our parents and friends, nor with the view of making ſale of our perſons, that we have quitted our dwellings, moſt illuſtrious youths, to repair to your camp; but ſolely with the deſign, as you are intire ſtrangers in this country, to render you any ſervice which may lay in our power. You profeſs an ardent affection for us, and an earneſt deſire to retain us with you. Could we be convinced of the ſincerity of your profeſſions, we ſhould not heſitate to comply with your wiſhes, provided you will make us your wives, for on no other terms will we conſent to continue with you; nor will you, we truſt, think us over ſolicitous in a matter of ſuch delicacy."

The Iſraelites were ſo intent on the gratification of their appetites, that they implicitly yielded to whatever the virgins were pleaſed to require of them; and did not even ſcruple to abandon the ancient

§ Theſe women expoſed themſelves to the luſt of the Iſraelites, and enticed them to idolatry, by the counſel of Balaam, who having learned that the proſperity of Iſrael depended upon their obſervance of the divine laws, and that there was no way to bring a curſe upon them but by ſeducing them from their duty, bethought him of this low ſtratagem to accompliſh his wicked purpoſe.

religion and laws of their forefathers; joining with these women, who were now become their wives, in the notion and worship of a plurality of gods, in the indiscriminate use of all kinds of meats *, and, blinded by the vehemency of their passion, gave themselves up to the practice of every species of irregularity.

The whole camp, by imperceptible degrees, became infected with the conduct of these men; few instances remaining of that veneration of the Deity, by which the practice of former times was distinguished; for the licentiousness to which the introduction of these new customs and manners had given birth, so universally pervaded all ranks of people, that it soon became utterly impracticable to check the progress of this dangerous evil.

Zimri, a Hebrew, marries Cosbi, a Midianite.

One of the chiefs of the tribe of Simeon, who was named Zimri, had espoused Cosbi, the daughter of Zur, a Midianite of the first rank and quality. This man, at the instigation of his wife, openly avowed his marriage, and his consequent change of religion. Moses, fearful of the consequences of this disorderly conduct of the people, convened a general assembly, and, in a discourse which he had framed for the purpose, represented to them the indignity which the memory of their ancestors sustained from their present conduct, in thus preferring the indulgence of their inordinate lust and appetites, to that veneration which they owed to their Creator. He farther observed to them, how inconsistent it was for men who had demeaned themselves soberly and virtuously in the wilderness, to be guilty of such unpardonable excesses in a land of plenty, and to squander in their prosperity what they had acquired, not without considerable danger and difficulty, in the time of their adverse fortune. By these means he hoped either to shame, or to argue them into a change of conduct; carefully avoiding to give the least umbrage, by addressing his discourse to one in particular, it being his intention to reclaim those who were culpable, and not to expose them by a public censure. When Moses had finished, Zimri rose from his seat, and replied to him in a speech expressed in terms of the most insolent nature, in which he openly avowed and justified his conduct, and also delivered the sentiments of the whole party.

The people waited in anxious expectation of the event of so audacious an insult; being greatly apprehensive that it would be productive of mischievous effects. But Moses, being fearful lest the multitude should rise in arms if he should attempt to resent the gross affront which had been offered him, instantly dismissed the assembly, without making the least reply to his opponent. This outrage, however, would probably have been carried to much greater lengths, but for the death of Zimri, which happened soon afterwards in the following manner.

Phinehas, the son of Eleazar the high-priest, and grand-nephew of Moses, was highly renowned for his valour and other accomplishments. This youth was so much incensed against Zimri †, on account of the contempt he had shewn to the laws of his country, that he determined to put him to death; from a conviction that, in the case of a faction similar to the present, the more exalted the rank of the ringleader might be, the more exemplary ought to be his punishment. He, therefore, repaired to the tent of Zimri, and slew both him and Cosbi, with one thrust of his sword. Many others of the Hebrew youths, animated with a like spirit with Phinehas, immediately attacked the associates of Zimri, the major part of whom they devoted to a similar death with their leader; and those who escaped at that time, were quickly afterwards carried off by a pestilence, which swept away not only the rebels themselves, but such of their relations also, as, by their influence and authority, might have restrained them from the commission of those sins which occasioned their deplorable fate. The number of those persons who lost their lives in this manner, amounted to fourteen thousand. These treacherous practices of the Midianites enraged Moses so highly, that he detached a body of troops to over-run their country, and totally root out the whole nation.

CHAP. VII.

Defeat of the MIDIANITES. MOSES appoints JOSHUA his Successor.

THE number of the troops sent by Moses on this expedition was twelve thousand men, one thousand from each tribe, and they were headed by Phinehas, of whom we have made mention in the foregoing chapter.

When the Midianites heard that the enemy had already marched to their frontiers, and were still advancing, they assembled their troops, seized upon several passes, which they fortified in the best manner the shortness of the time would admit, and prepared to receive their attack. At the very first shock, however, they gave way, and fled, an incredible number of them being killed in the pursuit. Amongst these were the five kings of the country. The Hebrews ravaged the whole country, and, in pursuance of the instructions given by Moses to Phinehas, utterly destroyed all the inhabitants, save the virgins, who were carried away captives, to the number of thirty-two thousand. Phinehas afterwards returned with his detachment to the army,

The Midianites overcome.

bringing

* The feasts upon sacrifices, among the Heathens, were generally accompanied with music and dancing, and sometimes with pompous processions, which inticed youthful minds to partake of them, and had a tendency to inflame their carnal appetites, which the women would not let them satisfy unless they consented to worship their idols.

† Zimri appears to have been very impudently wicked, and to have had a high contempt both of Moses's authority, and of God's, whose servant he was; and as a farther aggravation of his sin, it is added, that he did it before the face of all the people, and that, when they were mourning for their sin, lamenting the common calamity, and imploring the pardoning mercy of God.

bringing with him a prodigious booty, consisting of fifty-two thousand oxen, sixty thousand asses, with household plate, and vessels of gold and silver to an immense value.

Upon a distribution of the spoil, Eleazar and the priests received one-fiftieth part, another fiftieth fell to the share of the Levites, and the remainder Moses divided among the people, every individual of whom acquired a considerable booty on the occasion. Moses, being now greatly advanced in life, declined the functions of a leader, governor, and prophet, in favour of Joshua, whom he proclaimed to be his successor, in conformity to the command he had received from the Almighty. Joshua was perfectly qualified to execute the important commissions with which he was invested, having obtained to a proficiency of knowledge in the divine and human institutions, under the immediate direction of his just and able predecessor.

Petition of Gad, Reuben, &c. after due consideration, granted.

About this time, the tribes of Gad and Reuben, and half the tribe of Manasseh, petitioned Moses to grant them the country of the Amorites, which had been lately conquered, and was considered by them as a spot highly desireable: they were the more solicitous to obtain this point, as they possessed numerous herds and other cattle, and the earth produced abundance of excellent pasture. Moses understood this request to be made merely to avoid engaging in a battle, and accused them of pusillanimity and indolence.

"I perceive," said he, "the drift of your stratagem: your design is, to indulge yourselves in ease and indolence, while your countrymen are opposing the common enemy, and encountering the difficulties which must inevitably occur in pursuing their victories beyond the Jordan, and penetrating into the country which has been promised them by the Almighty."

In consequence of Moses having manifested a displeasure at what they requested, they urged, that the sole motive of their application was a desire to obtain a place of security for their wives, children, and effects; adding, that if fortified places were to be assigned them for the above purpose, no impediment would remain against their engaging in the common cause, and that they would pursue the war wherever their leader should command §.

The scruples which Moses entertained being intirely removed by this declaration, he transferred to them the land of the Amorites, in the presence of Eleazar, the high-priest, Joshua, and the other chief magistrates, conditionally that they should unite with their countrymen in a league offensive and defensive, and not quit their arms till the war should subside.

Cities of refuge.

Ten of the forty-eight cities beforementioned were built by Moses, and three of them he appointed as sanctuaries for such as had killed a fellow-creature by chance-medley, or without malice prepense. During the life of the high-priest within whose jurisdiction the homicide was committed, the refugee was to remain in banishment; and if the offender was found without the place of refuge, the law allowed that the kindred of the deceased might slay him; but gave no other person an authority to deprive him of life. Bozor, erected on the borders of Arabia, Ariman in Galadene, and Gaulanan in the country of Batanæa, or Batanitis, were the cities of refuge or sanctuary. Moses enjoined, that upon taking possession of the land of Canaan, three cities of sanctuary, having the privileges above described, should be constructed, among those belonging to the Levites.

§ They declared, that they were all of them ready to go, or as many as should be thought necessary. Accordingly we find that forty thousand of them went over with their brethren, ready armed for war, to the plains of Jericho, Deut. iii. 18. Jos. iv. 12. and they shewed both faith in God, and love to their brethren, thus to go in the front of the battle, and generously risque their lives against such powerful enemies, without any farther benefit to themselves, leaving their weak families behind them to the divine protection.

CHAP. VIII.

The last Oration of MOSES to the People: The Laws which he delivers to them.

FORTY years, within thirty days, having now elapsed since the departure from Egypt, Moses assembled the people at a place now called Abila, on the banks of the river Jordan, and adjacent to a field of palm trees, and addressed them to the following purpose.

"The pleasure of the Almighty, and the course of nature requiring me to resign my breath, after having arrived to the hundred and twentieth year of a vexatious and toilsome life; and it being ordained that I shall no longer employ my arms in war, or my advice in council, to facilitate your progress towards the land of Canaan; I am sensible, in this the latest hour of my existence, of a peculiar satisfaction in the idea that I leave my fellow-soldiers and the partners of my toils and sufferings in a happy prospect of those promised blessings which are to crown their wishes. Even at this most important period, I must not omit that part of my duty which relates to your happiness; nor fail, according to the abilities I possess, of explaining to you in what that happiness consists, and pointing out the means by which it is to be obtained: The unremitting attention which I have observed in my endeavours to promote your welfare and happiness, will give authority to what I shall deliver, and let the integrity of my past days bear testimony that I am deserving confidence: and further be it observed, that the declaration of a man on the verge of eternity is uttered in sincerity of heart, and claims a sacred observance.

"Be assured, that all human happiness consists in the favour of the Almighty, to whom alone it belongs to reward the virtuous, and punish the wicked. If

you

you demean yourſelves conformably to the commands of God, and to the precepts which I have communicated to you by his order, you ſhall acquire the higheſt degree of reputation, and the proſperous ſtate of your affairs ſhall conſtantly excite the envy and jealouſy of your neighbours; beſides, the happineſs you now enjoy ſhall be continued to you in perpetuity, and all your wants ſhall be abundantly ſupplied. But, beware that you make no innovations either in your laws or religion. Adopt my counſel, and you ſhall become invincible; for while God is on your ſide, it is a matter of no conſideration by whomſoever you are oppoſed. Obedience is conſtantly attended with adequate and glorious rewards, and is in itſelf the greateſt benefit which man can poſſeſs. Exerciſe it among yourſelves, and it will render you mutually happy, and eſtabliſh your fame in after-ages. By ſuch conduct you will enſure to yourſelves a happy eſtabliſhment; and my utmoſt wiſh would be gratified, could I but ſee you in a ſettled ſtate before I reſign my breath. To obtain this, you have only to pay due attention to the precepts which have been delivered to you for the regulation of your conduct, and to yield an implicit obedience to the orders of thoſe who ſhall be placed in authority over you, to provide for your welfare and ſecurity.

"The divine Being, by whoſe direction you have been hitherto guided, and to whoſe bounty you owe all the benefits derived from my adminiſtration, will continue to be your guardian and protector, ſo long as you worſhip him in the manner he has preſcribed. You will have alſo a ſufficient number of excellent adviſers in the perſons of Eleazar, the high-prieſt, Joſhua, the ſenate, and the heads of the tribes. Demean yourſelves towards them with all ſubmiſſion; for thereon will your happineſs greatly depend; as he will never be qualified to govern others, who has not firſt learnt the leſſon t[illegible]ey.

"God grant that none of my ſucceſſors may experience an impetuoſity of conduct from you, ſimilar to what I have been too often expoſed to; for you muſt be ſenſible that my life was frequently in much greater danger from you than from all the attacks of our enemies. I mention not this circumſtance with a deſign to reproach you; nor would I wiſh to remind you of your former faults at the time I am about to leave you for ever. Let your paſt misfortunes teach you prudence, and, when you have obtained poſſeſſion of the land of Canaan, do not ſuffer yourſelves to be ſeduced, by the riches and plenteouſneſs of the country, to depart from your duty to your governors; but remember that your welfare depends on a due ſubſerviency to your ſuperiors; and that if ever the attractions of wealth and luxury ſhall render you neglectful of that veneration which you owe to God, and of the reſpect to which your rulers are intitled, the Almighty will forſake you, and, inſtead of your guardian and protector, will become your avowed foe: you ſhall loſe with ignominy the conqueſts you acquired with reputation and valour, and ſhall be diſperſed as vagabonds over the face of the whole earth.

"When theſe calamities come upon you, it will be then too late to repent of your miſconduct, and to wiſh that you had conformed yourſelves to the laws of God and your country. Effectually, therefore, to guard yourſelves againſt falling into ſo fatal an apoſtaſy in future, you muſt utterly extirpate the inhabitants of the countries you ſhall ſubdue, and totally conſume their temples, groves, and altars with fire. Leſt this, however, ſhould not be ſufficient to anſwer the intent, I have compoſed a code of laws and ordinances, for the regulation both of your public and private conduct, under the immediate direction of God himſelf; the due obſervance of which will render you the happieſt people on the face of the earth." At the concluſion of this diſcourſe, Moſes delivered to them a written book, containing divers laws and rules, which are as follow:

Laws and rules for the government of the Hebrews in the land of Canaan.

"When ye have ſettled yourſelves in the land of Canaan, ye ſhall build on a ſpot diſtinguiſhed by its fertility and the beauty of its proſpect, and to be choſen by God himſelf, by the agency of his prophet, one ſingle temple*. In this temple ye ſhall erect one altar only, which ſhall be formed of unhewn ſtones, taken promiſcuouſly from the quarry, and fitted to each other with all poſſible accuracy and neatneſs; ye ſhall not aſcend, either to the temple or to the altar, by a flight of ſteps, but by a gentle riſing of the ground. And ye ſhall erect no other temple or altar throughout the land which ye ſhall poſſeſs; for ye are one nation, and adore one only God.

One temple, one altar, and one God.

Blaſphemy made death.

"Let the blaſphemer be ſtoned to death, and his carcaſe be hung upon a gibbet for the ſpace of a whole day, and afterwards be thrown into the ground with every mark of ignominy.

To worſhip thrice a year in the temple.

"Thrice a year, every individual of your nation ſhall repair from all parts of the land to this temple, to offer ſacrifices, and to implore the future bleſſings of heaven; and, by the freedom of a ſocial intercourſe, to give birth to a reciprocality of friendſhip among the different members of the community. It tends greatly to promote the benefit of men of the ſame lineage and profeſſion, to acquire a perſonal knowledge of each other: for the impreſſion made by a word, a look,

* This was commanded before, but is now repeated becauſe of the great importance of it, to prevent all ſtrange worſhip. As if Moſes had ſaid; As this injunction, whereby your nation is confined to one certain place of public ſacrifice and worſhip, is intended to keep up the diſtinction between you and other people, and is made in oppoſition to the general cuſtom of idolatrous worſhippers, who pick out numberleſs places for their devotions, as their ſuperſtitious prejudices and fancies dictate to them; you are to look upon it as a capital precept, and take ſpecial care to obſerve it.

or an action often ſurpaſſes all conception; whereas, this advantage will be intirely forfeited unleſs ſuch meetings are promoted.

A ſecond tenth.

"Excluſive of the tenth appropriated to the maintenance of the prieſts and levites, a ſecond tenth alſo of the value of the produce of the land ſhall be expended in ſacrifices, and in the celebration of public ſolemnities in this holy city; as the power who grants us the gratuitous poſſeſſion of the land is, doubtleſs, fully intitled to a part of the fruits thereof.

The hire of an harlot not to be offered.

"Nothing ſhall be offered in ſacrifice which is purchaſed with the wages of proſtitution; for the Almighty abhors all unclean practices. Nor, for the ſame reaſon, will any thing be accepted as an oblation which ariſes from the hire of a female animal, intended to preſerve the breed.

Not to revile the gods of other nations.

"Ye ſhall not ſpeak ill of the gods of other countries, nor ſhall ye deſpoil their temples, or take away any veſſel or other thing which is deſtined for the ſervice of their altars.

Prieſts only to wear mixed garments.

"No man ſhall preſume to wear a garment made with a mixture of woollen and linen, unleſs he be of the order of prieſts, to whom alone that privilege belongs.

Laws to be publicly read on the feaſt of tabernacles.

"At the concluſion of every ſeventh year, during the celebration of the feaſt of tabernacles, the prieſt ſhall read to the people aſſembled the book of laws, at which ceremony perſons of every rank, ſex, and age, ſhall be permitted to attend; for it is highly proper to impreſs their minds with a due knowledge of the laws, that they may not plead ignorance in excuſe for their miſconduct. Offenders alſo are more eaſily reſtrained from the commiſſion of crimes, when they know the puniſhments which they are liable thereby to incur. The impreſſions which men receive by the ear are forcible and permanent, and, being convinced of the propriety and neceſſity of legal inſtitutions, they are at all times prepared to accuſe themſelves, whenever they are guilty of a breach of thoſe inſtitutions.

Children to be taught the law.

"I particularly recommend it to you to initiate your children early in the knowledge of theſe laws, as the moſt advantageous and neceſſary ſtudy to which they can poſſibly apply themſelves. Twice a day, therefore, let them be put in mind of the memorable mercies of the Almighty towards them, particularly in their deliverance from the bondage of the Egyptians: for thankſgiving is a duty equally incumbent upon us with prayer. Inſcribe upon their doors, their heads, arms, and other parts of their bodies, memorials of the power and goodneſs of God, that they may conſtantly have in their minds the bounties of divine providence towards them.

Memorials of God's bleſſings.

"In each city let a council* be eſtabliſhed, conſiſting of ſeven perſons; men equally famed for their virtue and piety; and to theſe let twice the ſame number of levites be added. Permit no man to uſe irreverent or ſcurrilous language in your courts of juſtice; for by accuſtoming yourſelves to pay a due deference to your earthly governors, you will inſenſibly become attached to the practice of all religious as well as moral duties. The ſentence of the judge muſt be definitive, except in caſes of evident error or bribery. As juſtice is the point to which the proceedings of the courts univerſally tend, it ought to be adminiſtered with the ſtricteſt impartiality. It argues a diſtruſt of the divine power and mercy, to manifeſt more fear of the reſentment of a man in high ſtation than of God himſelf, as if the latter were inferior to the former; which thoſe who act in the above manner evidently inſinuate. If the perſons before whom a matter is brought to be decided, ſhould, either from the want of a thorough knowledge of the particulars from miſinformation, or from any other circumſtance, be found incompetent (which not unfrequently happens) to paſs judgment therein; let the cauſe be removed to the holy city, to be determined by the high-prieſt, the prophet, and the ſenate. No man ſhall be condemned upon the teſtimony of fewer than two credible witneſſes.

The Jewiſh magiſtracy inſtituted.

Women's teſtimony inadmiſſible.

"The natural levity, and propenſity to talkativeneſs in the female ſex, renders them unfit to be admitted as witneſſes in a court of juſtice: their teſtimony, therefore, ſhall not be received.

And that of ſlaves.

"Every ſlave alſo ſhall be rejected as an evidence, becauſe from the debaſement of his mind, ariſing from the abjectneſs of his condition, he may probably, either through fear, or from motives of avarice, be induced to deviate from the truth.

Puniſhment for a falſe oath.

"He who prefers a falſe accuſation againſt another upon oath, ſhall incur the ſame puniſhment as, in caſe of conviction, would have been inflicted on the party accuſed.

Homicide, or manſlaughter.

"If a man be found dead in any lone place, and no proof can be given, either poſitive or preſumptive, of the manner in which his death happened, the ſtricteſt inquiſition ſhall be made, and rewards offered for the diſcovery of the parties concerned. But, ſhould theſe meaſures fail of ſucceſs, the magiſtrates of the ſeveral diſtricts adjacent to the ſpot where the body was found, ſhall aſſemble, and aſcertain, by an exact meaſurement, which of thoſe diſtricts is neareſt to the ſpot in queſtion. This matter being determined, the inhabitants of ſuch diſtrict ſhall provide a heifer, which they ſhall bring into a place totally unfit for every purpoſe of vegetation; and, after cutting the ſinews of the neck of the victim, the prieſts, levites, and elders, ſhall waſh their hands with water over the head

* Accordingly, they had judges appointed, and conſiſtories erected in every city, for the determining all differences ariſing out of the law, tho' not as to the power of life and death, which was ſeldom granted them by their ſovereigns, except in larger cities.

of the animal, and in the moſt ſolemn manner ſhall declare their innocence, and utter ignorance of the homicide in queſtion; concluding the ceremony with the moſt earneſt ſupplication to the Deity, to avert the guilt of blood from the people of that place in future.

Theocratic government preferred.

"A theocracy being the beſt form of government, let that be adopted and conſtantly maintained by the Hebrews, and the aboliſhment of it will be attended with many bad effects: for under ſuch a government the people are ſubjected to the laws alone, which will ſufficiently inſtruct them in every point of their duty: let them be ſatisfied, therefore, that the Almighty deigns to take upon himſelf the ſupreme direction of their affairs.

Advice concerning a king.

"If, notwithſtanding, ye ſhould find in yourſelves a propenſity towards a monarchical government, be careful to chuſe for your king* a perſon of your own nation; a perſon eminent for his juſtice and probity, of great moderation, and free from guile: one who ſhall place greater confidence in the direction of the Almighty, for the good government of his kingdom, than in his own judgment; a perſon, in ſhort, who ſhall conform himſelf upon all occaſions to the advice of the high-prieſt and elders: without indulging himſelf in a plurality of wives, or in uſeleſs parade and oſtentation; leſt this affectation of power and pomp ſhould in the end lead him to encroach upon your rights and privileges, and to aſſume a degree of authority which may prove highly inconſiſtent with your intereſt.

Not to remove landmarks.

"Ye ſhall not remove either your own or your neighbour's landmarks, as they were from the firſt deſigned to maintain inviolable the peace of ſociety. Let them remain immoveable as the foundations of the earth, and as if they had been fixed by the hand of God himſelf, at the æra of creation. The breach of this injunction will inevitably produce wars and tumults; and as ambition is the baſis of war, this kind of injuſtice derives its origin from avarice.

Fourth year fruit only to be offered, or eaten.

"Ye ſhall neither eat yourſelves, nor offer in ſacrifice to God, the firſt-fruits of ſuch trees as do not bear till the fourth year from the time of their being planted; all ſuch being unnatural productions. But in the fourth year, when the fruit is become fit for gathering, let the whole be plucked, and conveyed to the holy city, where the owner ſhall conſume it, together with the tithes of his other fruits, in company with his relations and friends, and with the widows and orphans.

Vineyards not to be ſown.

"No vineyard ſhall be ploughed up, for the purpoſe of its being ſown; ſince ſuperfluous cultivation will but impoveriſh the land.

To plow with oxen only.

"Oxen are the only animals which ſhall be uſed for the plough; for beaſts of different kinds ſhould not be joined together in the ſame yoke.

Seed to be unmixed.

"The ſeed with which ye ſow the land ſhall be unmixed; as, by mingling ſeveral ſorts together, you will create an unnatural confuſion.

No adulterate mixtures of beaſts.

"Ye ſhall not ſuffer animals of different ſpecies to generate; leſt the evil example ſhould tempt mankind to indulge themſelves in the gratification of unnatural luſts.

Gleanings to be left for the poor.

"When ye reap your corn, be careful that ye leave a large proportion of gleanings for the relief of the poor; and ye ſhall act in like manner when ye gather your grapes† and your olives; nor will your bounty go unrewarded: for when a man evinces a proper commiſeration of the miſeries of the poor, God will fertilize the land which he poſſeſſes, and will grant him the bleſſing of plenty. Ye ſhall not muzzle the ox whilſt he treadeth out the grain; as it would be totally inconſiſtent with juſtice and reaſon to debar any animal from partaking of the fruits his own labour.

Oxen treading corn not to be muzzled.

Paſſengers on a journey not to be denied ripe fruits.

"Suffer the paſſenger, whether he be a native or a ſtranger to gather the ripe fruit as he paſſes through your grounds, and to eat his fill; but without taking any part thereof away with him. At the time when ye preſs your grapes, if a traveller ſhould requeſt a few bunches of them, do not deny him ſo ſmall a proportion of thoſe fruits which God has been pleaſed to beſtow upon you in ſuch great plenty; particularly as this fertile ſeaſon is but of ſhort duration. The breach of this injunction ſhall be puniſhed with thirty-nine laſhes, to be inflicted by the hands of the common executioner. The remembrance of the many ſufferings which ye underwent, both in Egypt and the wilderneſs, ought to humanize your temper ſo far, at leaſt, as to render you compaſſionate to the neceſſitous.

Third tenth, for widows and orphans.

Excluſive of the two annual tenths, already mentioned, one of which was ſet apart for the uſe of the levites, and the other for the celebration of all public ſolemnities; a third alſo ſhall be levied, to be diſtributed every third year among the poor widows and orphans of your nation.

* This by no means imports that God commanded them to make them a king when they came to Canaan, as ſome of the Jews underſtand it; but only that if they would needs have a king, he ſhould be one of their brethren. It appears from this paſſage, that the fault of the Iſraelites lay not in aſking a king, but in aſking him from wrong motives, and in a licentious, diſorderly manner. See 1 Sam. viii. 5, 19, 20.

† From a grateful ſenſe of the ſame divine deliverance, Moſes exhorts them to be mindful of thoſe proviſions made for the poor by the laws, Lev. xix. 9, 10. xxiii. 22. wherein they are ordered not to be over-nice and exact in reaping the fruits of their fields and vineyards; but to leave ſomething to be gathered by their poor neighbours.

Ye

First fruits to the temple, as a thank-offering.

Ye ſhall not neglect, at proper ſeaſons, to bring your firſt-fruits* to the temple, and, after returning thanks to God, and offering the cuſtomary ſacrifices, ye ſhall deliver them into the hands of the prieſts; having paid the uſual dues to the levites, and for the ſolemnization of the feſtivals; when ye are about to return home, ye ſhall place yourſelves before the door of the temple, and ſhall give thanks to God for reſcuing the Iſraelites from their grievous bondage in Egypt, and for eſtabliſhing them in the poſſeſſion of ſo beautiful and fertile a country; publicly declaring, at the ſame time, that ye have paid the ſeveral dues required by the law. Ye ſhall then offer up your prayers to God, both for your own private welfare, and for that of the public; requeſting not only a continuance of his preſent favours and mercies, but alſo an increaſe of them in future.

Laws reſpecting wedlock.

A man who has attained to a marriageable age, and is inclined to take to himſelf a wife, ſhall make choice of a virgin, who is a free-woman, deſcended from virtuous parents, and well educated: but let no one preſume to attempt the chaſtity of the wife of another man, thereby to give uneaſineſs and vexation to her huſband. If a freeman marries a bond-woman, he ſhall not be juſtified on the plea of love; for a man derogates from the dignity of human nature when he ſuffers his paſſions to uſurp the maſtery over him. Let no man eſpouſe a reputed harlot; for God will not accept a nuptial oblation from the hands of an impure perſon; moreover, the offspring of ſuch marriages commonly manifeſt their origin by the depravity of their manners.

Puniſhment of a woman marrying as a virgin, who is not ſuch.

A man, who imagining he had married a virgin, finds himſelf deceived, ſhall bring the matter to a judicial determination, and ſhall produce his proofs: the father, brother, or the perſon who is the neareſt relation to the woman, ſhall appear in her behalf. If the charge againſt her be not clearly proved, the huſband ſhall be compelled to entertain her as his lawful wife, and the marriage ſhall never afterwards be diſſolved, but upon the moſt indiſputable evidence of her guilt. But, ſhould it appear that the accuſation was founded ſolely in malice and calumny, the huſband ſhall, by way of puniſhment, receive thirty-nine ſtripes, and ſhall alſo be amerced in the ſum of fifty ſhekels, to the uſe of the father of the woman. On the other hand, if the guilt of the woman ſhall be made evident, and ſhe be of mean extraction, ſhe ſhall be ſtoned to death; or, if honourably deſcended, particularly from a ſacerdotal family, ſhe ſhall be burnt alive.

Primogeniture adjuſted.

If a man ſhall marry two wives, and ſhall (from whatever motive) prefer the one before the other, and the favoured wife ſhall prevail upon him to demand the privilege of primogeniture in behalf of her ſon, who is younger than the ſon of the other wife; in this caſe, I ſay, ye ſhall not comply with his demand; for, according to my laws, the elder ſon is intitled to a double portion of the inheritance, and it would be unjuſt to ſuffer this partiality of his father to operate to his ſon's diſadvantage, by depriving him of the above privilege.

A virgin betrothed not to be corrupted, or ſeduced.

"If a virgin, who is contracted to one man, ſhall ſuffer herſelf to be debauched by another, both parties ſhall be deemed as guilty, and ſhall both be puniſhed with death; the man for ſeducing the woman to prefer the gratification of an avaricious or luſtful appetite, to an honourable matrimonial alliance, and the woman for ſuffering herſelf to be influenced by ſuch baſe and degenerate motives. But, if a man ſhall be convicted of having raviſhed a woman, on a ſpot at a diſtance from all help, he alone ſhall be ſentenced to death. Whoever ſhall ſeduce a virgin, who is under no engagement to any other man, ſhall either marry her, or, if the parents of the woman will not conſent thereto, let the delinquent compound for his offence by the payment of fifty ſhekels to her father.

Reſpecting a man's parting with his wife.

"When a man is determined, as often happens, to ſeparate himſelf from his wife, upon whatever account, he ſhall deliver to her an inſtrument, ſigned by his own hand, whereby he engages never to require her to return to him again: and this will bear her harmleſs in contracting a ſecond marriage: nor will the divorce be otherwiſe valid. But if, after the death of her ſecond huſband, the woman ſhould be inclined to return to the firſt, ſhe ſhall not be indulged therein.

Caſe of a huſband's dying without iſſue.

"When a married man dies, leaving no iſſue, let the brother of the deceaſed eſpouſe the widow†, and, if a ſon ſhould be the produce of this ſecond marriage, he ſhall be named after the firſt huſband, and ſhall inherit the eſtate; for it is neceſſary to the public welfare, that family

* Every Iſraelite being obliged by law to offer the firſt-fruits of his field and vineyard, at the tabernacle, at the proper ſeaſons of the year; Moſes now preſcribes to them the forms of ſolemn profeſſion and prayer, with which each offerer ſhould preſent them. Firſt, that at his preſenting them to the prieſts in waiting, he is to declare he brings them in humble and grateful acknowledgment of the divine providence and goodneſs, that has ſettled him and his family in this fruitful country, purſuant to the gracious promiſes made to his forefathers.

† This obligation is underſtood, by the Hebrew doctors, to lie upon the eldeſt ſurviving brother, by the ſame father. And if the eldeſt brother, that married his brother's relict, died alſo without iſſue, then the next ſurviving brother was to marry her; and ſo forward, according to the caſe ſuppoſed in the goſpel. But this is to be underſtood only of a brother that was unmarried, as appears from Lev. xviii. 18. And this is thought to be implied in the words, *if brethren dwell together:* for though the younger, while he continued ſingle, may be ſuppoſed to dwell with the elder, yet, when he married, he would dwell in an houſe of his own. If there was no brother, properly ſo called, to perform this duty, the next of

family names ſhould be preſerved from one generation to another, and that their poſſeſſions ſhould devolve intire from heir to heir: and it will be a conſolation to the widow to ſpend the remainder of her days with one ſo nearly related to her firſt huſband. In caſe of the refuſal of the brother to conform to this ordinance, let the widow prefer a complaint againſt him to the ſenate, ſetting forth the inſult which, by his refuſal, he had caſt upon the memory of the deceaſed. The members of the ſenate ſhall then interrogate him on the ſubject of his conduct, and whatever arguments he may uſe in his defence, the reſult will be this: the widow ſhall looſen the latchet of his ſhoe, and, ſpitting in his face, ſhall reproach him with the contempt he has manifeſted for the memory of his deceaſed brother; adding, that by ſuch conduct he juſtly incurred his preſent puniſhment. He ſhall then quit the court, thus ſtigmatized; and the widow ſhall be permitted to marry whoever ſhe thinks proper.

Duties enjoined on a maid, wife, or widow, taken captive.

"If a woman, of whatever condition, whether maid, wife, or widow, be taken priſoner, and the perſon who makes capture of her be inclined to marry her, they ſhall not cohabit as man and wife 'till the woman ſhall have ſhaven her head, and ſhall have fulfilled the time of her mourning for the friends and relations ſhe may have loſt in the battle; and at the end of the time ſhe ſhall be allowed to enter into the nuptial ſtate. Every man who takes a woman to wife with the view of having iſſue by her, is bound to pay ſome attention to the wiſhes of his wife, and not to indulge his own inclination at the expence of her's. But at the expiration of thirty days, which is a ſufficient term for bewailing the loſs of our friends and relations, the marriage ceremony may be performed without any imputation. If he ſhould, through a natural ficklenefs of temper, wiſh to ſeparate himſelf from her afterwards, he ſhall not reduce her to her former ſtate of ſlavery, having that ſhe hath by her marriage emancipated herſelf from bondage.

Undutiful children to be admoniſhed;

"When children ſhall be guilty of irreverent behaviour towards their parents, let the father or mother, whom nature has conſtituted their judges, admoniſh them in terms adapted to convince them of their folly and diſobedicence; if ſuch admonition produce the proper effect, let the former miſconduct of the parties be forgiven, as the effect rather of human frailty than of premeditation; and this lenity will redound to the honour of our laws, and will greatly adminiſter to the comfort of the parents. But if the children ſtill perſevere in their rebellion, in utter contempt both of the authority and advice of their parents, let the laws, in that caſe, take their courſe; and let the parties, in conſequence, be ſtoned to death, on a ſpot without the city, and their bodies, after being expoſed one whole day on a gibbet, ſhall be taken down in the evening to be interred. The ſame rule ſhall be obſerved with reſpect to the burial of the body, in every other caſe of public executions. Even the enemies of the ſtate are intitled to the rights of burial. It is ſufficient that the delinquent ſuffers the penalty of the law, and the puniſhment ought not to extend beyond death.

and, if refractory, ſtoned to death.

"It ſhall not be permitted to one Hebrew to lend to another either money, meat, or drink, upon uſury; for it is an unjuſtifiable action to make an advantage of the diſtreſſes of thoſe of our own nation. Let it be remembered, that the conſciouſneſs of having done a good action, is its beſt reward: thus benevolence itſelf would become clear gain, did man but confide in the Almighty for that reward which he will indubitably confer, either ſooner or later, on the virtuous and humane. Let thoſe who borrow either money or fruits, wet or dry, make a point of diſcharging the debt whenever God ſhall enable them ſo to do: for this is nothing more than depoſiting ſo much money or effects in the hands of another, for your own uſe and ſervice upon any future occaſion.

No lending upon uſury to an Hebrew.

"If a debtor ſhall be ſo totally devoid both of ſhame and conſcience as to neglect the re-payment of what he borrowed, the creditor ſhall demand of him a pledge, which he ſhall receive at the door, but ſhall not be permitted to enter his houſe, unleſs in virtue of an order for that purpoſe from the judge. In caſe that the debtor can conveniently ſpare the article which he has pledged in the hands of his creditor, the latter ſhall retain it till he has received ſatisfaction for the debt; but if, on the other hand, he ſhall chance to be in very indigent circumſtances, it ſhall be returned to him again before ſun-ſet; particularly if it ſhould be a garment, which he may poſſibly want to keep him warm during the night: ſo much does God commiſerate the caſe of the poor.

Law relating to borrowing.

"Ye ſhall not receive in pledge either a mill, or any thing which appertains to the working of it*; leſt the owner ſhould thereby be deprived of the means of earning a maintenance.

Working utenſils not to be taken as pledges.

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of kin, who in ſcripture is alſo often ſtiled *brother*, in a larger ſenſe, was bound to marry her. And, indeed, I ſhould be apt to think, that by *brother* here was meant only a kinſman; becauſe the law expreſly prohibits marriages between brothers in law and ſiſters in law, Lev. xviii. 16. However, it appears from Gen. xxxviii. 7, 8. to have been cuſtomary in very early times, even among the patriarchs, for brothers to marry their brother's widows. And Huetius aſſures us, that ſome of the Indians and Perſians, and the Tartars that inhabit Iberia and Albania, ſtill retain this cuſtom.

* This law is of the ſame merciful nature with that in Exod. xxii. 26, which enjoins, that a perſon's raiment, which was pledged, ſhould be reſtored before ſun-ſet: hence we find that an Iſraelite was not to take any thing of his neighbour in pawn or pledge, which is abſolutely requiſite for the ſubſiſtence of himſelf and family. The reaſon aſſigned for this prohibition, that the violation of it would be *equal to taking a man's life to pledge*, or to the depriving him of all means of ſubſiſtence, is very ſtrong, and inculcates the exerciſe of benevolence and charity in ſuch a light, as reflects no ſmall honour on the Divine legiſlator. Both the milſtones were neceſſary to grind his corn. The Jews made uſe of hand-mills, which they worked one upon another, to grind their corn.

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Againſt ſelling Hebrews for ſlaves; and ſtealing.

"Whoever ſhall privately ſell a Hebrew into ſlavery ſhall be put to death; and he who ſteals from another either gold or ſilver, ſhall make a twofold reſtitution.

Theft.

"He ſhall not be ſubjected to the puniſhment of the law who ſhall kill a man in the act of ſtealing, or making forcible entry into an habitation, in order to rob the ſame.

Stealing cattle.

"The penalty for ſtealing a labouring beaſt ſhall be four times the value of the property ſtolen, except the creature be an ox, and in that caſe the fine ſhall be quintuple: the robber not being able to diſcharge the penalty, ſhall be made a ſlave to the party he has injured.

Hebrews to ſerve only ſix years.

"One Hebrew being ſold to another, ſhall ſerve for the term of ſix years, and be then emancipated: but in caſe of his having iſſue in the dwelling of his maſter, by any fellow-ſervant, and ſhall be inclined to continue in his ſervitude, himſelf, his wife, and children, ſhall be freed in the year of jubilee.

Goods found to be reſtored.

"A man who ſhall find gold or ſilver upon the way, ſhall inquire for the owner, and reſtore it to him: and in regard to cattle, the perſon who ſhall find ſuch as have gone aſtray, ſhall keep them till the proprietor can be diſcovered, calling heaven to witneſs that he covets not the goods of another man. It is contrary to the principles of humanity to take advantage of the misfortunes of our fellow-creatures.

Not to inſult the unfortunate.

The traveller to be ſet right in the way.

"Let thoſe who obſerve a traveller to be at a loſs upon the road, direct and adviſe him, according to the beſt of their knowledge and ability. To make a traveller the object of ſport, and to impede the progreſs of his journey, and thereby delay his buſineſs, argues a cruelty of diſpoſition.

Againſt backbiters, &c.

"Speak not injuriouſly of abſent perſons, or of thoſe labouring under the affliction of deafneſs.

Law concerning aſſaults, &c.

"If, in a quarrel, a man ſhall ſtrike another, and not with a ſword, the aggreſſor ſhall be puniſhed by a number of blows equal to thoſe conſtituting his offence. If the party aſſaulted linger for ſome days, and then expire, no action for murder ſhall enſue; but if he recover, the whole expence incidental to his cure ſhall be defrayed by the aſſailant. A man who by aſſaulting a woman ſhall cauſe her to miſcarry, ſhall be adjudged to a forfeiture for the loſs of a ſubject; and a further penalty ſhall be inflicted upon him, as a gratuity to the huſband. If the woman die, the ſentence of death ſhall be executed upon her deſtroyer; for the crime of taking away the life of a fellow-creature requires that the life of the offender be forfeited.

Puniſhment of poiſoners.

"Whoever ſhall be found with any poiſonous preparation in his cuſtody, ſhall ſuffer death, as a juſt puniſhment of his malicious deſigns.

Law relating to maiming.

"He who ſhall wilfully ſtrike out the eye of another, ſhall make ſatisfaction in kind; unleſs the injured party ſhall be inclined to accept of a ſum of money, as a compenſation for the hurt he has ſuſtained; the law, in this inſtance, leaving him to his option.

Vicious oxen to be killed.

"The owner of a vicious ox ſhall be obliged to kill him. If the animal chance to gore any perſon to death, let him be ſtoned, and let no man eat of his fleſh; and, in this caſe, if it be proved that the owner of the beaſt had been made acquainted with his miſchievouſneſs, he ſhall himſelf be put to death, for neglecting to take proper precaution to prevent the above clamiaty. The maſter of an ox that hath killed either a male or a female ſlave, ſhall pay thirty ſkekels* to the owner of ſuch ſlave. If one of thoſe animals chances to kill another, they ſhall both be ſold, and the produce of the ſale ſhall be equally divided between the two owners.

Pits, &c. to be covered.

"Whoever digs a pit, or a well †, ſhall lay boards over it, and raiſe a mound about it, not with the view of excluding others from a participation of the water, but to prevent any accident which might happen therefrom either to man or beaſt; and if, in failure of ſuch precaution, any animal ſhall unfortunately fall into ſuch pit or well, the proprietor of the ground ſhall make good the value of the creature ſo loſt.

Depoſits left in truſt not to be violated.

"Whoever receives either money or effects in truſt for another ſhall preſerve the depoſit inviolate, nor ſhall he ſuffer himſelf to be perſuaded to deliver it to any perſon but the legal proprietor thereof, upon any conſideration whatever. For, although there ſhould be no witneſs either to the depoſit, or to the peculation, in caſe he may have been guilty of it, yet his conſcience will aſſuredly ſupply that defect, and will either condemn or acquit him in the ſight of God, who cannot be deceived by the utmoſt exertion of human artfulneſs and fallacy. But if the depoſit ſhould be loſt, without any bad deſign on the ſide of the perſon in whoſe hands it was entruſted, he ſhall preſent himſelf before the ſeven judges, of whom we have already ſpoken, and ſhall make a ſolemn declaration, upon oath, that he is not privy, in any reſpect whatever, to the manner in which it was loſt; and he ſhall thus acquit himſelf of any imputation of fraud in the execution of his truſt. But ſhould any proof ariſe, in future, that he had converted the ſmalleſt part of the depoſit to his own uſe, he ſhall be ſubjected to the payment of the whole.

* This was the price of a ſlave; and can any thing give us a clearer idea of the malice and indignity expreſſed by the Jews, who when aſked by Judas, what they would give him to betray his maſter? anſwered, Thirty pieces of ſilver; by that means degrading their king to the meanneſs of a ſlave!

† It is a common practice in thoſe hot countries to dig for ſprings, and make large pits or ciſterns, as receptacles for rain-water, which if left uncovered, cattle might eaſily fall into them, and be maimed or deſtroyed thereby.

Poor labourers to be punctually paid.

"Ye ſhall obſerve the ſtricteſt punctuality in the payment of the labourers whom you employ; neither defrauding them of the ſmalleſt part of their juſt demands, nor delaying payment thereof a day beyond the time that the work is finiſhed.

Children and parents to be puniſhed for their own ſins.

"It were injuſtice to puniſh the children for the offences of their fathers: on the contrary, if their own diſpoſition be naturally good, the circumſtance of their parents' miſconduct ought to be conſidered as a misfortune to them; and we are bound rather to revere them for their own virtues, than to deſpiſe them on account of the vices of others. Nor ſhould we, in all caſes, impute the wickedneſs of the children to thoſe from whom they derive their birth; for there are ſome tempers ſo unaccountable as not to be influenced either by precept, example, or even by the ſeverity of the puniſhment.

All caſtration forbidden.

"Some perſons, influenced by horrid and unnatural paſſion, voluntarily render themſelves eunuchs, and thereby, as far as in them lies, counteract the deſign of nature and providence in the creation of the different ſexes; reſcinding, at the ſame time, the means of population, and, conſequently, depriving the world, to the utmoſt of their power, of the benefit of poſterity. Their minds alſo, muſt doubtleſs have been totally corrupted and debilitated, previouſly to their making this infamous experiment on their bodies. Avoid theſe wretches as monſters in nature; nor ſuffer any creature to be caſtrated, either of the human or brute ſpecies, as you, in that caſe, depart from the firſt inſtitute of nature.

"The foregoing laws I have formed for the regulation of your conduct in times of peace; and I hope that both yourſelves and your poſterity will ever religiouſly adhere to them. Yet, as it muſt be expected that accidents will naturally ariſe in the beſt regulated ſtates, I ſhall endeavour, in the feweſt words poſſible, to give you ſuch advice, as ſhall enable you to provide againſt all contingencies.

"May you poſſeſs in peace the land which God hath deſtined for your reſidence, and may you quietly reap the fruit of your toil and perſeverance, unexpoſed to the attempts either of foreign enemies, or of more dangerous domeſtic foes; as an internal ſchiſm would hazard the deſtruction of the ancient form of government, both civil and religious, which was eſtabliſhed by your anceſtors, and is founded on ſuch ordinances as they received from God himſelf: and from theſe you muſt never depart.

Advice in caſe of war.

"If, however, either yourſelves or your poſterity ſhould at any time be compelled to enter into a war, I ſincerely wiſh it may be with a foreign foe. To avoid the blame of raſhneſs and precipitation, let your proceedings be regulated in proper form. In the firſt place, ſend embaſſadors to reaſon with your opponents, on the injuſtice of their conduct towards you; for it is but right that you ſhould endeavour to ſettle your differences by a negociation, without proceeding to force. You may repreſent to them that it is not your deſire to enrich yourſelves with plunder, that you wiſh not to puſh matters to extremes, but are willing to accept of any terms which may be conſiſtent with juſtice and reaſon; not arrogantly preſuming on the ſuperior advantages you enjoy in a numerous and well-diſciplined army, plentifully provided with all kinds of military ſtores, or, what excels all, on the favour and protection of an Almighty Power, who will conſtantly fight on your ſide. But if your antagoniſts ſhould determine to riſk the event of a war, meet them boldly in the field, putting yourſelves under the direction of the Almighty, and, next to him, of the moſt experienced and valiant man you can ſelect from your whole army. Entruſt the ſupreme direction of the war in the hands of a few only; for a multiplicity of leaders is prejudicial; not only on account of the diſſenſions, but alſo of the delays which too commonly ariſe from thence. Be careful in the choice of your ſoldiers, for their courage muſt be equal to their ſtrength; as a defect of reſolution in a few may ſuffice to diſpirit and ſeduce a whole army *.

* It may not be amiſs, in this place, to exhibit, at one view, the whole form, order, and manner of incampment of the Iſraelites, with the diſpoſition of the twelve tribes, and the reſpective number of each, as in the following

TABLE.



There was a peculiar banner or ſtandard to each of theſe camps; and every ſtandard had its motto or inſcription, and likewiſe a diſtinct figure marked thereon. Reuben's ſtandard was diſtinguiſhed by the figure of a man; Judah's, that of a lion; Ephraim's, that of an ox; and Dan's, of an eagle. Ezekiel has alſo adopted the ſame four animals, in the deſcription of his firſt viſion. See Ezek. i. 10. and p. 64.

"But

Exemptions. "But theſe following perſons ſhall be excuſed from military ſervice: the maſters of new-built houſes, in which they have not yet reſided the term of one year intire; all ſuch perſons as have planted vineyards, the produce of which they have not yet taſted; and men lately married, who have not yet brought home their wives, leſt ſuch ſhould devote thoſe hours to dalliance which ought to be employed in the ſervice of their country.

Diſcipline. Fruit-trees to be ſpared. "Let your troops be kept under the ſtricteſt diſcipline. If at any time during a ſiege, you ſhould want wood, for the conſtruction of military engines, or for any other purpoſe, ye ſhall not cut down any fruit-trees; ſeeing that they were both created and planted for uſes very different from that to which you mean to apply them. Were they endued with the gift of ſpeech, they would complain bitterly for the injuſtice of deſtroying them, who were guiltleſs of the cauſe of the war, or, with the view of promoting its progreſs; and would add, that, could they be permitted to change their ſituation, they would tranſplant themſelves to ſome diſtant part of the earth.

Of giving quarter. "When you have obtained a victory, put thoſe to death who ſhall reſiſt you, but ſave the lives of the reſt, and render them your tributaries; excepting the Canaanites alone, the whole race of whom you ſhall utterly extirpate.

Dreſs to be diſtinct. "No man ſhall be permitted to wear the dreſs of a woman, nor ſhall any woman, in battle particularly, aſſume that of a man."

Such were the laws and regulations which formed the baſis of the Hebrew commonwealth, at the time of the death of Moſes, who left various other ordinances alſo, which he had framed about forty years before that period.

Charge given by Moſes. Moſes convened all the people on the next day, and obliged not only the men, women, and children, but even the ſlaves alſo, to enter into a ſolemn engagement, which they ratified by an oath, to pay the ſtricteſt obedience to the foregoing laws, unſeduced by promiſes, and unawed by threats. They likewiſe promiſed that, if any perſon, how cloſely ſoever he was connected with them, either by blood or friendſhip, or any body of people, ſhould attempt to introduce a change in thoſe laws, they would firmly unite themſelves againſt him or them; perſecuting them with unceaſing ardour, and utterly deſtroying their habitations: but, if the power of the innovators ſhould be ſuperior to theirs, they would at leaſt enter their proteſt againſt the impiety, and would, by every poſſible means, manifeſt their utter deteſtation thereof.

This was the ſubſtance of the oath which Moſes adminiſtered to the people on this occaſion. He alſo gave them the neceſſary inſtructions relative to the manner of performing ſacrifice; and recommended to them to undertake no enterprize of conſequence, till they ſhould firſt have learnt how far the Almighty favoured their deſign, by obſerving the appearance of the precious ſtones in the breaſt-plate of Aaron, according to the manner before preſcribed.

Moſes then gave his inſtructions to Joſhua, relative to the plan of operations which he was to purſue in the enſuing war againſt the Canaanites; giving him the ſtrongeſt aſſurances that God would grant him ſucceſs in his undertaking, and predicting many circumſtances of the future proſperity of the people, of whom he afterwards took his leave in the following ſpeech:

"I muſt acknowledge my own obligations to God's goodneſs, for the aſſiſtance he has been graciouſly pleaſed to afford me in all my endeavours to promote your happineſs and welfare, in effecting which I have had no other ſhare than as being an inſtrument in the hand of God. Let me remind you of the duty and reverence which you are bound to pay to that Supreme Power, who alone is intitled to your adoration. I would recommend it to you alſo to ſet a juſt eſtimate on the laws he hath communicated to you, through me, as being the moſt valuable and ſacred of all his bounties. An earthly law-giver would naturally reſent a neglect of his ordinances, and a contempt of his authority: judge then what will be the indignation of the ſupreme Being, who is your heavenly legiſlator, when he ſhall call you to account for your diſregard of his commandments."

After having pronounced this ſpeech, and bleſſed the ſeveral tribes, Moſes proceeded to the ſpot where he was to die; and deſired that the multitude would not follow him, to interrupt the tranquillity of his laſt moments. They obeyed; but ſtill purſued his ſteps with weeping eyes and afflicted minds, till they could no longer diſcern him. He proceeded forwards, accompanied ſolely by the elders, with Eleazar the high-prieſt, and Joſhua, whom it had pleaſed God to appoint as his ſucceſſor. When he had reached the top of Abarim*, which is a very high mountain ſituated oppoſite to Jericho, he ſpent ſome ſhort time in contemplating the proſpect which lay before him of the fertile land of Canaan, and then diſmiſſed the elders; retaining with him only Eleazar and Joſhua. Having bid a final adieu to theſe two perſons, and exchanged many reciprocal embraces, he was taken from their ſight in a cloud, and conveyed into a neighbouring valley. It is recorded in the Holy Scriptures, that he died, leſt the world ſhould give into a notion that, on account of his eminent virtues, he had been tranſlated immediately to heaven. He lived to the age of one hundred and twenty years; during a third part of which time, within one month, he poſſeſſed the ſupreme authority among the Hebrews. He died on the firſt day of the month Dyſtrus, as it is named by the Macedonians, and by us Adar: which is the concluding month of the year.

* In the country of the Moabites, between the rivers Arnon and Jordan, there were mountains which commanded a moſt extenſive and beautiful proſpect of Canaan, which Moſes was favoured with a view of, before his death.

This

This man excelled in wiſdom, was a conſummate orator, and poſſeſſed ſo admirable a command over his paſſions, that they ſeemed to form no part of his compoſition: as a general and a prophet, he ſurpaſſed all who have either preceded or followed him. The mourning for him continued thirty days; and the people were more affected by the loſs of this great and virtuous man, than by any other misfortune that they had ever experienced. Nor was this the character which he had obtained among his cotemporaries alone; but he has acquired as great reputation with poſterity by his writings, as he did with thoſe who lived in his own time, by the fame of his actions*.

* The character of Moſes has been inveſtigated by various writers, ſacred as well as profane, who all agree in aſcribing to him every quality neceſſary for a legiſlator and hiſtorian. He had undoubtedly a difficult part to act, and had as ſtubborn and rebellious a generation to govern, as any we read of in the whole compaſs of hiſtory. He was eminently endowed with meekneſs and patience, which were ſet in oppoſition to the turbulence and impetuoſity of the Iſraelites; and was an eminent pattern of Him, who he predicted ſhould in future riſe out of his brethren, and who ſhould be the founder of a new ſyſtem as ſuperior to that eſtabliſhed by Moſes, as the meridian ſplendor of the ſun exceeds in brightneſs the glimmering light and feeble dawnings of the day.

BOOK V.

Including TRANSACTIONS from the YEAR of the WORLD 2493, to 2850.

CHAP. I.

After the Death of MOSES, JOSHUA ſucceeds to the ſupreme Command; ſubdues the CANAANITES, and divides their Lands, by Lot, among the Tribes. The Death of JOSHUA.

Joſhua diſpatches ſpies to Jericho.

THE laſt duties having been paid to the memory of Moſes, and the time of mourning for him being now expired, Joſhua commanded the people to prepare themſelves for marching, and ſecretly diſpatched certain perſons to Jericho, to intelligence of the diſpoſition of the inhabitants, and the ſtrength of the place.

The tribes of Reuben and Gad, and the half tribe of Manaſſeh, having been permitted to ſettle themſelves in the country of the Amorites, which includes a ſeventh part of the land of Canaan, Joſhua aſſembled the leaders of thoſe tribes on the preſent occaſion, and, after reminding them of their obligations to Moſes, urged them to fulfil the promiſes which they had formerly given him, and to afford their brethren the Hebrews every aſſiſtance in their power; with which they chearfully engaged to comply, and, accordingly, joined the army with a body of fifty thouſand men. Joſhua then quitted Abila, and marched ſixty furlongs nearer the river Jordan: the tents were ſcarcely pitched, when the ſpies which had been ſent to Jericho returned, and gave the following account of what had befallen them in the execution of their commiſſion.

That under the garb of ſtrangers, they obtained a free acceſs to the city, and were indulged in examining the walls, gates, and fortifications of the place, without the leaſt moleſtation or hindrance; that, towards evening, they retired to a houſe, in a quarter of the city adjoining to the wall, where they refreſhed themſelves; that, having finiſhed their ſupper, while they were conſulting on the means of effecting their retreat from the city, intelligence was brought them that the king had been made acquainted with their arrival, and with their concealment in the houſe of Rahab, and had ordered them to be inſtantly ſeized and put to the rack, for the purpoſe of extorting from them a confeſſion of their deſigns; that, in conſequence of this intelligence, Rahab conducted them to a retired part of the houſe, where ſhe covered them over with a quantity of flax, and told the officers of juſtice, when they came to ſearch for them, that it was true ſuch ſtrangers had come to her houſe that evening, about ſun-ſet, but that they had departed immediately after ſupper, and, if inſtant purſuit were made after them, they might eaſily be overtaken; that the apparent ſimplicity of the woman ſo effectually impoſed on the officers, that they retired without ſearching the houſe, and haſted towards the river Jordan, in hopes of diſcovering them; that, when the confuſion which this alarm had occaſioned was in ſome meaſure ſubſided, Rahab repreſented to them the great danger to which ſhe had expoſed both herſelf and her family, by ſecreting them, and exacted from them an oath, to preſerve herſelf and her relations from the univerſal deſtruction in which, it had been revealed to her by the Almighty, the whole city was to be involved; that they cautioned her to be careful when the city ſhould be attacked by the Hebrews, to remain cloſely ſhut up with her kindred in her own houſe, which ſhe ſhould diſtinguiſh from the reſt by a ſcarlet thread affixed to the door, the intent of which ſignal ſhould

Rahab protects the ſpies.

be communicated to the general, who would, doubtleſs, protect from harm all thoſe who ſhould be found within the walls of that houſe; and that, having returned her repeated thanks for her kindneſs, they then departed, being let down from the top of the wall by a cord*, which Rahab had provided for that purpoſe. Eleazar the high-prieſt, and the elders, having been conſulted how far the promiſe of ſafety which the ſpies had given to Rahab was binding, formally pronounced that it could not by any means be diſpenſed with.

As the city of Jericho was ſituated on the other ſide of the river Jordan, the waters of which were particularly rapid at that time, Joſhua, being totally deſtitute of the means of paſſing his army over, became greatly diſpirited at the proſpect of theſe apparently inſurmountable obſtacles to his ſucceſs; but God was pleaſed to revive his courage, by giving him a full aſſurance that thoſe difficulties ſhould be removed, and that the river ſhould be rendered fordable.

Jordan miraculouſly divided.

On the ſecond day after receiving this revelation, the promiſe was made good to him, and the army paſſed over. During the whole time that the army was paſſing over, the prieſts remained in the midſt of the channel; and when they alſo had landed, the waters reſumed their former ſtate.

The army then marched forwards to the diſtance of about fifty furlongs, and encamped within ten furlongs of the walls of Jericho. Joſhua erected an altar on this ſpot, conſiſting of twelve ſtones, which twelve princes of the ſeveral tribes had, by his order, collected from the bottom of the channel of Jordan, with the view of perpetuating the remembrance of this miraculous ſeparation of the waters. On this altar he offered ſacrifices, and celebrated the feaſt of the paſſover in the place where he was then encamped. The corn being ripe, and the whole face of the country overſpread with flocks and herds, the manna, which had been their only food for the ſpace of forty years in the wilderneſs, failed them at this juncture: but the loſs of this ſuſtenance was amply compenſated by the great abundance which they found themſelves at full liberty to enjoy.

Joſhua lays ſiege to Jericho

The conduct of the inhabitants of Jericho, in ſuffering the Iſraelites to ravage the open country, while they continued cloſe ſhut up within their walls, convinced Joſhua that no conſideration would be ſufficient to induce them to meet him in the field; and he, therefore, determined to lay ſiege to the city. On the firſt day of the above feſtival, Joſhua commanded a proceſſion to be made round the walls of the city, in the following order: ſeven prieſts, blowing horns or trumpets, to rouſe the ardour of the troops, led the way: theſe were followed by others of the ſame function, carrying the ark on their ſhoulders, and attended by a numerous guard of ſoldiers: the proceſſion was cloſed by the elders: when they had made the circuit of the city, they returned to the camp. This was repeated for ſix days ſucceſſively; and on the ſeventh, Joſhua, addreſſing himſelf to the army and people, acquainted them that they would become maſters of the place on that very day, without the leaſt effort on their part; as the walls would fall ſpontaneouſly, and leave the city utterly defenceleſs: enjoining them, at the ſame time, to put every living creature they ſhould find therein to the ſword, Rahab and her family only excepted, without reſerving to their uſe the ſmalleſt part whatever of the plunder. He farther ordered that all the gold and ſilver ſhould be collected together, and offered up to the Almighty, as the firſt-fruits of their conqueſts in the land of Canaan.

The city taken.

Having given them theſe inſtructions, he advanced with his army towards the city, and, after having gone in proceſſion ſeven times round the walls, with the prieſts, the elders, and the ſoldiers, in the manner mentioned above, they halted, and the walls ſuddenly fell to the ground, without the agency of any kind of engine, or other means to effect their fall. The conſternation of the inhabitants was ſo great on the occaſion, that they were deprived thereby of all power to defend themſelves: and the Hebrews, entering the city without the leaſt oppoſition, put all without diſtinction to the ſword, ſave Rahab and her friends and family, who were preſerved by the ſpies formerly mentioned, and conducted by them to Joſhua, who made her many acknowledgements for the eſſential ſervice ſhe had rendered his agents, and rewarded her with a liberality becoming his high ſtation.

Rahab and her family ſaved.

After the total extinction of the inhabitants, the city itſelf was reduced to aſhes, and a prophetical curſe† was denounced againſt thoſe who ſhould preſume to rebuild it; purporting, that he who ſhould lay the firſt ſtone of a new foundation ſhould loſe his eldeſt, and he who completed the undertaking, his youngeſt ſon. The gold, ſilver, and braſs, which was found in the city, amounted to an immenſe value; and Joſhua delivered the whole of it, without the leaſt diminution, to the prieſts, to be depoſited in the ſacred treaſury.

Achar's theft.

But, notwithſtanding the ſtrict precaution of Joſhua, it ſo happened that Achar,

* Rahab's houſe was fortunately ſituated on the town-wall, from whence, as ſoon as it was dark, ſhe let them down by a cord from one of her windows which faced the country, the gates being ſhut by the king's orders. The cord ſhe uſed for this purpoſe probably conſiſted of threads twiſted together, ſo as to be able to ſuſtain a man's weight; the Hebrew word *ſhenah* not ſignifying *colour*, but any thing *twiſted*, from *ſhanah* to double.

† This anathema was pronounced, that the miracle of the ſubverſion of Jericho might be perpetually remembered. Hiel, in the reign of Ahab, was ſo pleaſed with the beauty of its ſituation, that he rebuilt Jericho, 1 Kings xvi. 34. but in the attempt to lay the foundation, he loſt his firſt-born, and his youngeſt ſon when he ſet up the gates of it; however, it afterwards became famous on many accounts. Here the prophet Eliſha ſweetened the waters of the ſpring that ſupplied it and the neighbouring country; here Herod built a ſumptuous palace; and here the great Redeemer of mankind wrought ſeveral miracles.

the ſon of Zebedee, of the tribe of Judah, having diſcovered among the plunder the king's cloak, which was of gold tiſſue, and an ingot of the ſame metal, weighing two hundred ſhekels, ſecreted the whole for his own private uſe. To palliate the action, he argued thus: that it was ridiculous to offer up to God ſuch things as he could not poſſibly ſtand in need of; and that he had ventured his life to obtain this booty, which would be of infinite ſervice to him: he therefore buried the articles in a hole which he dug in his tent; vainly imagining that he might deceive the Almighty with the ſame facility as he impoſed on mankind. At this period, the army lay encamped at a place to which the Hebrews had given the name of Gilgal, ſignifying *liberty;* for they conſidered themſelves as being fully ſecured from all attempts of the Egyptians, and from all misfortunes ſimilar to thoſe which they had experienced in the wilderneſs.

The Hebrews defeated.

In a ſhort time after the deſtruction of Jericho, a body of three thouſand men was detached by Joſhua to poſſeſs themſelves of the city of Ain, which was ſituated a ſmall diſtance only from the former; but on this occaſion the Hebrews were repulſed with the loſs of thirty-ſix men. The news of this check threw the Iſraelites into the greateſt conſternation imaginable; not ſo much in conſideration of the number killed, though they were all choice men, as of the bad effects which it might produce; for, having flattered themſelves with a courſe of uninterrupted ſucceſſes (in conſequence of the promiſe they had received from God) they perceived that the ſpirits of their enemies were now revived, and this reflection induced them to ſet apart a whole day to the purpoſe of faſting and humbling themſelves before God. So univerſal was the deſpondency with which the army was affected, that Joſhua addreſſed himſelf to the Almighty on the occaſion with more than uſual importunity.

Joſhua remained proſ on the ground, whilſt he prayed; at the concluſion God commanded him to riſe, and to purify the army from a pollution which it had contracted, by a ſecret and ſacrilegious theft, for which atonement muſt be made; enjoining him, at the ſame time, to caſt lots for the diſcovery of the offender, who ſhould inſtantly be put to death; after which the Iſraelites ſhould infallibly obtain the victory over their enemies. Joſhua, having received theſe inſtructions and aſſurances, communicated them to the people; and, in the preſence of Eleazar the high-prieſt, and the princes of the ſeveral tribes, caſt lots as he had been commanded; taking firſt the tribes, ſecondly, the families of each tribe, and laſtly, the individuals of each family; when, in the concluſion, the lot fell upon Achar, who was of the family of Zacharis, of the tribe of Judah. He was immediately ſeized, and, finding himſelf detected, acknowledged the fact, and delivered up the effects he had ſecreted in the ſight of all preſent. He was inſtantly dragged away to an ignominious death; and his body, like that of a common malefactor, was interred without any of the cuſtomary honours.

Achar's crime diſcovered, and puniſhed.

The army being thus purified, Joſhua led them againſt the city of Ain* or Ai, having previouſly planted a body of troops in ambuſcade, and the next morning at day-break offered the enemy battle. The people of Ain were ſo elated with their recent ſucceſs, that with the moſt daring intrepidity they attacked the Iſraelites, who, on their ſide, feigned to give ground, till they had drawn their foes to a convenient diſtance from the city; when, upon a ſignal given, they halted, and, at the ſame inſtant, the troops which had been placed in ambuſcade, ſuddenly entered the city, with little or no reſiſtance on the part of the inhabitants, the majority of whom had got upon the walls to be ſpectators of the battle; imagining, from the appearance of matters, that the victory was already nearly won. A dreadful ſlaughter, however, enſued in the city; and thoſe troops which had marched out to the attack, having been, in the intermediate time, totally defeated by the army of Joſhua, retreated towards Ain for ſhelter; but, when they perceived the diſaſter which had befallen their city, they fled, in the utmoſt confuſion, to ſeek an aſylum in the fields and woods; but of thoſe who eſcaped in this manner, the number was very inconſiderable. The booty taken on this occaſion was of an immenſe value; conſiſting of a vaſt number of women, children, and bond ſlaves, a prodigious quantity of plate and coſtly furniture, numerous flocks and herds, and coined money to a very large amount. Both the city, and all the adjacent country, in ſhort, abounded in riches, and the plunder was divided among the troops which were encamped in Galgala.

Ain taken and plundered.

The Gibeonites, whoſe country was ſituated at a ſmall diſtance from Jeruſalem, having learnt the wretched fate of the two cities of Jericho and Ain, began to reflect that a like doom, in all probability, would ſoon befall themſelves, unleſs they could deviſe ſome expedient to ward off the impending danger. They propoſed to their neighbours the Cephirites, and to the people of Kerjath-jearim, to unite with them in a ſolicitation to the Hebrews for an alliance; repreſenting to them, that, if they ſhould not ſucceed in their views, their common intereſt required that they ſhould join their forces, in mutual aſſiſtance of each other. The propoſal was adopted, and a deputation was ſent to Joſhua, conſiſting of ſuch perſons as were deemed the beſt qualified for the taſk of executing ſuch a commiſſion. Theſe deputies were inſtructed cautiouſly to conceal from Joſhua the knowledge of their being Canaanites, but, on the contrary, to inſinuate

Fraudulent conduct of the Gibeonites.

* God would not deſtroy Ai by a miracle, as he had done Jericho, becauſe the people were now to appear formidable to other nations, both on account of their courage and policy. They were all to go up, though before they thought it might be taken by three thouſand men, becauſe their former defeat ſhould not intimidate them, and becauſe they might all enjoy the benefit of the plunder.

that

that they came from a distant land, and that they held no connection whatever with the people of that country. They were farther instructed to pretend, that the fame which the Hebrews had acquired had induced them to come thus far, to form an alliance with them; observing that the condition of their cloaths evinced the great length of the journey they had taken; being now worn to tatters, although quite new when they first departed from home. The garments themselves, also, were adapted, both in point of materials, and every other particular, to favour the deception. They accordingly presented themselves, thus habited, before the assembly of the chiefs of the Hebrews, in the quality of deputies from the Gibeonites, the Cephirites, and the people of Kerjath-jearim; requesting to be admitted to the honor of an alliance with them, and offering them their friendship and assistance, on the sole condition of being secured in the enjoyment of their rights and privileges; adding, that they were apprized of the promises of God to the Israelites, to put them in possession of the whole land of Canaan, and sincerely congratulated them on this predilection of the Almighty for their nation. Joshua was so far deceived by the specious pretext and appearance of these men, that he readily entered into a treaty with them, to which the high-priest and the elders acceded at the same time; and it was afterwards ratified, in the most solemn manner, in the presence and with the consent of the whole multitude assembled. Having thus insidiously effected their purpose, the deputies now returned to their respective cities†. Soon afterwards Joshua advanced with the army to that part of the land of Canaan which borders upon the plains.

Their artifice discovered.

Here he learnt that those Gibeonites and their confederates were of the Canaanitish race, and dwelt not far from Jerusalem. He, therefore, commanded the attendance of some of the principal men of the country, and reproached them with the disingenuousness of their late conduct; which they vindicated in the best manner they were able upon the plea of necessity. When the high-priest and the elders were consulted as to the validity of a treaty thus surreptitiously obtained, they were clearly of opinion that it could not in justice be dispensed with; but proposed, by way of modification, that the Gibeonites and the rest should be condemned to the most servile offices of labour, to which condition they gladly submitted for the preservation of their lives.

Their punishment.

When this revolt of the Gibeonites, and their alliance with the Hebrews, was communicated to the king of Jerusalem, he was so highly incensed on the occasion, that, joining his troops with those of the kings of four of the neighbouring districts, he laid siege to their city; encamping his army near a certain fountain not far distant from the walls of the place. In this emergency the Gibeonites applied to Joshua for assistance; being thus compelled to have recourse to those who had taken up arms against them, to preserve them from the attacks even of their own countrymen and neighbours. Joshua hastened to their aid, and, after marching night and day, attacked the enemy early in the morning, at the very instant they were about to assault the place; totally routed, and pursued them through a considerable extent of country, as far as the valley of Bethora. Never did the Almighty manifest himself more strongly in favour of the Hebrews, than on the present occasion; for, exclusive of a violent storm of thunder and lightning, accompanied with hail of a surprising size, which lasted during the whole time of the battle, the sun itself, to the utter amazement of every spectator, stood still in the firmament, and thus prolonged the day far beyond its usual extent, that the Hebrews might have sufficient day-light to complete their victory over their enemies. The five kings fled for safety to the cave of Makkada, where they were all discovered by Joshua, who put them to death. The circumstance of the progress of the sun being stopped is fully authenticated in the copies of the sacred writings, which are deposited in the temple‡. After this victory, Joshua marched the army back to the hilly part of Canaan, where he put great numbers of the people to the sword, acquired a large booty in cattle, and then returned with his troops to Gilgal.

League against the Gibeonites.

They apply to Joshua,

who overcomes the confederate kings,

and puts them to death.

The fame of the military actions of the Hebrews spread universal terror through the land. Nevertheless, the kings of that part of the country of Canaan which lies contiguous to Mount Libanus, and to the

† Puffendorff observes, that "the artifice of the Gibeonites had nothing blameable in it, nor does it properly deserve the name of a lye: for what crime is there in any one's making use of an innocent fiction, in order to elude the fury of an enemy, that would destroy all before them? Nor indeed did the Israelites properly receive any damage from this imposture; for what does any one lose, in not shedding the blood of another, after having so weakened and disarmed him, that he is no longer able to rebel against him?" Had the Israelites, indeed, been only a company of banditti; who were carrying blood and desolation into countries where they had no right; or had the Gibeonites been ignorant that a miraculous Providence conducted those conquerors; the fraud which they here practised, might have been deemed innocent. But the case of the Israelites was particular: and if, in other things, they went contrary to truth, in this they certainly adhered to it, when they told Joshua, We are come because of the name of the Lord thy God, for we have heard of the fame of him, and all that he did in Egypt, &c. The idea which they had conceived should have put them upon some other expedient than that of lying and deceit. They should have inquired into the cause of God's severity against them; they should have acknowledged that it was their grievous sins which drew down his heavy judgments upon their nation; and after they had repented, they should have left the rest to Providence.

‡ The victories of this day are the most wonderful of any obtained by the Israelites, on account of the remarkable interposition of the Most High. The miracles which were performed were suited to convince the Heathens of the absurdity of their superstitions, and that the deities they worshipped, which were the sun, moon, and stars, were subject to the God of Israel. Hail-stones were poured from heaven in great abundance, and the sun and moon were stayed in their course, to shew that the God of Israel fought for Israel!

plains,

plains, as alſo the kings of the Philiſtines, united their forces, with the view of attacking the Hebrews, and encamped, with an army conſiſting of three hundred thouſand foot, ten thouſand horſe, and two thouſand chariots, near a city named Berothe, which is ſituated at a ſmall diſtance from the Upper Cœdeſia, in the province of Galilee. The formidable appearance of this army greatly diſpirited both the Iſraelites and their general; inſomuch that their fear fell little ſhort of deſperation: but the Almighty reproaching them with their cowardice, and diffidence of his power to protect them, and renewing his aſſurances of victory, he enjoined them to hamſtring the horſes, and conſume the chariots of the enemy with fire; thus encouraged, they quickly recovered their reſolution, and boldly marched againſt the foe, with the fulleſt confidence of ſucceſs. On the fifth day the armies joined battle, and the conteſt was maintained for a conſiderable time, with equal obſtinacy. The Canaanites were, however, at length broken and put to flight, and the ſlaughter of them was ſo great as almoſt to exceed belief: all the kings being killed, and their whole army in a manner annihilated: and ſuch was the fury of the victors, that when there remained none of the enemy to kill, they wreaked their vengeance on the horſes and chariots. This deciſive victory put Joſhua in poſſeſſion of the whole country. He made himſelf maſter of their cities, and deſtroyed the inhabitants where-ever he could find them. The very nation became, at length, extinct, ſave a ſmall number of perſons, who fortunately effected their retreat to certain places of conſiderable ſtrength. And all theſe ſucceſſes were obtained in the ſhort ſpace of five years.

The Canaanites ſubdued and exterminated, and their country poſſeſſed by the Iſraelites.

After this victory Joſhua marched from Gilgal, and encamped on the mountains near Siloe, where he fixed the tabernacle, and] oſed to remain till an opportunity ſhould offer fo. erecting a temple; the ſituation of the place being perfectly adapted to that deſign. From thence he repaired, accompanied by all the people, to Sichem, where, according to the command and prediction of Moſes, he erected an altar. He then ſeparated his army into two bodies, one of which he poſted on Mount Garizim, and the other on Mount Gebal; aſſigning to each an equal number of the prieſts and levites; and on the latter of the two mountains he built another altar. On this altar they ſacrificed, and, after denouncing the maledictions formerly recited, and cauſing them to be inſcribed upon the altar, they returned back to Siloe.

Joſhua erects an altar at Sichem.

Joſhua was now far advanced in years, and, reflecting that the Canaanites ſtill retained poſſeſſion of ſeveral places, which art and nature had combined to render in a manner impregnable. Joſhua convened a general aſſembly of the people at Siloe, which was very numerous, and all their proceedings were conducted with the utmoſt harmony. Joſhua, in a very conciſe ſpeech, acquainted them with the cauſe of their being ſummoned together. He began with repreſenting to them the numerous ſucceſſes with which God had been pleaſed already to favour them, in conſequence of their religious obſervance of his laws; one and thirty monarchs having been diſpoſſeſſed by them of their dominions: he obſerved, however, that the Canaanites ſtill retained poſſeſſion of many ſtrong cities, the conqueſt of which would neceſſarily take up a conſiderable time; and that, for this reaſon, he thought it adviſeable to permit thoſe tribes which had come to their aſſiſtance from the other ſide of Jordan, to return home. He alſo recommended that a certain number of perſons ſhould be ſelected out of each tribe, of reputed probity and ſkill, who ſhould be employed to take a ſurvey of the whole land of Canaan, and to return a faithful report thereof, with all poſſible diſpatch.

In a general aſſembly, Joſhua reminds the people of God's goodneſs to them.

This propoſal was unanimouſly approved, and, proper perſons being immediately choſen for the execution of this commiſſion, Joſhua appointed ſeveveral able geometricians to attend and aſſiſt them.

They were alſo inſtructed, excluſive of the eſtimate which they were to make of the extent of the country, to form another of the comparative fertility of the ſoil in different parts: for in Canaan there are many long tracts of land, which, when ſet in competition with ſome others, may be deemed fruitful, but which bear no proportion in fertility to the ground in the neighbourhood of Jericho and Jeruſalem. The perſons who were commiſſioned to execute this buſineſs, were ten in number; anſwering to the tribes which were to partake in the diviſion of the country. Theſe commiſſioners, after an abſence of ſeven months, returned to Siloe with the eſtimates they had formed, at which place the tabernacle ſtill remained.

Joſhua, hereupon, in the preſence of Eleazar the high-prieſt, the elders, and the princes of the tribes, divided the whole country by lot between the nine tribes, and the half-tribe of Manaſſes; proportioning each ſhare to the number of perſons in the tribe to which it was allotted§.

Canaan divided by lot among the tribes.

Joſhua was now rendered incapable, by age and infirmities, to diſcharge the duties of his ſtation; and, perceiving that they to whom he intruſted the direction of affairs, as well as they who were deſtined to ſucceed him in the ſupreme command, were totally regardleſs of the public welfare, he ſtrictly enjoined each tribe reſpectively, utterly to exterminate ſuch of the

Joſhua enjoins the people to extirpate the Canaanites.

§ The firſt lot that came up was for the tribe of Judah, that the prophecy of Jacob, with regard to the preheminence of that tribe, might be fulfilled. This lot was only a quantity of land for the whole tribe; unto every family of which a portion was aſſigned by Joſhua, and thoſe who were appointed to ſee that none were neglected, and that they had every one a juſt portion.

Canaanites

Canaanites as might remain in the ſeveral quarters which they had obtained for an inheritance; reminding them alſo of the earneſtneſs with which Moſes had recommended to them this meaſure; and expreſſing his confidence of their paying all due attention to the advice of their late legiſlator. He ſtrictly charged them to put the Levites in poſſeſſion of the remaining thirty-eight, out of the forty-eight cities aſſigned them by Moſes; they having already obtained thoſe ten cities which were ſituated in Amorrhæa, on the other ſide of the river Jordan. Of theſe cities three were appointed as places of refuge: in the diſtrict belonging to the tribe of Judah, the city of Hebron was ſet apart for the above purpoſe; in that of the tribe of Ephraim, the city of Sichem; and Cedeſe, in the Upper-Galilee, in the portion of the tribe of Naphtali: to all theſe regulations, from the great reſpect which they bore to the ordinances of Moſes, the people very willingly conſented. Joſhua then proceeded to ſhare the plunder which had been taken from the Canaanites among his troops; which plunder conſiſted of cattle and flocks, money, plate, houſehold furniture, and other articles to an incredible amount; and every individual of the Hebrew army became enriched by the booty which fell to his lot on the preſent occaſion.

Joſhua's laſt exhortation to the people.

Joſhua, perceiving that the infirmities of age had now rendered him totally unfit for all public buſineſs, convened an aſſembly of the elders, the princes of the tribes, and the magiſtrates, together with as many of the commonality as could conveniently attend. In a pious and pertinent diſcourſe, which he had compoſed for that purpoſe, he repreſented to them the great obligations they were under to that Almighty Being, who, from the very abyſs of miſery and diſtreſs, had raiſed them to the higheſt pitch of reputation and plenty. He enjoined them ſo to conduct themſelves in future, as to render themſelves worthy of a continuance of the divine favour and protection; aſſuring them in the ſtrongeſt terms, that their very exiſtence as a nation depended on the due obſervance of the commands of the Almighty Power. He conjured them to pay a proper attention to the advice he had given them, as he was now on the verge of his departure from this world, and had conceived that he could not employ the laſt moments of his life in any manner more to their advantage, than in inciting them to the ſtricteſt obſervance of their duty to God. He then took a great ſtone, and ſet it up under an oak, to be a witneſs againſt them, in caſe they denied their God, and worſhipped idols.

His death;

Having pronounced theſe words, he expired, in the one hundred and tenth year of his age, forty of which he had ſpent under the tutorage of Moſes, and had governed the people, in quality of his ſucceſſor, for twenty-ſix years. He was particularly eminent for his political knowledge, and for his admirable faculty of expreſſion and perſuaſion; equally qualified to conduct the moſt important operations either of war or peace; and, in ſhort, a perſon in every reſpect adapted to the execution of the high office to which God had appointed him. Nearly about this time alſo died, Eleazar the high-prieſt, who was ſucceeded by his ſon Phinehas. The tomb of Eleazar is ſtill to be ſeen in the city of Gabatha.

and that of Eleazar.

The people having conſulted Phinehas relative to the farther proſecution of the war againſt the Canaanites ‡, received for anſwer that it was God's pleaſure that they ſhould continue it, but that they ſhould commit the ſupreme management and direction thereof to the tribe of Judah. This tribe aſſociated to themſelves the tribe of Simeon; and it was agreed, that they ſhould mutually aſſiſt each other in extirpating the Canaanites who ſtill remained unſubdued in their reſpective diſtricts.

CHAP. II.

The CANAANITES defeated, and King ADONIBEZEC made Priſoner. The ISRAELITES beſiege JERUSALEM, and take HEBRON by Aſſault. Melancholy Hiſtory of a LEVITE, and his Wife. The War of the BENJAMITES.

The Canaanites under Adonibezec, and their leader made priſoner.

ADONIBEZEC was at this period at the head of a formidable army in the neighbourhood of the city of Bezec, waiting for an opportunity to engage the enemy, over whom they expected to obtain an eaſy conqueſt on account of the loſs they had ſuſtained in the death of their general. The tribes of Judah and Simeon gave them battle, which was ſupported with ſurpriſing bravery on both ſides, but at length, ten thouſand of the Canaanites were put to the ſword, many taken priſoners, and the reſt fled from the fury of their conquerors. Adonibezec was among the number of captives, and he was condemned to have his fingers and toes cut off; he admitted this ſentence to be a merited judgment of heaven, for having himſelf inflicted the ſame ſpecies of cruelty upon ſeventy-two kings. When this ſentence had been executed, he was conveyed to Jeruſalem, where he died and was buried.

The Iſraelites traverſed the country, laying waſte the towns, and ravaging the parts through which they directed their courſe; they at length laid ſiege to Jeruſalem, and gained poſſeſſion of the lower town, the inhabitants of which they put to death: but the ſitua-

‡ Several of the Canaanitiſh kings remaining ſtill unconquered, and the number of the Iſraelites being greatly multiplied, they determined to drive out the Canaanites; and, in order to this, aſked of God by Urim and Thummim which of the tribes ſhould begin the war. Judah was ordered to attack the mountainous country, which was in the lot of his inheritance; according to the prophecy of Jacob, Gen. xlix. 8.

tion of the city itſelf, the ſtrength of the walls and the fortifications proving obſtacles not to be ſurmounted, they retreated to Hebron, to which place they laid ſiege and conquered it by aſſault, great numbers of the people falling victims to the rage of the aſſailants. Among the dead were found many bodies of the race of giants, who were a people ſo greatly ſurpaſſing the reſt of mankind in bulk and ſtature, and in other reſpects ſo widely differing from them, that great numbers who beheld them, imagined them to be a different ſpecies. The bones of ſome of this gigantic race have been preſerved, and expoſed as prodigies.

Hebron taken by ſtorm.

The town of Hebron, which was a place of ſome importance, with two thouſand cubits of the circumjacent ground, was aſſigned to the Levites; the other part of the territory having been granted to Caleb, in conformity to the determination and appointment which had been made by Moſes. Caleb was one of the perſons whom Moſes had deputed to reconnoitre the land of Canaan. A portion of land was alſo given to the ſons of Jethro the Midianite, who was father-in-law to Moſes, as a gratuity for having abandoned their native country and joined the Iſraelites, ſharing the hazard of the war and the troubles which they encountered in the deſert.

The Iſraelites now declined the reſolution of proceeding to a war againſt the people of Canaan, whom they determined to employ in the occupation of huſbandry, expecting to reap very conſiderable advantage from their labour. But being violently addicted to avarice and luxury, they ſoon became wholly regardleſs of their duty to God, and of the diſcipline and legiſlative inſtitutions of their forefathers, yielding an implicit ſway to their inordinate appetites. The Almighty being highly offended by this depravity of conduct, ſignified to them, that they ſhould meet a ſpeedy retribution for having neglected to proſecute the war, and that the Canaanites themſelves ſhould execute the puniſhment denounced againſt them for their unſeaſonable lenity. They were ſo loſt to the principles of religion, that though this revelation of the divine will gave them ſome alarm, it was not ſufficient to induce them to commence hoſtilities. Their luxurious indulgences had enervated them, and deſtroyed their genius and inclination for military exploits; and the profit derived from the tribute and labour of the Canaanites proved an additional motive to continue them in a ſtate of inactivity *. No regularity was obſerved in the election of the ſenators and other magiſtrates, nor obedience paid to the authority of the elders; the people endeavouring only to promote their ſeparate intereſts, without regard to the public welfare; and the government having arrived to a ſtate of total diſſolution, an inſurrection happened on the following occaſion, and the conſequence was an inteſtine war:

God is diſpleaſed with the Iſraelites for their ſloth and luxury.

In the lot of Ephraim was a Levite, who had married a woman of the city of Bethlehem, and of the tribe of Judah, for whom he entertained the moſt tender and ardent affection; but as ſhe did not manifeſt an equal return of paſſion, frequent differences happened between them; and in the fourth month after their nuptials, ſhe eloped, and returned to her parents. Grieved at this unfortunate circumſtance, he haſted in purſuit of her, and was entertained with the greateſt hoſpitality and kindneſs by her relations; and a reconciliation being effected between him and his wife, he propoſed to return on the fifth day, but the friends being unwilling to leave each other, their departure was delayed to a late hour. An aſs being provided to carry the woman, they ſet out, attended only by one ſervant, who, when they had proceeded about thirty furlongs, adviſed them to take an opportunity of ſecuring a lodging at ſome adjacent place, that they might avoid the danger to which they would be expoſed by travelling by night, and in the country of an enemy; urging, that being obſerved on the road at a late hour, might ſubject them to injurious ſuſpicions. The city being at this time in poſſeſſion of the Canaanites, the huſband was not inclined to take up his reſidence there, but reſolved to travel twenty furlongs further, in order to obtain an aſylum among his friends and allies.

Hiſtory of the Levite's wife, abuſed by the Benjamites.

On the road towards Gabaa, a city in poſſeſſion of the tribe of Benjamin, they found themſelves, at a late hour of the night, deſtitute of all probability of procuring a lodging; but they were met by an eminent man of the tribe of Ephraim, who was returning from the country to his houſe at Gabaa, and he enquired the reaſon of their being abroad at ſo unſeaſonable a time; in anſwer to which, the huſband ſaid he was a Levite, and conducting his wife from her father's houſe to their own houſe, in the lot of Ephraim. From a principle of hoſpitality, and a regard to the tribe of which the travellers were members, the old man invited them to take ſhelter in his dwelling. This offer being accepted, ſome diſſolute young men of the town obſerved in the woman an uncommon ſhare of beauty, and when ſhe had entered the houſe, they knocked at the door, and inſiſted that ſhe ſhould be delivered to them. The old man expoſtulated with them on the heinous crime of violating the principles of religion, humanity and common juſtice, by perpetrating any violence upon his gueſt, who, being his kinſwoman and the wife of a Levite, he was bound to protect. But theſe arguments were treated with contempt, and they obſti-

* Though the extraordinary providence of the Deity might have ceaſed for a time, and though the Iſraelites were left to effect by natural means what they had hitherto effected by divine aſſiſtance, it is evident from this verſe, that they were able to diſpoſſeſs the Canaanites, had they not been unwilling. Their allowing them to become tributaries, when they were under an obligation to extirpate them if they did not quit their idolatry, argued a great propenſity to their ſuperſtitions, was a direct violation of the divine command, was an act of open rebellion againſt God, conſidered as their king, and involved them in all that train of miſeries and corruptions, which had been denounced as the puniſhment, and were the natural effects of their puſillanimous lenity.

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nately perſiſted in their demand of having the woman reſigned to them, uttering the moſt horrid imprecations, and threatening to cut the old man's throat if he continued to protect her. In this extremity, he offered them his own daughter inſtead of the Levite's wife; judging it to be moſt eligible thus to preſerve the rights of hoſpitality, and the faith of ſociety, at the expence of the reputation of a private family.

Shocking conduct of the men of Gabaa.

But ſo determined were they on the execution of their brutal deſign, that neither interceſſion or argument would prevail; and in this diſpoſition they ſeized the woman, and forcibly conveyed her to their quarters, where the night was ſpent in ſcenes of the moſt profligate lewdneſs; and in the morning they ſuffered her to return. The unhappy event which had befallen her, overwhelmed her with grief, ſhame, and indignation againſt the ſpoilers of her honour, and conſidering herſelf to be branded with the indelible ſtamp of infamy, ſhe dreaded an interview with her huſband; and ſo ſenſibly affected was ſhe by the peculiar delicacy of her ſituation, that upon approaching him, ſhe ſuddenly dropt down, and inſtantly expired. At firſt her huſband ſuppoſed her to be oppreſſed with fatigue, or attacked with a fainting fit, and endeavoured to revive her, ſpeaking in the moſt tenderly affectionate terms, expreſſive of his unabating regard, and uttering the moſt ſoothing and pathetic aſſurances, that notwithſtanding the violence which had been offered to her, he did not conſider her as being degraded from the dignity of unblemiſhed virtue. But at length, he diſcovered that the animal powers were exhauſted; and on this alarming occaſion he manifeſted a remarkable inſtance of fortitude: he put the corpſe on the aſs which his wife had rode, and conveyed it to his habitation; where he ſeparated it into twelve parts, which he diſtributed among the twelve tribes. The perſons employed to deliver the parts of the body to the different tribes, were directed circumſtantially to relate the barbarity which had been offered to the deceaſed, and to particulariſe the parties concerned in the horrid wickedneſs.

Indignation of the other tribes thereat.

The people were ſo much exaſperated againſt the perpetrators of this unparalleled act of cruelty, that they aſſembled before the tabernacle at Siloe, determining immediately to aſſault the city of Gabaa, and execute an exemplary puniſhment upon the raviſhers. Hereupon the elders aſſuaged the firſt impulſe of their rage, by repreſenting the imprudence of a precipitate declaration of war againſt their allies, and recommending a ſcrutiny into the merits of the cauſe in diſpute. They urged that the laws and cuſtoms of the Iſraelites would not admit of having recourſe to hoſtilities, previous to a negociation for a compromiſe: they, therefore, adviſed that application might be made for giving up the offenders for the purpoſe of ſubjecting them to a puniſhment adequate to their guilt, urging that, in caſe of a refuſal, they might then appeal to the ſword for redreſſing the wrongs they had ſuſtained.

Compact of the Iſraelites againſt Benjamin.

In conſequence of this advice, the Iſraelites demanded the raviſhers; and they alledged, that they had determined to puniſh the particular perſons who had been guilty of the offence, rather than involve the community in the cauſe of theſe profligate individuals. But the inhabitants of Gabaa gave an abſolute refuſal, declaring, that they held it not conſiſtent with the principles of honour to yield ſubmiſſion from an apprehenſion of a war; that they were not deficient in point either of power or military ſkill; and that they were unanimouſly determined to maintain their common defence with unremitting ardor. Highly incenſed by this reply, the Iſraelites joined in a ſolemn covenant againſt contracting marriage with the tribe of Benjamin, and to proſecute a war againſt that people with a degree of vigour equal to that manifeſted by their progenitors againſt the Canaanites.

They are twice defeated by the Benjamites.

In conſequence of this reſolution, they marched againſt the enemy, the army being compoſed of four hundred thouſand men; and they were oppoſed by the Benjamites with a force of twenty-five thouſand ſix hundred, including five hundred ſlingers, ſo particularly dextrous in their profeſſion, that they were equally certain of their mark, whether uſing their implements with the left or right hand. The armies joined battle in the neighbourhood of Gabaa, and the Benjamites obtained a victory, and put twenty-two thouſand of their enemies to death, and the ſlaughter would in all probability, have been much more conſiderable had not a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities been cauſed by the appearance of night. The Benjamites returned triumphant to the city, and the Iſraelites repaired to their camp, in the utmoſt diſorder, and under a great depreſſion of ſpirits. On the following day the battle was renewed; and in this conteſt alſo, the Iſraelites were defeated, with the loſs of eighteen thouſand men. So greatly were they affected by theſe misfortunes, that they removed towards Bethel, obſerving a ſolemn faſt on the next day, and, by the agency of Phinehas * the high-prieſt, ſupplicating the Almighty to remove his diſpleaſure from them, and to grant them a ſuperiority over the Benjamites.

The Iſraelites, ſupplicating the divine aid, obtain a promiſe of victory.

The Almighty having liſtened to the prayers of the prophet and returned him a favourable anſwer; the army was ſeparated into two bodies, one of which was drawn up in order of battle, and the other ſub-divided into parties of ambuſh, encompaſſing

* This was the ſame perſon whoſe zeal for the glory of God was manifeſted on a former occaſion. The proper epocha of this war muſt have been between the death of Joſhua and the appointment of the firſt judge; for if we place it after the death of Samſon, (as in the book of Judges,) Phinehas muſt have been upwards of 300 years old.

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the city. With a view to entice the Benjamites from the town, on the firſt attack the Iſraelites retreated, continuing to loſe ground in proportion as the enemy advanced; imagining victory to be ſecure, they evacuated the town, in expectation of obtaining plunder; but when they had arrived within a certain ſpace of the ambuſh, the Iſraelites faced about, and giving a ſignal for the other part of the army to fall upon the rear, fought with great fury, purſuing the Benjamites to a valley, where they were ſurrounded, and twenty-five thouſand of them put to the ſword. A choſen body of ſix hundred intrepid men, who had cut their paſſage through the midſt of the enemy's troops, took up their quarters in an adjacent mountain.

Gabaa, &c. taken by the Iſraelites.

The Iſraelites now proceeded to burn the city of Gabaa, and, without diſtinction of age or ſex, they ſacrificed the inhabitants; and many other cities belonging to the Benjamites ſhared the ſame fate; and ſo implacable was the animoſity conſequent on this diſpute, that they detached a party of twelve thouſand men againſt Jabes, a city of Gilead, which they ſubdued, and, on account of the inhabitants having refuſed to eſpouſe the cauſe of the Iſraelites in the war againſt the Benjamites, they were all maſſacred, excepting only four hundred virgins.

Deplorable ſtate of the fugitive Benjamites.

The tribe of Benjamin being in a manner cut off from the main body, the Iſraelites experienced ſome compunction at having carried their revenge to ſo great an extremity: and they propoſed the obſervance of a faſt, but not intending thereby to indicate a conſciouſneſs of having done wrong by inflicting a puniſhment upon the offenders againſt the law. They diſpatched meſſengers to invite the return of the ſix hundred men who had eſcaped to the mountains. They were found upon a rock cal[illegible] Rhoa, by the perſons commiſſioned t[illegible]eat with them. As a means to induce them to return, the meſſengers pleaded the unhappineſs of their relations conſequent on their departure, ſympathizing with them in their own diſtreſſes, and repreſenting that the tribe to which they belonged would inevitably be deſtroyed if they longer perſiſted to oppoſe the deſired re-aſſociation; adding that, on condition of their compliance, their lands, cattle, and other effects ſhould be faithfully reſtored. They accepted the propoſals made by the meſſengers, acknowledged the puniſhment inflicted upon them to be a righteous jugment of heaven for the offences they had committed, and ſubmitting themſelves to the authority of their ſuperiors, again connected themſelves in a fellowſhip with their tribe.

The Iſraelites relent and invite them to return.

Previous to the war, the Iſraelites had engaged, by the ſolemnity of an oath, not to intermarry with the tribe of Benjamin; ſome expedient, therefore, became neceſſary for providing wives for theſe ſix hundred men. One party were of opinion, that as the oath was made under the impulſe of ſudden paſſion, it neceſſarily became void: others held that the preſſing exigency of the matter depending, effectually diſcharged the obligation, alledging that the commiſſion of perjury could not be conſtrued to be a criminal act, if the party was not influenced by a malicious motive, and that it would be more acceptable to the Almighty to diſpenſe with the obſervance of the obligation, than to exact a rigid obedience to it, and thereby expoſe a whole tribe to imminent danger. But the elders declared themſelves utterly averſe to the very idea of perjury, and would not admit the force of any palliative circumſtances. The four hundred virgins who were preſerved from the ſlaughter at Jabes, were given in marriage to four hundred of the Benjamites; and for providing wives for the other two hundred, without violating the oath, one of the ſenators recommended the following expedient: on an approaching feſtival*, which was celebrated three times a year at Siloe, he adviſed that the Benjamites might be allowed to take ſuch virgins to wife as they might be able to carry off; adding that, if the fathers of the virgins ſhould apply for juſtice, the anſwer to them ſhould be, that they ought to have prevented the miſchief by a more circumſpect attention to the ſafety of their daughters; and that the ill-policy of creating diſagreements between the Iſraelites and Benjamites had been already proved by fatal experience. On the arrival of the feſtival above alluded to, the two hundred Benjamites who remained in an unmarried ſtate, diſperſed themſelves in the town, and as the maidens were repairing towards the place where the cuſtomary ſolemnity was to be celebrated, they were ſurprized by the Benjamites, each man ſeizing one of them, and conveying her to his plantation. They now aſſiduouſly applied themſelves to the buſineſs of huſbandry, and were, at length retrieved from a miſerable and deſponding condition to a ſtate of great opulence and power.

Expedient for providing wives for the remaining Benjamites.

The Iſraelites now entirely relinquiſhed the profeſſion of arms, and employed themſelves in rural occupations. The Canaanites availed themſelves of this change of diſpoſition, and formed a conſpiracy, intending ſo effectually to reduce them as to prevent all probability of their reviving into a formidable enemy. They trained up the people in the diſcipline of war, raiſed a powerful army, and provided chariots and other martial implements; they prevailed upon Aſcalon and Accaron, and ſeveral cities in the plains, to eſpouſe their cauſe. The Danites judging that they could not ſafely continue to reſide in the campaign country, fled for ſanctuary to the mountains. Their force was not ſufficient ſucceſsfully to maintain a war,

The Canaanites diſpoſſeſs the Danites.

* All the three great feſtivals were to be obſerved at the place where God had ſettled his habitation, which was now at Shiloh. Probably the feaſt here meant was that of tabernacles, which was a time of great joy, and was alſo the only ſeaſon wherein the Jewiſh virgins were allowed to dance.

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nor would the produce of the land they poſſeſſed afford a ſubſiſtence in a tranquil ſtate: they, therefore diſpatched five of their people to diſcover ſome favourable ſpot for fixing their reſidence in the inland part of the country. Adjacent to mount Libanus and the head of the leſſer Jordan, theſe commiſſioners, after a day's journey, perceived a fertile, and every way commodious ſituation; of which they made an immediate report to their tribe, who ſpeedily marched to the place, and there erected a city, giving it the name of Dan, from one of Jacob's ſons by whoſe name the whole tribe was diſtinguiſhed.

The Iſraelites were now ſhamefully abandoned to indolence and luxury, and degenerated from a due obſervance of the laws and religion of the Almighty; and, in ſhort, the corruption and vices of the Canaanites prevailed amongſt them without controul, ſo that the government ſeemed to be threatened with a ſpeedy diſſolution.

CHAP. III.

The Judgment of God upon the ISRAELITES, who are ſubdued by, and kept Eight Years in Subjection to CHUSARTH.

Depravity of the Iſraelites.

THE impiety and moral turpitude of the Iſraelites proved ſo highly offenſive to God, that he withdrew his protection and ſupport from them, and left them deſtitute of all hope of enjoying that ſtate of happineſs which they had employed ſo many years of painful induſtry to obtain. While they were engaged in this profligate courſe of life, war was declared againſt them by Chuſarth, king of the Aſſyrians, who put to death a great number of the Iſraelites; conquered many of their towns by aſſault; rendered others ſubject to him by treaty; impoſed burthenſome taxes on the people, and continually annoyed them with various indignities and perſecutions. They remained in this miſerable ſituation for the ſpace of eight years: but they were, at length, relieved from this oppreſſion, in the following manner.

They are delivered from bondage by Kenaz.

Kenaz, a man of the tribe of Judah, diſtinguiſhed for the ſtrength of his underſtanding and his great courage, being animated by a divine impulſe, determined to attempt ſome bold enterprize in favour of the Iſraelites, who were reduced to the greateſt extremity of diſtreſs. This reſolution he communicated to ſuch of his particular aſſociates as he was perſuaded he might ſafely entruſt with ſo important a ſecret, and whom he knew to be men of ſteady and intrepid diſpoſitions, and diſſatisfied with the meaſures purſued in conducting the affairs of the government. It was agreed, when the matter in queſtion had been deliberately conſidered, that the firſt ſtep towards effecting the relief of the Hebrews, ſhould be to ſurprize the royal guards, and put the troops of the garriſon to death: and this being accordingly executed with a ſingular degree of bravery, they acquired a high ſhare of martial reputation, and their party having gained conſiderable ſtrength, they found themſelves in a condition to engage in a fair battle with the Aſſyrians, over whom they obtained a complete victory, obliging them to croſs the Euphrates, and reſtoring the Hebrews to the ineſtimable bleſſings of liberty.

They returned the moſt grateful acknowledgments to Kenaz for the important ſervice he had rendered them, highly applauding the courage and conduct which he diſplayed in effecting their deliverance; and, as an inſtance of their gratitude, they unanimouſly elected him to preſide over them in the character of governor: he accepted this office, which he held for the ſpace of forty years, and then expired.

The Iſraelites degenerating, are oppreſſed by Eglon.

Being again deſtitute of a ruler, the Iſraelites degenerated from a due reverence to God, and obedience to the laws. Their impolitic and irregular proceedings encouraged Eglon, the king of the Moabites†, to commence a war againſt them; and he proved victorious in ſeveral engagements, and ſo effectually humbled them as to render them tributaries to him. Having accompliſhed this, he eſtabliſhed his court at Jericho, and for the ſpace of eight years, kept them in a miſerable and almoſt ſtarving condition, inflicting continual oppreſſions upon them. But the Almighty attended to their ſupplications, and in commiſeration of their ſufferings, delivered them from the perſecution of the Moabites in the following manner:

Humbling themſelves, they are delivered by Ehud.

Ehud, a young man of Jericho, ſon of Gera, of the tribe of Benjamin, was of a particularly athletic make, and of a reſolute diſpoſition; and he had the advantage of uſing either hand with great dexterity, but he was moſt expert with the left. By means of preſents and other courtly offices, this man inſinuated himſelf into the favour of the king, who repaid the attention ſhewn to him with familiarity and profeſſions of friendſhip, which gained Ehud a conſiderable intereſt at court. Having furniſhed himſelf with a poniard, which he girded to his right-ſide, he repaired to the palace, being attended by two ſervants, who were directed, if occaſion ſhould require, to aſſiſt in concealing the weapon; and under pretence of making the king a preſent, he was admitted to him, in the middle of the day, at which time the guards were withdrawn, and moſt of the people retired to dinner. Ehud preſented a gift to the king, who afterwards retired for refreſhment to a cooler apartment. He now requeſted a private audience with Eglon, who,

† This was the next enemy who oppreſſed the children of Iſrael; for, ſince they worſhipped the gods of the people round about them, it was fit they ſhould be puniſhed by thoſe very people. He poſſeſſed himſelf of Jericho; for though Joſhua had deſtroyed the town, yet it is probable fortifications were erected on the ſpot where it ſtood, that they might the better keep that fertile country in ſubjection.

being ſeated on the throne, diſmiſſed the attendants. He now prepared to ſtrike the fatal blow; and being apprehenſive leſt he ſhould miſs his aim, he determined to occaſion the king to riſe that he might be at a greater certainty of ſtriking with effect. Pretending that he had a matter to communicate from the Almighty, reſpecting a late dream, the king was exceedingly anxious to learn what he had to divulge, and riſing, for the conveniency of attending, Ehud ſeized that opportunity to ſtrike the poniard into his heart, and, leaving the deadly inſtrument in the wound, he effected an eſcape, having cloſed the doors as he retreated from the building. During theſe tranſactions, the attendants remained quiet, leſt they ſhould diſturb the king, whom they imagined to be in a ſleep.

He kills Eglon.

Ehud repaired immediately to Jeruſalem, and cauſed it to be privately circulated that, with a view to reſtore the people to the enjoyment of freedom, he had put the king to death. This circumſtance proved highly agreeable to them; and they diſperſed men to ſound trumpets through the country, which was the method of aſſembling the people. Towards evening the king's attendants became apprehenſive that ſome extraordinary accident had occurred, and upon going into the apartment, they perceived that their royal maſter had been murdered, and experienced an aſtoniſhment beyond the power of words to deſcribe. Signals were immediately given for the guards to aſſemble, but before they could be collected, great numbers of the Iſraelites forced into the palace, and in the firſt impulſe of their rage, ſlaughtered many of the enemy, about ten thouſand of whom endeavoured to eſcape to the country of Moab, but the fords and paſſes being previouſly poſſeſſed by the Iſraelites, their retreat was ſo effectually intercepted, that not a ſingle man eſcaped. Thus were the Hebrews releaſed from the tyrannous yoke of the Moabites; and as an acknowledgment for the benefits derived from the conduct of Ehud, they inveſted him with the government. He continued in the adminiſtration eighty years, and then died. Excluſive of the merit of the above noble exploit, on various accounts his memory deſerves to be honourably tranſmitted to poſterity. He was ſucceeded by Shamgar, the ſon of Anath, who died before the expiration of the firſt year of his government.

CHAP. IV.

The HEBREWS, oppreſſed by JABIN, are ſet free by DEBORAH and BARAK.

Incorrigibility of the Iſraelites.

SUCH was the perverſeneſs of the Iſraelites, that, notwithſtanding they found themſelves continually involved in great calamities, the natural conſequence of their diſregard of every inſtitution, divine and human, they could not be induced to alter their conduct, and to return to their obedience. They were no ſooner freed from the bondage of one nation, than they became the ſlaves of another; and, in the preſent inſtance, paſſed from under the tyranny of Eglon, king of Moab, to that of Jabin, king of the Canaanites.

The city of Azor, ſituated on the banks of the lake Samachonitis, was the metropolis of the dominions of Jabin, whoſe army conſiſted of three hundred thouſand foot, ten thouſand horſe, and three thouſand chariots, the command of which was conferred on Siſera, who after repeatedly defeating the Hebrews in various pitched battles, at length reduced them to ſubjection, and rendered them tributary to his ſovereign. In this abject condition, as a puniſhment for their impiety and ingratitude, they were ſuffered to continue for the ſpace of twenty years. However, at the expiration of that period, they manifeſted ſome ſigns of repentance, and appeared to be convinced that the miſeries to which they had been ſo long expoſed, were the natural conſequence of their apoſtaſy from the religion of their anceſtors. Under this conviction, they applied themſelves to a certain eminent propheteſs*, named Deborah, requeſting her to intercede in their behalf with the Almighty, that he would be pleaſed to deliver them from the perſecutions of their mercileſs oppreſſors. God was pleaſed to condeſcend to her requeſt, and ordered her to enjoin the Iſraelites, in his name, to elect Barak one of the chiefs of the tribe of Napthali, for their commander.

Deborah intercedes for them.

Deborah, accordingly, ſent for Barak, and directed him to aſſemble a body of 10,000 choice men, and to lead them againſt the enemy without delay; deeming the ſmallneſs of the number a matter of no kind of conſequence, as God had promiſed to grant them victory. Barak, nevertheleſs, peremptorily refuſed to engage in the enterprize unleſs ſhe would accompany him; to which, after reproaching him ſeverely for thus relinquiſhing to a woman the honour of the command to which God had appointed him, ſhe at length conſented. This matter being ſettled, Barak aſſembled his troops and took poſt on Mount Tabor; and Siſera, by the command of Jabin, marched out to give him battle. For a ſhort time, the two armies lay encamped within ſight of each other; but the Hebrews were ſo terrified at the great diſparity of numbers between their enemy's army and their own, that both the ſoldiers and their leader were on the point of retiring in the moſt daſtardly manner, without even ſtriking a blow: when Deborah, by the force of exhortations, and aſſurances of God's favour and

Barak made commander.

* This word, in ſome places, denotes a perſon inſpired by God to foretel future events, and work miracles; in others, it ſignifies one endued with extraordinary talents for underſtanding the word of God, and explaining it to others. Deborah was a *propheteſs* in the latter ſenſe, and was endued with the gift of wiſdom, which qualified her to inſtruct, to direct, and to govern.

protection,

protection, prevailed on them, with no ſmall difficulty, to abide the event of a battle. At the very commencement of the attack there aroſe a violent ſtorm of rain and hail, which, being driven by the wind full in the face of the Canaanites, obliged them to ſhut their eyes, to preſerve them from the fury of the tempeſt; rendered their bows and ſlings totally uſeleſs; and benumbed their hands to that degree, as to prevent them from availing th mſelves of thoſe weapons which were adapted to the purpoſe of a cloſe fight. This tempeſt, which ſo much annoyed the Canaanites, proved of not the leaſt prejudice to the Hebrews; but, on the contrary, ſerved to increaſe their confidence in the divine aid. In ſhort, the Canaanites were totally routed; and, reckoning thoſe who fell in the engagement, thoſe who were trod to death by the horſes, thoſe who were cruſhed to pieces by the chariots, and thoſe who were killed in the purſuit, the whole of this immenſe army was utterly deſtroyed.

The Canaanites overthrown,

When Siſera perceived that his troops were flying on all ſides in the utmoſt diſorder and confuſion, and that the day was inevitably loſt, he leaped from his chariot, and took refuge at the houſe of a woman named Jael, by birth a Kenite, who received him with every outward demonſtration of friendſhip and kindneſs. Being totally exhauſted with the toil and fatigue of the day, he requeſted her to give him ſome drink, and ſhe, accordingly, brought him a draught of ſour milk, which he ſwallowed with the utmoſt eagerneſs, and immediately fell into a profound ſleep. When Jael perceived the ſituation he was in, ſhe took an iron nail*, and, approaching him without the leaſt noiſe, drove it through his temple into the ground; in which condition ſhe expoſed his body to the view of the Iſraelites, who came ſoon afterwards to her houſe in ſearch of him. Thus was the prediction of Deborah to Barak verified: that the honour of the victory ſhould in part be due to a woman.

and Siſera their general ſlain by Jael.

Barak afterwards directed his march towards Azor, and meeting with Jabin on the way, encountered and ſlew him. He next made himſelf maſter of the city, which he razed from the very foundation; and from this time continued to govern Iſrael for the ſpace of about forty years.

Soon after the deaths of Deborah and Barak, which happened nearly about the ſame time, the Midianites uniting their forces with thoſe of the Amalekites and the Arabians, attacked the Iſraelites, and vanquiſhed them in ſeveral battles; plundering and laying waſte their country, for the full term of ſeven ſucceſſive years. The Iſraelites were at length compelled to abandon their habitations on the plains, and to fly for refuge to the mountains, where they dug vaults and caves, both for the purpoſe of ſheltering themſelves from the purſuit of their enemies, and of ſecreting ſuch of their effects and proviſions as they had been able to ſave from the general depredation. The Midianites, however, did not attempt to obſtruct them from cultivating their land in the winter; but conſtantly deprived them of the fruits of their toil when the harveſt ſeaſon arrived. Thus were the Hebrews reduced to the moſt abject ſtate of miſery and want, and, in this extremity, placing all their hopes of relief in prayers and ſupplications to the Almighty, as their laſt reſort, were delivered, as related in the next chapter.

The Midianites, &c. reduce and inſlave the Iſraelites.

CHAP. V.

GIDEON delivers the HEBREWS from the Bondage of the MIDIANITES.

AS Gideon, the ſon of Joas, and one of the chiefs of the tribe of Manaſſes, was on a certain occaſion ſecretly threſhing a ſmall quantity of corn in a place where he had been accuſtomed to preſs his grapes; not daring to make uſe of his threſhing floor for that purpoſe, leſt he ſhould be detected by the Midianites; an angel appeared to him, in the ſhape of a young man, and felicitated him on his happineſs, in poſſeſſing the favour of the Almighty in an eminent degree. "It is hardly credible," replied Gideon, "that a man in my diſtreſſed circumſtances ſhould be thus diſtinguiſhed by the Creator of the univerſe." The viſion bade him take courage, and, from that hour, to employ all his thoughts in deviſing the means of delivering his countrymen from the bondage under which they had ſo long groaned. "Both my own incapacity," ſaid Gideon, "and the weakneſs, in point of numbers, of the tribe to which I belong, effectually cut off all hopes of ſucceſs in an enterprize of this nature." The angel made anſwer, that God would ſupply whatever might be deficient in him, and that under his conduct the Iſraelites ſhould certainly prove victorious. The particulars of this affair having been communicated by Gideon to ſeveral of his companions, they expreſſed the fulleſt confidence in the prediction, and, accordingly, quickly aſſembled an army of ten thouſand choice men, who were determined to encounter every danger in ſupport of the common cauſe.

Gideon viſited by an angel.

Mean time, the Almighty appeared to Gideon in a dream, and gave him further inſtructions in what manner to proceed, in words to the following effect: "In order to give you the

His dream.

* That is, one of the nails or great pins with which tents are faſtened to the ground. The original is very emphatical, and ſeems to have loſt ſome of its force by the inſertion of the particles in our verſion; for, according to the Hebrew, the latter part of the verſe in our tranſlation ſhould be, "And ſmote the nail into his temples, and it faſtened itſelf into the ground; and he was faſt aſleep, and he was wearied, and he was dead."

ſtrongeſt

ſtrongeſt conviction that victory is derived from above, and that all human ſtrength is vain without the divine aid, lead your army, in the moſt ſcorching time of the day, to the banks of the river Jordan, and take particular notice of the manner in which the ſoldiers drink. Such of them as ſhall lay themſelves along upon the ground, and ſhall drink with apparent compoſure and unconcern*, you may depend upon as men of courage and reſolution, and fit for the deſign you have in meditation; but, with reſpect to thoſe who drink in haſte, and with viſible marks of confuſion in their countenances, they are actuated by a fear of the enemy, and muſt not, on any account, be confided in." Gideon obeyed, and upon trial found no more than three hundred men who anſwered to the firſt deſcription. With this handful of men he took poſt on the banks of the river: but not without ſtrong apprehenſions reſpecting the event of the enterprize. To calm his fears, the Moſt High ordered him to go ſecretly over to the enemy's camp that night, accompanied by one of his ſoldiers, where he ſhould learn ſome particulars which ſhould revive his drooping courage. He accordingly repaired to the camp of the Midianites, taking with him his own ſervant Phuran.

Gideon's ſtratagem in attacking the enemy.

Gideon divided his little army into three bodies of one hundred men each, and having received orders from God to attack the enemy during the night, at the expiration of the fourth watch, he led them to the charge; each man carrying in one hand a pitcher containing a burning lamp, in order that they might attack the foe by ſurprize, and in the other a ram's horn, to ſerve inſtead of a trumpet. The prodigious number of camels which the enemy had, and the variety of nations of which their army was compoſed, each being diſtinctly poſted, neceſſarily occaſioned their camp to take up a very conſiderable extent of ground; the whole, being enclo[illegible]d within one common line of circumvallation. [illegible]e Hebrews were ordered by Gideon, upon their arrival at the enemy's camp, to break their pitchers, and, ſounding their horns, each man with his lamp in his hand, to begin the attack with loud ſhouts. In full confidence that God would grant them a complete victory, they ſtrictly adhered to the orders they had received, and the enemy, by this ſtratagem, were thrown into ſo great a confuſion and conſternation, to which the darkneſs of the night, the medley of languages, and thoſe impreſſions of terror which would not permit them to diſtinguiſh between friend and foe, all greatly contributed, that they turned their arms upon each other, every man imagining the perſon next him to be an enemy. The ſlaughter, in ſhort, was amazingly great; yet the number of thoſe ſlain by the Iſraelites bore but a ſmall proportion to that of thoſe who fell by the hands of their own aſſociates. When the reſt of the Iſraelites inhabiting the country received intelligence of this ſignal defeat, they inſtantly diſpatched various parties of troops, to take poſſeſſion of all the paſſes and paſſages of the mountains, rivers, and torrents, in order to cut off the retreat of the enemy, vaſt numbers of whom they put to the ſword, and among the reſt, two of their kings, Oreb and Zeb.

The Midianites diſcomfited,

and their two kings ſlain.

The wretched remains of this vaſt body of men, conſiſting of about eighteen thouſand, with much difficulty effected a retreat, and took poſt on a ſpot as far diſtant as they conveniently could from the Hebrew camp. Although the army of Gideon had undergone great fatigue in the late action, he nevertheleſs continued the purſuit of this remnant of the Midianites, and, coming up with them, totally routed the whole party; taking priſoners their two commanders, the princes Zebin and Hezabon; and putting the reſt to the ſword. In theſe different engagements there fell, of the Midianites and their allies, nearly one hundred and twenty thouſand men; and the booty taken by the Iſraelites, conſiſting of gold, ſilver, rich ſtuffs, camels, aſſes, and other articles, was of an immenſe value. Gideon upon his return home put to death the two Midianitiſh princes mentioned above.

Gideon paciſies the murmuring Ephraimites.

The tribe of Ephraim, however, to which he belonged, jealous of the great reputation which he had acquired, affected to be highly offended at his conduct in engaging the enemy without their privity or concurrence, and were on the point of raiſing arms againſt him; but Gideon, whoſe modeſty and moderation were equal to his valour, averted the impending ſtorm, by repreſenting to them that throughout the whole of the late tranſactions he had acted under the immediate direction of the Almighty; and that they were equally entitled with himſelf to a ſhare in the honour of the victory, although it had pleaſed God to allot to him the moſt active part therein.

He is continued governor till his death.

Having thus accompliſhed the deliverance of his country, Gideon would gladly have relinquiſhed the command with which he had been inveſted†; but he ſuffered him-

* The means for this end was to leſſen the numbers of Gideon's army, and this expedient was well adapted to that purpoſe. The ſeaſon of the year was ſultry, the generality of the ſoldiers were weary, were faint, were thirſty; and it was probable that the greateſt number, when led to the refreſhing ſtream, would indulge themſelves in drinking copious draughts of water. Few of them could be ſuppoſed temperate enough to reſiſt the temptation; and it was highly probable that this expedient would contribute to thin the army. This ſeems to be the intention of this experiment, and explains the text in a more natural and conſiſtent manner, than the opinion of Joſephus, Theodoret, and Grotius, who imagine that they who lapped the water were of a timorous diſpoſition, and were choſen as the propereſt inſtruments to aggrandize the idea of the divine Omnipotence; whereas it is evident from the context, that they who were of a fearful diſpoſition had been diſmiſſed before: the conjecture of Jarchi, that they who kneeled down were by that means diſcovered to have been the worſhippers of Baal, and were rejected upon that account, is a far-fetched conceit, which has not the leaſt foundation in Scripture.

† It ſeems, they wanted to make him a king; but Gideon, who was too well acquainted with the nature of the theocracy to be corrupted with the proſpect of a crown, piouſly rejects their offer: an offer which at the ſame time as it dignifies the character of Gideon, ſhews the Iſraelites to be loſt to every principle of gratitude towards their heavenly king, who had reſcued them from miſery and deſtruction by an inexpreſſible ſeries of miracles.

ſelf,

ſelf, at length, to be prevailed on, by the earneſt intreaties and importunities of the people, to continue in his office as judge; which he held for the ſpace of forty years; enacting laws, and adminiſtering juſtice with ſuch ſtrict impartiality, that not one inſtance occurred of an appeal from his deciſions, throughout the whole period during which he governed Iſrael. He died in an advanced age, and was buried in his native place, the land of Ephraim.

CHAP. VI.

Cruelty and tyrannical Conduct of ABIMELECH. The AMMONITES and PHILISTINES ſubdue the HEBREWS. They are reſcued from Slavery by JEPHTHAH. ABSAN, ELON, and ABDON, ſucceſſively govern ISRAEL.

Abimelech uſurps the government and kills all his brethren, except Jothan, who eſcapes.

THE iſſue which Gideon left were ſeventy legitimate ſons, by various women, and one natural ſon by his concubine Druma, whom he named Abimelech. Soon after the death of Gideon, Abimelech repaired to Sichem, where the kindred of his mother reſided. From them he obtained a ſupply of money, and, finding them to be men of diſſolute lives, and qualified for the perpetration of any manner of wickedneſs, he engaged a certain number of them to accompany him on his return. Immediately upon his arrival at his father's houſe he put all his brethren to death, except Jothan, who fortunately eſcaped his cruelty, by concealing himſelf ſo ſecretly as to baffle every endeavour to diſcover his retreat. Having by this means ſeized on the ſupreme power*; Abimelech openly profeſſing the utmoſt contempt of every ordinance, divine and human, exerciſed his authority in a manner which drew upon him the univerſal odium. During theſe tranſactions, Jothan, who had eſcaped the general maſſacre of his brethren, for the ſpace of three years was compelled to lead a wandering life among the mountains, through fear of the reſentment of Abimelech. In a ſhort time ſubſequent to this event, the Sichemites being impreſſed with a due ſenſe of the barbarity which had been executed on the ſons of Gideon, baniſhed Abimelech from their city and tribe; which indignity he ſought every means to revenge.

Zebul cauſes Gaal to be expelled the city.

Zebul, one of the principal men among the Sichemites, and who had formerly been the hoſt of Abimelech, contrived to give him private notice of the practices which Gaal was carrying on againſt him; adviſing him, at the ſame time, to endeavour to ſeize his perſon, by ſtationing a party of his troops in ambuſh near the city; engaging to lure him into the ſnare, and, when that deſign ſhould be effected, to reinſtate Abimelech in the favour of the citizens. This advice was adopted: and Gaal, having imprudently remained too long in the ſuburbs, in company with Zebul, obſerved the troops of Abimelech advancing towards the city, and mentioned the circumſtance to Zebul; but the latter pretended to be of a contrary opinion, and endeavoured to perſuade him that it was the ſhadow of the mountains which he ſaw. Gaal, however, perſiſted in his former aſſertion, and was reproached by his companion with timidity, in thus retreating before Abimelech, whom he had ſo repeatedly branded with cowardice. This reproof induced him to lead his troops, though in ſome diſorder, againſt the enemy; but he was repulſed at the firſt onſet, and, after having loſt a few of his men, retired within the walls of the city. From this incident Zebul took occaſion to repreſent him to the people as a perſon deficient in valour, and thereby procured his expulſion.

Abimelech killed by a woman.

Abimelech led his army againſt Thebes, of which city he made himſelf maſter by aſſault; but the garriſon retired into the citadel. Having advanced to the very gates of this edifice, with a full determination either to force them or ſet them on fire, a woman let drop from the top of the wall a large piece of a mill-ſtone, which, falling on his head, beat him from his horſe. Perceiving, when he had in ſome degree recovered himſelf from the blow, that the wound which he had received was mortal, he ordered his armour-bearer to diſpatch him inſtantly, that it might not be ſaid that he died by the hands of a woman. He was obeyed; and paid the forfeit of his barbarities to his brethren and the Sichemites. Immediately after the death of Abimelech, his army diſbanded; each man returning to his own habitation.

Jair made governor.

A Gileadite named Jair, of the tribe of Manaſſes, was the next who undertook the government of Iſrael. This man, in every inſtance, enjoyed great happineſs, but particularly in the poſſeſſion of a numerous and deſerving progeny; being the father of thirty ſons, equally famed for their virtue and bravery, and of high rank and authority in the country in which they dwelt. He officiated in this poſt twenty-two years, died in an advanced age, and was buried in the city of Camon, in the land of Gilead.

At this period the Hebrews were become totally regardleſs of their duty both to God and man; and this extreme depravity rendered them ſo deſpicable in the eyes of their neighbours, the Ammonites and Philiſtines, that they invaded their country with a powerful army, and with great facility made an entire conqueſt of all that part thereof which lies on this ſide Jordan, intending to paſs the river, and ſubdue the remainder. In this dilemma, the Iſraelites, as was cuſtomary with them when they chanced to be involved in any great calamity, again had re-

* He muſt not be conſidered as a judge, much leſs appointed by God; but as an uſurper, who dared to alter the divine government, by making himſelf a king. Probably the ambition of Abimelech, and his dreadful end, ſo terrified the Iſraelites, that they did not attempt to elect another king; but wiſely ſubmitted to thoſe judges whom God was pleaſed to place over them.

courſe to ſacrifices and ſupplications to God for deliverance; and even this extorted repentance procured from the Almighty a promiſe of pardon and aſſiſtance. The Ammonites having at this time invaded the land of Gilead, the inhabitants took up arms with a view of repelling their attacks, and being deſtitute of a leader, ſolicited Jephthah, a man highly eſteemed among them both for his courage and conduct, and who kept a conſiderable body of troops in his own pay, to take upon him for life the command of their army.

He is ſucceeded by Jephthah:

Jephthah refuſed, at firſt, to comply with their requeſt; upbraiding them with baſeneſs, in thus applying to him in their diſtreſs, to whom they had formerly denied all aſſiſtance at a time when he ſtood in the utmoſt need of aid againſt the cruel perſecutions of his brethren. The Iſraelites, however, ſtill importuning him to eſpouſe their cauſe, he at length yielded to their ſolicitations, and was accordingly inveſted with the ſupreme command of their troops.

who marches againſt the Ammonites.

Having incorporated his own forces with thoſe of the Hebrews, Jephthah marched to Miſpah, from whence he diſpatched embaſſadors to the king of the Ammonites, to repreſent to him the injuſtice of which he was guilty, in thus invading the country to which he had no reaſonable pretenſion. This charge the king retorted upon the Iſraelites, who, he obſerved, after their departure from Egypt, had, without any other right than merely that of conqueſt, poſſeſſed themſelves of the country of the Ammonites; peremptorily enjoining them to quit the ſame, and to ſeek ſome more diſtant reſidence. Jephthah replied, that the Ammonites, inſtead of complaining that the Hebrews had eſtabliſhed themſelves in Amorrhæa, ought rather to acknowledge the moderation of that people in permitting them to retain the poſſeſſion of their own country of Ammon, from which Moſes might have expelled them; concluding with a declaration, that the Hebrews would not, upon any account, relinquiſh thoſe lands, in which they had been ſettled for the term of three hundred years, but would, with the divine aid, maintain themſelves therein againſt every effort of their enemies to diſpoſſeſs them. The peremptorineſs of this declaration at once put an end to the treaty, and both parties prepared for war.

When the two armies were in ſight of each other, Jephthah made a vow, that, if God ſhould be pleaſed to permit him to return a conqueror, he would offer up in ſacrifice the firſt living creature he ſhould meet with upon his entrance into the city in which he reſided. He afterwards engaged the enemy, and put them totally to the rout; purſuing them, with great ſlaughter, as far as the city of Manaith. He alſo made an irruption into the land of Ammon; taking and deſtroying ſeveral cities, and dividing the booty, which was very conſiderable, among his troops. This victory, in ſhort, emancipated the Hebrews from a bondage under which they had groaned for the term of eighteen years.

He defeats them.

In conſequence of a raſh vow, he ſacrifices his daughter.

The conduct of Jephthah, throughout the whole of this war, acquired him great and deſerved reputation; but upon his return home, an incident befel him which ſuddenly converted all his ſatisfaction into the deepeſt ſorrow. For, when he was on the point of entering the city in which he reſided, the firſt perſon whom he diſcovered was his only daughter, who, with a heart filled with joy, had come forth to meet him, and to congratulate him on his return. He was ſtruck with inexpreſſible horror at the ſight, and, in the utmoſt anguiſh of mind, acquainted her with the particulars of his fatal vow. Unmoved at the dreadful tale, ſhe nobly replied that ſhe would chearfully ſubmit to death, for the ſake of preſerving her father's honour, and of aſſuring the freedom of her country; requeſting only, that he would allow her two months to prepare herſelf, and to bid farewell to the virgins, her companions, after which he might perform his vow whenever he ſhould think proper. This requeſt was granted, and, at the expiration of the above term, this immaculate and ſelf-devoted victim yielded up her life at the altar, in compliance with the will of her father; who, hurried away by a blind zeal, manifeſted on the occaſion an utter diſregard of every conſideration of juſtice and common fame*.

Abſan ſucceeds to the government.

Jephthah died in the ſeventh year of his adminiſtration, and was interred at Sebeth, the place of his birth, in the land of Gilead. He was ſucceeded by Abſan, of the tribe of Judah, who dwelt in the city of Bethlehem, and governed Iſrael ſeven years; but no incident happened during that period, of ſufficient conſequence to be recorded. He left ninety children, ſixty of whom were males, and thirty daughters; all of whom were married at the time of his deceaſe. To him ſucceeded Elon, of the tribe of Zebulon, who ruled the people ten years; nor was his government diſtinguiſhed by any memorable event. The next perſon who governed Iſrael was Abdon, the ſon of Heliel, of the tribe of Ephraim, and a native of the city of Pharathon. He had a numerous progeny, conſiſting of

* This paſſage has opened a ſpacious field for controverſy, in which the commentators have ranged themſelves on oppoſite ſides: the whole ſtream of antiquity poſitively aſſerts that Jephthah ſacrificed his daughter; while ſeveral great names among the moderns have contended as warmly to prove that he did not. The difficulty ariſes wholly from Jephthah's ſaying, verſe 31. *Whatſoever cometh forth—ſhall ſurely be the Lord's, and I will offer it up as a burnt-offering.* But, as Grotius pertinently obſerves, ſuppoſing a *dog* or an *aſs* had met him, could he have offered up them for a *burnt-offering?* He could not have done it; and therefore his promiſe or vow muſt mean, that if it was any thing that *could be offered for a burnt-offering*, he *would* offer it; if not, whatever it was, *it ſhould be the Lord's:* and were the particle tranſlated *and*, in the ſentence *ſhall ſurely be the Lord's*, and *I will offer it*, tranſlated, as in the margin, and as it ſignifies many times, *or*, all the difficulty would certainly be removed.

forty

forty ſons and thirty grandſons, all of whom were expert horſemen; and of theſe his ordinary guard was compoſed: but the tranquillity of the times during his adminiſtration, afforded no incident worthy of being tranſmitted to poſterity. He died at a great age, and was buried with much pomp and ſolemnity in the city of Pharathon.

CHAP. VII.

The PHILISTINES ſubjugate the ISRAELITES. Birth of SAMSON, and his wondrous Exploits.

The Hebrews are enſlaved by the Philiſtines.

THE Philiſtines, after the death of Abſan, held the Hebrews in ſubjection nearly for the ſpace of forty years; but they at length obtained their liberty in the manner following:

A perſon whoſe name was Manoah, of the tribe of Dan, a man of high rank and reputation in his own country, had married a woman of ſuperlative beauty, but, to his own unſpeakable grief, ſhe proved childleſs. He had a houſe ſituated on a lonely ſpot, in the midſt of an extenſive plain, to which he frequently repaired with his wife, and in this ſolitude he ſpent the greateſt part of his time in importuning heaven for the bleſſing of a child. It chanced on a certain day, when the woman was at the houſe alone, an angel appeared to her, under the ſhape of a tall young man, and, bidding her to conſole herſelf, predicted to her, that ſhe ſhould bear a male child, who, when he ſhould arrive at the years of maturity, ſhould be remarkable for the gracefulneſs of his perſon, and for his ſuperior ſtrength, and ſhould greatly humble the pride of the Philiſtines; enjoining her, in the name of God, neither to cut his hair, nor to ſuffer him to drink any thing beſides water; and having given her theſe inſtructions, the viſion inſtantly diſappeared. On the arrival of her huſband, ſhe acquainted him with the particulars of this viſion.

The angel, in a few days after, again preſented himſelf before her, in the ſame place in which ſhe had firſt ſeen him, and ſhe begged his permiſſion to fetch her huſband; who inſtantly came with her to the ſpot. He then earneſtly preſſed the angel again to confirm the prediction which he had before communicated to his wife; but this the angel declined; obſerving to him, that it was ſufficient his wife had been already made acquainted therewith. He alſo ſolicited the angel to declare to him his name and quality, that, when he ſhould have obtained the promiſed bleſſing of a child, he might know to whom to pay his acknowledgments. The viſion replied, that he neither expected nor deſired any gratification for the tidings he brought. Manoah, with ſome difficulty, prevailed on him, however, to ſtay and partake of a kid, which he had killed and given to his wife to dreſs.

When every thing was in readineſs, the angel ordered the fleſh and bread to be placed without diſhes, on an adjacent rock; which being done, with a wand which he held in his hand, he touched the fleſh, and inſtantly a flame iſſued therefrom, which totally conſumed both it and the bread; and the angel aſcended to heaven in the ſmoke which aroſe from this preternatural fire. Manoah expreſſed a ſtrong apprehenſion that this prodigy boded ſome great evil to them; but his wife endeavoured to diſpel his fears, confidently aſſuring him, that it would be productive of the greateſt comfort and happineſs to them both. She ſoon afterwards perceived herſelf to be pregnant, and from that hour carefully kept in mind the inſtructions which ſhe had received from the angel.

Birth of Samſon.

In due courſe of time ſhe was delivered of a ſon, whom they named Samſon*, ſignifying, in the Hebrew tongue, *robuſt*. As he grew up, the comelineſs of his perſon, and the rigid temperance which he obſerved in his manner of living, gave him an appearance of ſomething more than mortal.

Having repaired on the celebration of a ſolemn feſtival, to Timnah, a city belonging to the Philiſtines, he there ſaw a damſel of whom he became paſſionately enamoured; and urgently ſolicited his father to obtain her for him in marriage. His father, at firſt, refuſed to comply with his requeſt; repreſenting to him, that, by the Hebrew laws, all marriages with women of foreign nations were ſtrictly forbidden; and that there were many women of his own nation with whom a matrimonial connection would be far more eligible than the party with whom he ſought an alliance. But the impetuoſity of the ſon's paſſion, proved an over-match for all the diſcretion and authority of the father, and Samſon was permitted to contract himſelf to the damſel in queſtion. Being one day on the road which led to the place of reſidence of his intended bride, he chanced to meet a lion. Totally undiſmayed at the unexpected ſight of this terrible animal, he undauntedly advanced towards him, and though deſtitute of every kind of weapon, he attacked the creature, and quickly ſtrangled him, throwing the body afterwards into an adjacent thicket.

He kills a lion.

Some few days afterwards, he chanced to paſs along the ſame path again, on a ſecond viſit to his miſtreſs; and ſtepping out of the road to take a view of the carcaſe of the lion, he found it occupied by a ſwarm of bees, who were employed in working their wax and honey. He took three of the combs, which he preſented, together with ſome other articles which he had procured for the purpoſe, to his miſtreſs. On the day of the nuptials, he was attended by thirty of the ſtouteſt young men of the country, whom the friends of the bride, conſcious of his amazing ſtrength, had ſelected for that office, under the pretext of doing him honour; but, in reality, to prevent any bad

* Some derive his name from *ſhemeſh*, the ſun, becauſe his birth prognoſticated the riſing of the Hebrews, and ſetting of the Philiſtines. Our author, indeed, ſays it ſignifies *robuſt*; but upon what authority he founds his aſſertion, cannot be diſcovered.

effects

effects which might otherwiſe happen, from his making too free a uſe of the juice of the grape. In the midſt of their jollity, Samſon informed the company that he had a riddle to propoſe to them, and that as many of them as ſhould ſolve it in the courſe of ſeven days, ſhould each man receive from him a coat and a ſhirt; and at once acquire both reputation and profit. The whole company, being animated, ſome with a deſire of manifeſting their penetration, and others with a thirſt of gain, eagerly requeſted him to propound the ænigma; which he accordingly did, in the following words: "Out of the eater came forth meat, and from the ſtrong was produced ſweetneſs †."

His riddle.

When the Philiſtines had in vain racked their imaginations for the ſpace of three days, to diſcover the meaning of this riddle they applied themſelves to the newly-eſpouſed wife of Samſon; enjoining her, at the peril of being burnt alive, to obtain from her huſband an explanation of the whole myſtery. He for ſome time reſiſted all her importunities; but on her reproaching him with a want of affection for her, in thus refuſing to confide the ſecret to her, he diſcloſed all the circumſtances relative to his combat with the lion, and to the honey-combs which he brought her; and ſhe communicated every particular to the Philiſtines. The day being now arrived which had been appointed for the ſolution of this riddle, the Philiſtines aſſembled before ſun-ſet, and repairing in a body to Samſon, gave him the explanation in the ſubſequent terms: "No creature poſſeſſes more ſtrength than a lion, nor can any thing be ſweeter than honey."

Samſon ſo highly reſented the conduct of his wife on this occaſion, that he formally repudiated her; and ſhe, from a motive of revenge, eſpouſed the perſon who had been the chief promoter of their union. This action Samſon conſidered as ſo heinous an affront, that he vowed vengeance not only on the woman, but alſo on the whole nation of the Philiſtines; and an opportunity ſoon afterwards offered for the ample execution of his deſign. The time of harveſt being now juſt at hand, Samſon procured three hundred foxes, and, tying them tail to tail, with a firebrand between each two of them, he turned the whole number looſe into the fields of the Philiſtines, where they preſently deſtroyed all the corn which was then ripe for cutting *. When the princes of the Philiſtines learnt who was the author of this outrage, and the motives by which he had been inſtigated to it, they immediately repaired to Timnah, and, ſeizing Samſon's late wife, with her father, and all her kindred, publicly burnt them alive.

Samſon had now fixed his reſidence on the rock of Etam, a place of prodigious ſtrength, and from thence made frequent incurſions into the lands of the Philiſtines, deſtroying great numbers of the inhabitants. This rock was ſituated in the diſtrict of the tribe of Judah, againſt whom the Philiſtines, in revenge for the continual depredations of Samſon, were on the point of commencing hoſtilities. It was in vain that theſe unfortunate people pleaded in their juſtification, that they had demeaned themſelves peaceably, had regularly paid the tribute which had been impoſed upon them, and were perfectly free from all participation in the guilt of Samſon and his aſſociates; for the Philiſtines peremptorily declared to them, that unleſs they delivered up the perſon of Samſon, they muſt expect to be conſidered, and to be puniſhed alſo, as the abettors of his crimes.

Samſon retires to the rock Etam.

To clear themſelves from every imputation on this head, they aſſembled a body of three thouſand armed men, and marched to the ſpot where he reſided, and there entered into conference with his companions, repreſenting to them the danger to which the violences of Samſon had expoſed the Hebrew nation, by exciting againſt them the reſentment of a powerful enemy, who, if not timely appeaſed, might probably be induced to extirpate their whole race; adding, that their ſole deſign in coming thither was to ſecure the perſon of Samſon, and to deliver him into the hands of the Philiſtines; to which they exhorted him to ſubmit voluntarily, both for their ſakes and for his own. Samſon hereupon deſcended from the rock, and, having obtained a ſolemn oath from them that they would be ſatisfied with delivering him up to the Philiſtines, without offering him any perſonal injury themſelves, ſurrendering himſelf to his countrymen, who bound him, and led him away to a ſpot before agreed on, which was then of no particular note, but which a memorable action afterwards performed there by Samſon rendered deſervedly famous to poſterity. At a ſmall diſtance from the camp of the Philiſtines, they were met by a numerous body of people, who expreſſed their joy at ſeeing this dreaded foe in their power, with the loudeſt ſhouts and acclamations.

An armed force is ſent to demand him.

Samſon in the mean time ſnapping aſunder the cords with which he was bound, ſeized the jaw-bone of an aſs which happened to lie near him, and ſuddenly attacking the Philiſtines, ſlew nearly a thouſand of them on the ſpot, and put the reſt to flight. He was ſo much elated with this victory, that he arrogated to himſelf the honour of that action, without conſidering that it was

He ſlays a thouſand Philiſtines.

† It was an ancient practice (among the Greeks eſpecially) to propoſe enigmas, and it has continued to this day in a greater or leſs degree. As ſymbolic writing, the more it receded from the proper hieroglyphic, the more it became obſcure; ſo it was with this parable, which grew the more myſterious, till it became a riddle, which exactly correſponded with the enigmatical hieroglyphic. This, in ſacred ſcripture, is called a dark ſaying, by way of eminence. In the interpretation of theſe riddles conſiſted old eaſtern wiſdom, according to the obſervation, Prov. i. 5.

* Foxes, it is well known, are beaſts of prey, and extremely cunning: Samſon did the country ſervice by collecting ſo many, and putting them together in the manner he did, and thereby deſtroying ſo great a number of thoſe rapacious creatures. This in ſome meaſure compenſated for the damage done to the corn.

to God alone, to whom the glory of the atchievement out to have been aſcribed. But, in the midſt of this impious vaunting, he found himſelf ſuddenly attacked by a violent thirſt, which convinced him of the vanity of his boaſts, by demonſtrating to him that all his ſucceſſes did not exempt him from the common accidents of human nature. He therefore humbled himſelf before God, acknowledging his former preſumption in aſſuming to himſelf the victory, requeſting pardon for his crimes, and promiſing in future to rely ſolely upon the power and goodneſs of the Almighty for deliverance in all his diſtreſſes. Nor was his penitence ineffectual: for immediately there guſhed from a neighbouring rock a ſtream of the pureſt water, for the relief of his raging thirſt; and this rock to the preſent time bears the name of *the jaw*, in alluſion to the above-mentioned exploit of Samſon.

Being attacked, for his pride, with extreme thirſt, God relieves him, in his humble prayer.

He now held the power of the Philiſtines in ſuch utter contempt, that he ſcrupled not to go publicly to Gaza, and to take up his abode at a common inn. The circumſtance of his arrival having been communicated to the governor of the city, he ſtationed a number of ſoldiers and ſpies about the houſe, to prevent his eſcape. Samſon having received ſome intimation of the deſign, roſe at midnight, and, taking the gates of the city off their hinges, conveyed them away on his ſhoulders, with all their appurtenances of frames, bolts, and locks, as far as mount Hebron, where he left them.

Samſon carries away the gates of Gaza.

By degrees, Samſon had now acquired ſo ſtrong a diſtaſte to the laws and cuſtoms of his own country, and, conſequently, ſuch a propenſity to thoſe of the neighbouring nations, as, in the ſequel, proved his deſtruction. He unfortunately conceived a violent paſſion for a common proſtitute, in the land of the Philiſtines, whoſe name was Dalilah; and with this woman he openly cohabited. The princes of the country, perceiving to how great a degree he was infatuated by his infamous paſſion, ſecretly wrought upon this mercenary woman, by the force of bribes and promiſes*, to unite with them in the deſign of effecting his ruin. The part which they aſſigned her to act in this plot was, to obtain from him a confeſſion where that invincible ſtrength was ſeated, of which he had given ſo many extraordinary proofs. She, accordingly, took every opportunity, in his hours of ebriety and dalliance, to expreſs her admiration of his ſtrength and activity, and to importune him to acquaint her in what part of his body that excellency lay, which rendered him ſo infinitely ſuperior to all other men. But Samſon retained as yet ſo much prudence, as enabled him to perceive and to counterwork the artifices of his miſtreſs; and he replied, that if his hands were bound with ſeven green withs, or creepers of the vine, he ſhould then poſſeſs no greater degree of force than the reſt of mankind.

This information Dalilah immediately communicated to the magiſtrates of the place, who, in conſequence, ſecretly diſpatched a band of ſoldiers to the houſe in which Samſon reſided, with orders to ſecure his perſon the firſt opportunity that ſhould offer. Finding him intoxicated and aſleep, they bound him in the manner before deſcribed; but Samſon being awakened by the outcries of Dalilah, that the Philiſtines were upon him, inſtantly ſnapped the withs, like ſo many threads, and, putting himſelf in a poſture of defence, obliged the aſſailants to make a precipitate retreat. Dalilah affected to be highly incenſed at the deception which had been put upon her, and bitterly reproached Samſon with a want of affection for her; adding, that ſhe thought herſelf greatly injured by his ſuſpicions that ſhe was leſs capable of keeping a ſecret than any of her ſex. She, however, ſtill perſiſted in ſoliciting him to reveal to her what ſhe deſired to know, and he again deceived her, on two ſubſequent occaſions, with feigned ſtories; telling her at firſt, that if he were to be bound with ſeven cords, he ſhould be deprived thereby of all power of reſiſtance: and, afterwards, that the ſame effect would be produced by filleting and braiding his hair.

He deceives the Philiſtines.

Though thus thrice baffled, Dalilah was not yet diſcouraged; but, partly through reſentment, and partly from a principle of obſtinacy, ſhe continued to urge him ſo earneſtly with intreaties and careſſes, that in an evil hour, he diſcloſed to her the important ſecret in theſe words: "That ſupreme Being, from whom I derive my exiſtence, and who has been pleaſed to diſtinguiſh me in a particular manner by his favour, has ſtrictly commanded me never to ſuffer my hair to be cut; as in the preſervation thereof intirely conſiſts my ſafety and ſtrength." Having made this diſcovery, ſhe ſoon afterwards deprived him of his locks whilſt he ſlept, and, in this defenceleſs condition, delivered him into the hands of the Philiſtines, who put out his eyes, and led him about as a public ſpectacle.

Dalilah, by her importunity, obtains the ſecret from Samſon, and delivers him up to his enemies, who put out his eyes, and impriſon him.

A conſiderable time had now elapſed, when a feſtival was celebrated by the Philiſtines, at which were aſſembled all the princes and nobility of the country. In the height of their merriment, it was propoſed to ſend for Samſon, to make ſport for the company. The roof of the edifice in which they were regaling, was ſupported by two large pillars only. Samſon, whoſe hair was now grown again, meditating vengeance on his enemies, was now brought into the aſſembly; and feigning to be weary with walking, he deſired the boy by whom he was attended to lead him to one of the pillars, that he might reſt himſelf againſt it.

* The text informs us, that every one of the lords of the Philiſtines engaged to give her eleven hundred ſhekels, on delivering Samſon into their hands. Now by "pieces of ſilver" is generally underſtood ſhekels; ſo that the whole ſum amounted to five thouſand five hundred ſhekels, or about three hundred and forty-three pounds fifteen ſhillings ſterling.

In revenge he pulls down the grand hall of the Philiſtines, when himſelf and the whole company periſh.

His requeſt being complied with, Samſon, exerting his utmoſt ſtrength, ſhook the pillar with ſuch force, that he ſoon brought down the building on the heads of all thoſe who were therein, amounting to full three thouſand perſons; himſelf periſhing with the reſt†.

Thus died Samſon in the twentieth year of his adminiſtration. He was famed for his amazing ſtrength and courage, and acquired great honour by the exertion of thoſe qualities againſt the enemies of his country. It muſt be acknowledged that he ſuffered himſelf to be deluded by the artifices of a wicked woman; but this is a frailty inherent in the very nature of mankind. His corpſe was conveyed by his relations to Saraſa, where it was interred in the burial place of the family.

CHAP. VIII.

Containing the Hiſtory of NAOMI, RUTH, and BOOZ.

A famine in Judea obliges Abimelech and his family to retire to Moab.

AFTER the death of Samſon, Eli the high-prieſt ſucceeded to the government, and in his time there aroſe a dreadful famine in the land. In conſequence of this dearth, Abimelech, a citizen of Bethlehem, in the tribe of Judah, accompanied by his wife Naomi, and his two ſons, Mallon and Cheſſion, retired with his effects into the land of Moab. Here every thing went favourably with him, and his ſons contracted themſelves to two women of the country, whoſe names were Orpha and Ruth. At the expiration of ten years, Abimelech and his ſons died, all within a ſhort time of each other. Naomi ſeeing herſelf thus deprived of thoſe p[illegible]s, her affection for whom had been the ſole mo[illegible] which had induced her to quit her own country, determined to return thither, eſpecially as ſhe had learnt that matters were now in a better ſtate then when ſhe came away. The widows of her ſons were very urgent with her to ſuffer them to accompany her; but to this ſhe abſolutely refuſed to conſent; alledging the length of the journey, and her incapacity to provide for them on their arrival at Bethlehem, as reaſons for her refuſal. Theſe objections ſatisfied Orpha: but no arguments could induce Ruth to abandon her mother-in-law; and Naomi therefore departed, taking Ruth with her.

Naomi and Ruth return.

They were received on their arrival at Bethlehem by Booz or Boaz, a relation of the deceaſed Abimelech; and, the people calling Naomi by her name, and welcoming her on her return home, ſhe replied that, inſtead of Naomi, they ought rather to call her Mara; the firſt ſignifying *happineſs*, and the latter *ſorrow*. It being now the time of harveſt, Ruth went with the permiſſion of her mother, into the fields to glean; and wandering by accident into a field which belonged to Booz, he chanced to come thither himſelf quickly afterwards, and inquired of his head-ſervant what he knew of her. The ſervant acquainted him with ſuch particulars concerning her ſituation as he had learnt from herſelf; and Booz, being highly pleaſed with the affection which ſhe manifeſted for her mother-in-law, and her regard for the memory of her deceaſed huſband, ordered that ſhe ſhould not only be permitted to glean, but alſo to reap and carry away as much corn as ſhe thought proper, and that ſhe ſhould be daily furniſhed with a like portion of meat and drink with the reſt of his ſervants. Ruth carefully ſaved a part of the proviſions which were given her, and carried it home at night, together with her gleanings, to her mother-in-law; and Naomi made a like reſerve for Ruth out of what ſhe obtained from her charitable neighbours.

Kind behaviour of Booz to Ruth.

Ruth acquainted her mother with the kindneſs of Booz towards her‡; adding that, as he was a perſon of conſiderable property, and famed for his virtue and piety, it was probable that he might commiſerate their misfortunes, and take them under his care. Ruth ſtill continued to repair every day during the harveſt ſeaſon to the fields of Booz, to glean with his maid-ſervants; and for the ſpace of a few days, while his people were employed in threſhing the corn, Booz took up his lodging in his own barn. This circumſtance coming to the knowledge of Naomi, ſhe adviſed Ruth to convey herſelf privately into the barn, during the night, and to lay herſelf down to reſt at the feet of Booz; imagining thereby to promote the advantage of both parties.

Ruth complies with Naomi's propoſal to her.

Ruth, from a ſcrupulous regard to the orders of her mother, obeyed; and Booz chancing to wake about midnight, and perceiving a woman lying near him, aſked her who ſhe was. Having been ſatisfied in this point, no further diſcourſe paſſed between them till morning, when he bid her to take as much corn as ſhe pleaſed, and to return home, before his ſervants ſhould riſe to their work; obſerving that, in ſuch-like caſes, perſons could not be too cautious, however innocent their intentions were, to prevent diſcovery. He further told her that, as there was a perſon then reſiding in Bethlehem, who was ſtill nearer related to her than himſelf, he would adviſe her to inſiſt upon his receiving her as his wife, according to the law of

† Our great architect Sir Chriſtopher Wren, ſpeaking of this tranſaction, ſays, "I conceive this building was an oval amphitheatre; the ſcene in the middle, where a vaſt roof of cedar beams reſting round upon the walls, centered all upon one ſhort architrave, that united two cedar pillars in the middle. Now if Samſon, by his miraculous ſtrength, preſſing upon theſe pillars, removed them from their baſes, the whole roof muſt of neceſſity fall.

‡ The communion with heathen nations was peculiarly forbidden by the Iſraelitiſh law, as the grand barrier againſt idolatry. Some zealous adherents to the letter of the law carried this principle too far, nay, ſo far as to abſtain from every kind of intercourſe and beneficence. A ſtranger and an idolater, in the ideas of a Jew, were the ſame; Ruth, therefore, meeting with ſo much tenderneſs from Boaz, did not without reaſon expreſs her ſurpriſe.

The Death of Samson.

Moſes; and that, if he ſhould refuſe to comply with her demand, he himſelf ſhould then be at liberty to eſpouſe her. With theſe inſtructions Ruth returned to her mother, to whom ſhe communicated all the above particulars; and Naomi offered up her moſt grateful acknowledgments to heaven, for this favourable change in their affairs.

Booz treats with Ruth's kinſman.

On the ſame day, about noon, Booz convened an aſſembly of the magiſtrates of Bethlehem: having previouſly given notice of attendance to Ruth and her kinſman. Upon their appearance, he queſtioned the latter, whether the eſtates of Abimelech, and his two ſons, Mallon and Chellion, did not devolve to him after their deceaſe. Having received an anſwer in the affirmative, he then reminded him, that the ſame law which gave him poſſeſſion of the eſtate, provided alſo that he ſhould marry the relick of the deceaſed; and pointing to Ruth, "That woman," ſaid he, "is the widow of Mallon: determine, therefore, whether you will receive her in marriage, or relinquiſh the poſſeſſions of her late huſband, which you now enjoy." The kinſman declined to eſpouſe her, alledging, that he was already married, and had ſeveral children; and in due form, reſigned to Booz, who, next to himſelf, was the neareſt of kin to her, all pretenſions both to the woman and the eſtate. Booz cauſed this renunciation to be regiſtered, and then ordered Ruth to looſe the ſhoe of her kinſman who had refuſed to eſpouſe her, and to ſpit in his face, according to a form practiſed in all ſimilar caſes.

Marriage of Booz and Ruth, and their offspring

Booz afterwards married her, and, before the expiration of the year, ſhe bore him a ſon, who was named Obed, which, in the Hebrew tongue, ſignifies *aſſiſtance;* alluding to the aſſiſtance which it was hoped he would render to Naomi in her old age. Obed was the father of Jeſſe, from whom deſcended David, king of Iſrael; in whoſe family the ſupreme government remained throughout twenty-one generations.

CHAP. IX.

SAMUEL is born. The PHILISTINES obtain ſeveral Victories over the HEBREWS.

Notorious profligacy of Eli's ſons.

THE Hebrews were now involved in an unſucceſsful war againſt the Philiſtines. Hophni and Phineas, the two ſons of Eli, the high-prieſt, were men totally diveſted of every ſentiment of religion and morality. Not ſatisfied with the cuſtomary gratuities and preſents which they received from the people, they were guilty of the greateſt exceſſes of extortion and rapine. They ſcrupled not to debauch women, even when engaged in the exerciſe of their devotions; and would often prefer their infamous ſuit at the very altar; and in the undiſtinguiſhing commiſſion of theſe enormities they manifeſted an effrontery ſcarcely to be paralleled. Eli obſerved, with the deepeſt ſorrow, the profligacy of his children; being under continual apprehenſions that ſome dreadful judgment would befal them, as a puniſhment for their wickedneſs§. Nor was he much leſs affected by the wretched condition of the people, who groaned under the intolerable oppreſſions of theſe mercileſs tyrants; but when God was pleaſed to reveal to the unhappy father, by the prophet Samuel, who was as yet but a child, the miſerable end which awaited thoſe men, he abandoned himſelf to his lamentations for them, as for perſons who were to be conſidered as already dead.

Elkanah, a Levite, dwelling at Ramath in the diſtrict of the tribe of Ephraim, had two wives, whoſe names were Hannah and Phenannah. The latter bore him ſeveral children; but the former, for a conſiderable time appeared to be barren; which circumſtance, however, did not in the leaſt leſſen his regard for her. Having repaired on a certain occaſion to Shiloh, where the tabernacle then was, he allotted to each of his wives a portion of the proviſions he had brought with him; Phenannah and her children eating at a ſeparate table. This circumſtance ſo much affected Hannah, who conſidered it as a reflection on her barrenneſs, that ſhe could not refrain from tears. It was in vain that her huſband and the reſt of her friends endeavoured to comfort her; and, in the anguiſh of her mind, ſhe immediately haſtened to the tabernacle, and, with the utmoſt fervency and devotion, addreſſed her prayers to the Almighty, that he would be pleaſed to grant her the bleſſing of a ſon; promiſing in the moſt ſolemn manner to dedicate him ſolely to his ſervice. Eli, who chanced to be ſitting before the tabernacle at the time, concluding, from the length and earneſtneſs of her prayer, that ſhe was intoxicated, reproached her with coming thither in ſuch a condition, and ordered her to be gone. She aſſured him that ſhe was perfectly guiltleſs of the charge, being accuſtomed to drink nothing but water, and that the agitation of her mind aroſe from the want of children, which had been the ſubject of her ſupplications to God. Eli, hereupon, diſmiſſed her with an aſſurance that God would grant her requeſt. Hannah, thus encouraged, returned with a joyful heart to her huſband, recovered her appetite, of which ſhe had long been totally deprived, and in a ſhort time went back with him to the place of their reſidence, where ſhe ſoon after conceived, and was in due time delivered of a ſon, who was named Samuel, which ſignifies, in our language, *aſked of God.* When the parents of the child went again to Shiloh, to make the uſual oblations, Hannah, being mindful of her vow, delivered her ſon into the hands of Eli, to be dedicated to the ſervice of God. His hair was

Hannah's prayer.

Birth of Samuel.

§ The mild conduct of Eli towards his children was highly culpable; for, inſtead of reproving them in the tender language of an indulgent father, he ought to have exerted the authority of a zealous judge, by puniſhing them in an exemplary manner for ſuch notorious crimes as they were guilty of.

ſuffered

ſuffered to grow, and he was not permitted to taſte of any other liquor than water; was appointed to officiate, alſo, in the temple, and in time became a prophet of great reputation among the people. Hannah afterwards bore to Elkanah ſeveral ſons and three daughters.

Samuel, when he had attained his thirteenth year, began to propheſy; and, lying one night on his bed, he heard a voice which called him by his name. Imagining it was the voice of Eli, he immediately went to him, to know his will; but Eli aſſured him that he had not called him. This was repeated three times; and Eli, perceiving, at length, where the miſtake lay, ordered him, if the voice ſhould call him again, to anſwer in theſe words: "Say on, Lord, for thy ſervant heareth." At the next call, Samuel replied as he had been inſtructed, and the voice then proceeded in theſe words: "As thou art willing to liſten to my injunctions, I will now give thee to know, that the Hebrews are, at this moment, on the verge of a calamity ſo dreadful as not to be expreſſed, and almoſt ſurpaſſing conception. In the courſe of a ſingle day, the two ſons of Eli ſhall be ſlain; and the high-prieſthood ſhall be for ever taken away from his family, and transferred to that of Eleazar; for Eli hath manifeſted a greater regard for his ſons, than for my ſervice, and hath thereby involved both himſelf and them in one common deſtruction." Samuel was very unwilling to acquaint Eli with what had been communicated to him by the Almighty; but, being adjured by the high-prieſt to conceal nothing from him of all that had paſſed, he gave him a circumſtantial account of the revelation; thereby leaving him no room to doubt of the unavoidable ruin of his profligate children *. From this period, the reputation of the predictions of Samuel increaſed in the moſt rapid manner imaginable.

Divine denunciation againſt Eli and his ſons.

The troops of Philiſtines had now proceeded without oppoſition as far as Amphek, and, continuing to advance farther into the country of the Iſraelites, a battle at length enſued between the two armies, in which the Hebrews were ſhamefully defeated, with the loſs of four thouſand men on the ſpot, and were purſued even to their camp. This unexpected overthrow plunged the Hebrews in the deepeſt deſpondency, and they diſpatched meſſengers in all haſte to Shiloh, with a requeſt to the high-prieſt and elders, to cauſe the ark to be ſent without delay to the army, that through its preſence they might be enabled to obtain a victory over their enemies; being totally unconſcious that they were devoted to deſtruction by a power far ſuperior to that of the ark; even by that eternal Being, on whoſe account alone the ark itſelf was held in reverence. Their requeſt was, however, complied with; and the two ſons of Eli were commiſſioned by their father to convey the ark to the army, himſelf being too feeble to attend on the occaſion, with a ſtrict injunction never to ſee his face again, unleſs they brought back their charge in ſafety. On the arrival of the ark, the Hebrews reſumed their courage, as if victory had been inſeparably connected with its preſence; and their opponents, on the other hand, conſidered it as a preſage of their deſtruction. The event, however, proved, that both the hopes of the one party, and the fears of the other were equally ill-founded; for, in a ſecond engagement, which ſoon afterwards enſued between the two armies, the Hebrews fled in the moſt daſtardly manner on the very firſt onſet; leaving thirty thouſand of their men dead on the ſpot, among whom were the two ſons of Eli, and abandoning the ark of God to the poſſeſſion of the enemy.

The Iſraelites defeated by the Philiſtines.

CHAP. X.

The Loſs of the Ark occaſions the immediate Death of ELI. ICHABOD is born.

A Young Benjamite, who eſcaped from the battle, having brought the dreadful news of this defeat, and the conſequent loſs of the ark †, to Shiloh, the whole city was filled with the bittereſt ſorrow and lamentation. This being obſerved by Eli, who was ſitting in a chair at one of the gates, he directly ſuſpected that ſome diſaſter had befallen the army; and, calling the young man to him, learnt from him all the particulars of what had happened. The loſs of men which the Hebrews had ſuſtained in the battle, and the death of his ſons, were circumſtances of which, as we have before obſerved, he had already been forewarned by a revelation from heaven; and he therefore ſupported this part of the intelligence with a becoming fortitude. But, when he learnt that the ark of God had fallen into the enemy's hands, he ſunk under the unexpected ſhock, and, falling backwards from his ſeat, yielded up his life, in the ninety-eighth year of his age, and the fortieth of his government. When the wife of Phineas, who was at that time in the ſeventh month of her

The Philiſtines again victorious. Sons of Eli ſlain; and he expires, on hearing of the capture of the ark.

* The foregoing ſentence, pronounced by an artleſs child, was much more terrible to Eli than the meſſage before delivered by the prophet; for he now humbly acknowledges the juſtice of God, and ſubmits to his ſentence with a penitent reſignation.

† The heathens who held the doctrine of tutelary gods, carried theſe arks or ambulatory temples in their armies, imagining by theſe means to ſecure the protection of their gods. They likewiſe fanſied that if they could, by any means, propitiate or bribe the local god of their adverſary, their ſucceſs would be certain. With this view the Philiſtines ſeized on the ark, and ſuppoſed that, by poſſeſſing themſelves of the palladium of the Iſraelites, they ſhould deprive them of the aſſiſtance of their local and tutelary god, and at the ſame time ſecure his protection to themſelves.

her pregnancy, received the news of her husband's death, she instantly fell in labour, and died on the same day. The child, however, survived, and was named Ichabod; signifying *shame* and *ignominy*, in allusion to the disgrace which the Israelites had incurred by the above defeat.

BOOK VI.

Including the PERIOD from the YEAR of the WORLD 2850, to 2890.

CHAP. I.

The PHILISTINES take the Ark, which is removed to Five Cities, which are plagued thereby.

Dagon falls before the ark.

THE Philistines conveyed the ark in triumph to Ashdod, and deposited it among other trophies in the temple of Dagon. Upon repairing to the temple the next morning, in order to perform their devotions, the Philistines perceived that the figure of Dagon, which they worshipped as their god, had fallen from its pedestal, and was lying before the ark. They replaced the idol; but on their return the following day, again found it on the floor of the edifice, in a posture of adoration to the ark; and this was the case for several successive days. They were greatly surprised at this preternatural moving of the image, which they considered as an indication of ill-fortune. In short, the sacrilegious temerity of the people of the city and province of Ashdod was punished by a terrible plague, which destroyed great numbers of them. This plague was a violent dysentery, and rapid decay of the entrails, attended with the most excruciating tortures. They were also visited with another plague by their lands being infested by surprising numbers of mice, which intirely destroyed their corn, and the other fruits of the earth. Being at length convinced that their impious violence upon the ark was the cause of these judgments, they dispatched messengers to the people of Ascalon, to solicit them to remove the ark from their city. This offer was joyfully accepted, but in a short time the people had occasion severely to repent their conduct; for when the ark had been conveyed to Ascalon, that place was visited with the same plagues which had prevailed at Ashdod. It remained not long in this city, but was conveyed to different places, till it had passed through five of the Philistine cities, being constantly attended in its progress by the calamities above-mentioned.

The Philistines resolve to dispose of the ark.

A council of the principal men of the five cities of Gath, Ekron, Ascalon, Gaza, and Ashdod, was assembled, to determine upon measures for disposing of the ark. It was recommended by the one party, to return it to the people by whom it was originally possessed; for they believed that the God who had spread such devastation in their cities would still continue to exercise his displeasure upon those who should keep the ark in their possession. Others would not allow this to be the cause of the public calamities; and they argued, that it was not probable the Lord entertained the respect which was pretended for the ark, as he had suffered the Israelites to be deprived of it, by an enemy, and especially as that enemy professed a different religion; and they advised that the prevailing troubles might be considered as occurrences produced in the common course of nature. A third party adopted sentiments between the extremes of the two preceding: they proposed, that for each of the above-mentioned cities a golden image should be provided, and that these five images should be consecrated to the honour of God, as an instance of gratitude for having relieved them from the terrible affliction of the plagues, which human means were not able to eradicate. They also proposed five golden mice, thereby referring to the vermin which had destroyed the produce of their grounds*; and that a carriage, in the form of a waggon, should be constructed for the purpose of receiving the ark, upon which was to be laid a box containing the images and golden mice; this carriage was to be drawn by two milch-kine, their calves being taken from them and confined, that they might not cause them to delay their progress. The vehicle was taken to a spot branching into three roads, and the beasts being allowed to pursue their own course, it was to be understood that if they pursued the Hebrew road, the misfortunes

* It was a custom among the ancients, when any country was infected with disease, plague, or noxious animals, to erect an image of it under celestial influence, which they believed would remove their cause of complaint.

which the people of the five cities had ſuſtained, proceeded from the ark; but if they took any other direction, the public calamities were to be attributed to ſome different cauſe.

CHAP. II.

Rejoicings of the ISRAELITES, on the recovery of the Ark. Defeat of the PHILISTINES.

The Iſraelites recover the ark.

THE animals being allowed the liberty of following their own courſe, immediately ſtruck into the Hebrews road*, and, with as much regularity as if they had been impelled by the direction of a driver, proceeded towards a village belonging to the tribe of Judah, called Bethſhemeth, where they ſtopped, notwithſtanding a fertile and extenſive plain ſeemed to invite them to continue their journey. At this time the people were buſily occupied in getting in the harveſt, but they left their work, and being joined by great numbers from the town, proceeded towards the ark, the return of which afforded them inexpreſſible pleaſure. They took the ark and the box containing the images and golden mice from the carriages, and having placed them on a large ſtone, ſacrificed the vehicle on which the ark was conveyed, and the beaſts which drew it, as a burnt-offering to the Lord. A number of the Philiſtines who had followed the ark, waited till the concluſion of the above ceremony, and then returned to their companions.

The Bethſhemites puniſhed.

Seventy of the Bethſhemites incurred the diſpleaſure of God on the above occaſion, by touching the ark, which was a liberty granted only to thoſe inveſted with the authority and qualification of prieſthood. In the midſt of their rejoicings, the ſpirit of the multitude were exceedingly depreſſed by the fate of theſe men, whom they lamented, not as having diſcharged the common debt of nature, but as falling judicial victims to their own temerity. This calamity convinced them, that they were unworthy to be entruſted with the care of ſo ſacred a depoſit; and they, therefore, diſpatched meſſengers to the Hebrews, to inform them that the ark was brought back. Upon this intelligence being communicated, it was conveyed to Kirjath-jearim, in the neighbourhood of Bethſhemeth, and depoſited in the houſe of a Levite named Aminidab, who, being a man of ſtrict piety and exemplary morals, was conſidered worthy of the ſacred truſt. To this man and his ſons the care of the ark was aſſigned, and, excepting the four months when it was detained by the Philiſtines, it remained twenty years in their poſſeſſion; and ſo worthily did they execute the office conferred upon them, that the public acknowledged themſelves to be perfectly ſatisfied with their conduct, and beſtowed upon them a high degree of reputation.

Samuel ſummoned the people to aſſemble at the city called Mizpeh, and at this place they performed ſacrifice, offering ſupplications to the Lord, and obſerving the day as a ſolemn faſt. The Philiſtines gained information of this meeting, and advanced towards the ſpot with a powerful army, intending to make an attack by ſurpriſe. The formidable appearance of the foe threw them into the greateſt conſternation, and they repaired to Samuel, to whom they alledged, that they dreaded the event of engaging an enemy by whom they had been ſo frequently vanquiſhed; adding, that in compliance with his direction, they had aſſembled at Mizpeh for the purpoſes of offering up ſacrifices and ſupplications to the Lord, and entering into a ſolemn engagement of fidelity; and that they now found themſelves in a defenceleſs ſtate, expoſed to the mercy of the Philiſtines; wherefore they intreated him to exert his endeavours to prevail with the Lord to deliver them from the impending danger, which they could not hope to eſcape but through the intervention of the Divine Providence. Samuel encouraged them to hope for ſucceſs; ſaying, that God would indiſputably grant them the protection which he had been graciouſly pleaſed to promiſe. After this, he offered a ſucking lamb as a ſacrifice in the name of the Hebrews; ſupplicating the Lord to preſerve them from the calamities threatened by the Philiſtines. This ſacrifice proved agreeable to the Lord, who, in reply to the requeſt of Samuel, promiſed that the Hebrews ſhould obtain a complete victory over their enemies. Before the ſacrifice was intirely conſumed, the Philiſtines formed themſelves into the order of battle; and as they had not afforded the Hebrews time to put themſelves in a ſtate of defence, they entertained the moſt confident expectation of conqueſt. But the iſſue of this matter proved ſo contrary to the expectation of the Philiſtines, that it would ſcarcely have been credited, had it been predicted by an oracle.

Samuel ſacrificing, the Philiſtines are diſcomfited.

On the ſpot where the Philiſtines were ſtationed, the Almighty cauſed a violent trembling of the earth, which opened in different places and ſwallowed up great numbers; at the ſame time the moſt terrible thunder roared in the heavens†, and the lightnings deſcended upon them in continual flaſhes, ſo dreadfully ſcorching them, that they could neither make uſe of their arms againſt the Hebrews, nor ſee how to avoid the danger. They fled in the greateſt conſternation to Chore, and were purſued by the He-

* Here was a remarkable inſtance of divine interference: it was unnatural for the kine to go tractably in yoke together, having never before been uſed to ſuch labour; therefore it were highly probable that they would have returned to their calves, out of natural affection; and it was very unlikely alſo that they ſhould go in the Hebrew road, when there were ſeveral other ways to take.

† The Philiſtines propoſed to attack the Iſraelites at a time when they were not prepared to receive them, being only gathered together before the Lord, and, probably, deſtitute of arms. But God ſoon convinced the uncircumciſed army, that *in his hands are the iſſues of life and death*, by attacking them with the artillery of heaven.

brews,



And they of Beth-shemesh were reaping their wheat-harvest in the valley: & they lifted up their eyes, & saw the Ark, and rejoiced to see it. I Sam. VI. *v.* 13.

brews, who committed a great ſlaughter upon them in their retreat. At this place Samuel cauſed a monumental ſtone to be fixed, for the purpoſe of denoting the bounds of the ſpot whereon the victory and purſuit took place; and he diſtinguiſhed it by the name of the *ſtrong*, in commemoration of the powerful ſupport, which was manifeſted by the Almighty in behalf of the Hebrews.

Theſe events ſo effectually depreſſed the ſpirits of the Philiſtines, that they never re-aſſumed courage ſufficient to renew hoſtilities againſt the Hebrews. Samuel continued to make incurſions upon the enemy, till he reduced them to a ſtate of hopeleſs ſubjection. He recovered the whole tract of country between Gath and Ekron, which had been conquered by the Philiſtines. Previous to this period, the war between the Canaanites and the Hebrews had ſubſided.

CHAP. III.

SAMUEL reſigns the Government in Favour of his Sons, JOEL and ABIAH.

Samuel reſigns the government.

HAVING re-inſtated the people in their poſſeſſions, and made ſome progreſs towards introducing a regularity of government, Samuel eſtabliſhed a plan for the adminiſtration of public juſtice. Certain towns were appointed, wherein the judicial buſineſs was to be tranſacted; and to each of theſe he reſorted twice a year, in order to enforce an inviolable obſervance of the laws of his nation. For a long ſeries of time, this ſyſtem of policy was practiſed: but when the infirmities of advanced life had rendered him unequal to the arduous taſk of conducting the public affairs, he retired from the adminiſtration, and inveſted his authority in his ſons, Joel and Abiah. He commanded them to divide the people into two bodies, over each of which they were reſpectively to preſide; and that, at Bethel and Beerſheba, they ſhould each eſtabliſh a court for the purpoſe of attending to legiſlative appeals.

From the conduct of Joel (who was the elder ſon of Samuel) and his brother Abiah, we may learn, that children do not always inherit the good qualities of their parents, and that a virtuous offſpring may derive their orign from profligate anceſtors. Theſe degenerate ſons proceeded in a courſe diametrically oppoſite to the inſtructions and example of their father. They proſtituted the judicial character to intereſted conſiderations; for it was not according to the merits of the cauſe, but the eſtimated worth of the bribe, that judgment was pronounced. At the times they ſhould have been employed in the diſtribution of public juſtice, they were indulging themſelves in luxury and intemperance; and in every inſtance their conduct was a direct violation of the laws of God, and equally contrary to the commands of their father*, whoſe attention had not been more materially engaged on any ſubject, than the obſervance of a neceſſary ſubordination of the people towards their ſuperiors, and common juſtice among themſelves.

The Iſraelites deſire a king.

The licentious conduct of the ſons of Samuel incenſed the people to ſo high a degree, that, when he repaired to Ramah, where he then reſided, they loudly complained to him of the mal-adminiſtration of his children, and earneſtly preſſed him, in conſideration of his own infirmities, which rendered him incapable of ſupporting the weight of the government; and of the inſufferable diſorders committed by his ſons; that he would appoint a king to reign over them, under whoſe command they might revenge the injuries which they had ſo long ſuſtained from the Philiſtines.

In conſequence of inſtruction from heaven, Samuel convened an aſſembly of the people, and gave them a poſitive aſſurance that he would aſſign them a king; but firſt of all acquainted them with the evils and inconveniencies which they muſt expect to endure under that peculiar form of government. The people were totally deaf to all he could ſay upon the ſubject; alledging, that they could not preſerve themſelves from a foreign bondage under any other form of government, and juſtifying their choice by the example of all the neighbouring nations.

When Samuel perceived that all his arguments had not the leaſt effect upon them, he diſmiſſed the aſſembly, with a promiſe that he would call them together again as ſoon as God ſhould have revealed to him on whom he would be pleaſed to confer the regal dignity†.

CHAP.

* The crimes of Samuel's ſons were leſs atrocious than thoſe of Eli's ſons, becauſe there is no compariſon between taking bribes and openly profaning the tabernacle, thus rendering religion itſelf deſpicable. Beſides, the crimes of the ſons of Eli were perpetrated in his own ſight; and by not preventing, he was in ſome ſenſe the acceſſary or encourager of them: but Samuel's ſons were at a diſtance from him, and poſſibly their crimes might not reach his ears.

† Samuel had now, by a wiſe and painful direction of affairs, reſtored the purity of religion, and reſcued his nation from the power of the Philiſtines, and their other hoſtile neighbours, againſt whom they were utterly unable to make head, when he entered upon the adminiſtration. At this very time, the people, debauched as uſual by power and proſperity, took the pretence of the corrupt conduct of the prophet's two ſons, to go in a tumultuous manner and demand a king: but the ſecret ſpring of their rebellion was the ambition of their leaders, who could live no longer without the ſplendor of a royal court and houſhold. "*Give me*," ſay they, in Hoſea xiii. 10. "*a king and princes*," where every one of them might ſhine a diſtinguiſhed officer of ſtate. They could get nothing, when their affairs led them to their judge's poor reſidence, in the *ſchools of the prophets*, but the GIFT of the *holy ſpirit*; which a courtier, I ſuppoſe, would not prize even at the rate Simon Magus held it, of a paltry piece of money.——This it was, and this only, that made their demand criminal: for the chuſing regal, rather than ariſtocratic viceroys, was a thing plainly indulged to them by the law of Moſes, Deut. xvii. 14, 15. The clauſe, "*whom the Lord thy God ſhall*

CHAP. IV.

SAUL is proclaimed King. The City of JABESH is beſieged by NABASH, King of the AMMONITES.

Saul and Samuel meet. KISH, a perſon of virtuous character, of the tribe of Benjamin, had a ſon named Saul, who was equally famed for his perſonal and mental qualifications. The father having loſt ſome aſſes, which were of a good breed, ſent Saul, accompanied by one of his ſervants, to ſeek for them. After a long and fruitleſs ſearch, Saul determined to return home, being apprehenſive that his longer abſence would create an uneaſineſs in the mind of his father. When they approached near to Ramah, the ſervant adviſed Saul to have recourſe to a certain famous prophet who lived in that city, for intelligence concerning the aſſes. Saul replied, that he was totally deſtitute of money to gratify the prophet for his information, having expended the whole of what he brought from home. The ſervant anſwered, that he had himſelf a quarter-ſhekel ſtill remaining, which he imagined would be ſufficient for the purpoſe: for he was not appriſed that this man did not, like ſome others, make a traffic of his knowledge in hidden matters. Upon their arrival at Ramah, they met a number of damſels at one of the gates, who were coming out of the city to draw water. By them they were directed to the reſidence of the prophet; and the maidens further adviſed them to loſe no time in repairing to his houſe, as in caſe of delay they would not be able to obtain a conference with him that night, he having invited a number of gueſts to ſup with him.

Samuel had already been informed of God, that the perſon whom he was to proclaim king over Iſrael was a young man of the tribe of Benjamin, and that he ſhould come to his houſe that evening; and he was, in conſequence, waiting at home in expectation of the ſtranger's arrival. At the preciſe hour appointed by the Almighty, S[illegible]rrived at the houſe of Samuel, who immediately diſcovered, by inſpiration, that he was the perſon whom God had choſen. Saul, addreſſing Samuel with great courteouſneſs, deſired to be introduced to the prophet. Samuel replied, that he was the perſon; and, inviting him to partake of the repaſt which he had provided, informed him not only that the aſſes which he ſought were ſafe, but alſo that he was on the point of being advanced to the very ſummit of power. Saul anſwered, with great modeſty, that both his family and his tribe were too inconſiderable to permit him to indulge the moſt diſtant hopes of acquiring ſo tranſcendent an honour. At ſupper, Saul was ſeated above the reſt of the gueſts, conſiſting of ſeventy perſons, with his ſervant next him, and Samuel ordered the attendants to ſet before Saul a royal meſs. At the hour of reſt the company retired, but Saul and his ſervant remained with the prophet that night.

Saul anointed king. The next morning by ſun-riſe, Samuel diſmiſſed his gueſt, accompanying him a ſmall diſtance on his way home. Being come to a convenient ſpot, the prophet deſired Saul to ſend his ſervant a little way on before, as he had ſomething of conſequence to communicate to him in private. His requeſt being complied with, he took out of his pocket a phial of oil, and, pouring it upon his head, pronounced and ſaluted him king of Iſrael; at the ſame time admoniſhing him, that this diſtinguiſhed honour was conferred on him, to the intent that he might revenge the injuries which the Hebrews had received from the Philiſtines, and defend them from all future attacks of their enemies.

When Saul returned home, he was cloſely queſtioned by his kinſman Abner, for whom he entertained a particular friendſhip, relative to the incidents of his journey; all of which he readily communicated to him, ſave that which regarded his advancement to the regal dignity; being apprehenſive, from his knowledge of the frailty of human nature, that, if this circumſtance ſhould obtain belief, he ſhould draw upon himſelf the envy and jealouſy of his relations, or incur the cenſure of being a weak and vain young man.

An aſſembly of the people being ſoon afterwards convened at Mizpeh, Samuel reminded them of the obligations they were under to the God of Iſrael, and to the obſervance of his laws: that they had rejected the government of God, when they deſired a king; and in compliance with their wiſhes, he had anointed one to rule over them. They obeyed; and Saul, the ſon of Kiſh, of the family of Matri, of the tribe of Benjamin, was thus elected to the high office in queſtion*. The very moment that the election was finiſhed, Saul privately withdrew himſelf from the aſſembly, in order to avoid the congratulations of his new ſubjects. A rare example of modeſty and prudence, in one thus ſuddenly advanced from a private ſtation to the ſupreme government of a numerous and mighty people!

The prophet, upon the appearance of Saul, preſented him to the people, who received him with the loudeſt

ſhall chuſe," plainly ſignifies that they ſhould take care, when they demanded a king, that they thought of none other than ſuch a king, who was to be GOD'S DEPUTY. As therefore court ambition was only in the wicked view of the ringleaders of theſe mal-contents, and no fooliſh fears for the ſtate, or hopes of bettering the public adminiſtration, it is evident to all acquainted with the genius of this time and people, that compliance with their demand muſt have ended in the utter deſtruction of the Moſaical *religion* as well as *law*. But it was God's purpoſe to keep them ſeparate, in order to preſerve the memory of himſelf amidſt an idolatrous world; and this not being to be done but by the preſervation of their religion and law, we muſt needs conclude he would not give way to their rebellious demand.

* But, we are told, 1 Sam. x. 27. "that the children of Belial (or of iniquity) deſpiſed him, and brought him no preſents," they did not come to wiſh him a happy reign, or to pay him homage. They were probably men of power and fortune, who deſpiſed him on account of his tribe and family: but as he paſſed by their affront without notice, he ſhewed both his magnanimity and his prudence.

loudeſt acclamations of joy; Samuel noticed to them, at the ſame time, the ſuperior height of his perſon, and his majeſtic mien. The prophet afterwards returned to Ramah, the place of his abode, and Saul repaired to Gibeah, his native city. A numerous train of perſons accompanied him thither, from motives of duty and reſpect; but with theſe were intermingled a number of profligate wretches, who behaved with the moſt contemptuous inſolence, not only towards their loyal fellow-ſubjects, but even towards the prince himſelf.

Within the courſe of a month after the acceſſion of Saul to the ſupreme authority, a war broke out between the Ammonites and the Hebrews, in the courſe of which he acquired conſiderable renown. Nahaſh, the king of the Ammonites, invaded the country of the Iſraelites beyond Jordan with a powerful army, where he ſubdued ſeveral cities, and ſpread deſolation throughout the land. This prince, not contented with reducing the inhabitants to ſlavery, in order to prevent even the poſſibility of their revolting, put out the right eye not only of his priſoners, but alſo of thoſe who yielded themſelves on capitulation; and thus, as in battle the left eye was conſtantly covered with the buckler, rendered them totally incapable of ſerving in the field.

Nahaſh ſends an inſulting meſſage to the Gileadites.

Nahaſh afterwards marched his army into the country of the Gileadites, ſituated on this ſide Jordan, and encamped near Jabeſh, the capital of the province. He ſent a ſummons to the inhabitants, peremptorily requiring them to ſubmit without delay to the cruel conditions above-mentioned, and threatening, in caſe of refuſal, to deſtroy the place, and to put the citizens to the ſword. Theſe people were at firſt much divided in their ſentiments, whether they ſhould return a reſolute or a ſubmiſſive anſwer to this ſummons; and they at length determined to ſteer a middle courſe, and ſent a meſſage to Nahaſh, requeſting that he would grant them a truce for ſeven days, during which time they might ſend to their allies for aſſiſtance; and promiſing, in caſe their applications ſhould prove unſucceſsful, either to yield themſelves upon the terms propoſed by him, or to march out and give him battle. To theſe conditions Nahaſh, influenced by the moſt conſummate contempt of the whole Hebrew nation, readily aſſented*.

The Gileadites, accordingly, diſpatched expreſſes to all parts of the country, to acquaint their neighbours with the imminent danger to which they were expoſed; but, though their ſituation was univerſally deplored, yet no one dared to ſtir in their defence; and the people of Gibeah, where Saul kept his court, were not leſs infected than the reſt with this extreme dread and apprehenſion of the power of the Ammonites.

Saul, who had been ſome time abſent from the capital, chanced to return juſt at this time; and, having learnt the cauſe of the apparent ſorrow and conſternation of the people, he, actuated by a divine impulſe, ſent back ſome of the meſſengers, with orders to aſſure their fellow-citizens that he would deliver them from their enemies in the courſe of three days, and that the riſing ſun ſhould behold the total defeat and deſtruction of the haughty foe; and the reſt he retained with him, to ſerve him in the capacity of guides.

CHAP. V.

SAUL defeats the AMMONITES, and is again anointed, and proclaimed King.

SAUL perceiving the great averſion of the people to engage in this war, and being ſatisfied that in the preſent caſe, the utmoſt diſpatch was neceſſary in aſſembling an army, deviſed the following expedient to induce them to take up arms: he firſt cut off the legs of a certain number of his own oxen, and then iſſued a proclamation, that the ſame ſhould be done to the oxen of all ſuch perſons as ſhould either refuſe or neglect to appear in arms on the next day, on the banks of the river Jordan; thence to follow him and Samuel where-ever it ſhould be deemed requiſite to lead them. The fear of incurring the above penalty influenced the people to that degree, that, at the preciſe time, they aſſembled to the number of 70,000 effective men, excluſive of a ſeparate body of 70,000, which were furniſhed by the tribe of Judah; as appeared by a muſter made near the city of Balam, which was the appointed place of rendezvous.

Saul defeats the Ammonites.

With this army Saul croſſed the river Jordan, and, after a march of about ten ſchæni during the night, at length halted on the ſpot which he had before fixed on for that purpoſe. At break of day the next morning, he ſeparated his army into three diviſions, and, ſuddenly breaking in upon the enemy's camp, defeated them with incredible ſlaughter; their king, Nahaſh, being among the number of the ſlain. He purſued the glorious advantage he had gained, and marched with his troops into the country of the Ammonites, which he utterly laid waſte, and re-conducted his army home, crowned with victory, and enriched by the ſpoils of their enemies. Theſe ſucceſſes acquired him great reputation; and thoſe of his ſubjects who had before taken every opportunity to manifeſt their contempt of him, were now the moſt zealous in his praiſe.

* Saul, indeed, had been appointed king; but not having as yet taken upon him the government, he lived in the ſame private manner as before: ſo that Nahaſh was perſuaded he could not levy an army in ſo ſhort a ſpace as ſeven days, and, conſequently, that there was no danger in granting them the reſpite they deſired.

At this period, Samuel propoſed that a ſecond convention of the people ſhould be held, with the view of confirming again the advancement of Saul to the ſupreme authority. They, accordingly, aſſembled at Gilgal, where the ſame ceremonies were repeated as had been uſed at the former election, in the ſight and hearing of all preſent. Thus was the Hebrew government changed, from a republican to a monarchical form. During the whole term of the adminiſtration of Moſes and Joſhua, it was ariſtocratic, and for the ſpace of eighteen years after the death of the latter, no one being inveſted with the ſupreme authority, the whole nation was involved in an abſolute anarchy. They were afterwards governed, for a conſiderable term of years, by certain magiſtrates, who were denominated *judges*; and to this form ſucceeded that of the regal government.

CHAP. VI.

The PHILISTINES are defeated by JONATHAN. SAUL's raſh Vow. His Offspring.

BEING eſtabliſhed in the regal authority, Saul aſſembled three thouſand men, ſelected from the body of the people; and two thouſand of them he commanded to accompany him to his reſidence at Beth-el, as a guard for his perſonal ſafety: he appointed the other thouſand to attend his ſon Jonathan, whom he had ordered to repair to Gibeah; near to which place Jonathan, with theſe thouſand men, attacked and conquered a caſtle belonging to the Philiſtines.

The Philiſtines oppreſs the Hebrews;

When the Philiſtines inhabiting the parts adjacent to Gibeah obtained advantage over the Hebrews, they did not only diſpoſſeſs them of their arms, but enjoined them againſt practiſing any handicraft branch, in which iron was a material; thereby ſubjecting them to the neceſſity of employing Philiſtine workmen to provide the iron-work, even for their domeſtic utenſils and implements of huſbandry. The Philiſtines poſſeſſed themſelves of the fords and paſſes, and having fortified their towns, they came into the field with an army of three hundred thouſand foot, thirty thouſand chariots, and ſix thouſand horſe, and eſtabliſhed their quarters at Michmaſh. When Saul had gained intelligence of theſe preparations, he repaired to Gilgal, and iſſued proclamations for all his people to take up arms againſt the enemy, whom he repreſented to be leſs formidable than they were in reality; but upon obtaining authentic information as to the military proweſs of the Philiſtines, an univerſal terror prevailed among the Hebrews, the greateſt part of whom paſſed the river Jordan, and fled to the tribes of Gad and Reuben for protection; the reſt concealed themſelves in caves, vaults, and ſuch other places as they imagined would ſhelter them from the vigilance of their adverſaries.

At this juncture Saul applied to the prophet Samuel, requeſting his advice for the regulation of his conduct in the preſent diſtreſsful ſtate of affairs. Samuel inſtructed him to remain in his preſent ſituation, and to prepare offerings to the Lord, ſaying, that at the expiration of ſeven days, he would himſelf attend the ceremony of oblation; after which he might give battle to the enemy. The appointed time was now arrived, and being continually abandoned by his ſoldiers, Saul became exceedingly impatient, and proceeded to offer up his ſacrifice; immediately upon the concluſion of which ceremony, the arrival of the prophet was announced. He cenſured Saul for having arrogated to himſelf the office of performing ſacrifice to God*. To extenuate the fault alledged againſt him, Saul urged, that he had waited the appointed time, but that the enemy having quitted Michmaſh, and directed their march towards Gilgal, had greatly intimidated his men, many of whom had deſerted; and that on theſe conſiderations, he was compelled to offer up the ſacrifice, leſt he ſhould be intirely abandoned by his followers. In reply to this, Samuel reproved him for having neglected a rigid obſervance of his direction, which he declared to be a meſſage from the Almighty himſelf; adding, that a compliance therewith would have effectually ſecured the government to him and his poſterity; and he then returned home, much diſpleaſed with the conduct of Saul. Attended only by ſix hundred men, and his ſon Jonathan, Saul removed to Gibeah, the Hebrews having been prohibited (as before obſerved) the manufacturing of iron, and the majority of his followers being deſtitute of arms.

and ravage their territories.

The Philiſtine army, being divided into three bodies, penetrated into the country of the Hebrews by three different roads, and, as they proceeded, ravaged and laid waſte the territories of their afflicted adverſaries. Saul, Jonathan, and Abiah, the high-prieſt, beheld the mercileſs devaſtation from an eminence, and ſeverely regretted that they were not in a ſtate ſufficiently formidable to repel the invaders. Theſe outrages ſo exaſperated Jonathan, that he determined upon a brave enterpriſe for the preſervation of his country; and queſtioned his armour-bearer, whether he would ſhare with him the danger and glory of the generous attempt. He conſented, and bound himſelf by the ſolemnity of an oath, to put his life on the iſſue of

* The wickedneſs of Saul, on this occaſion, conſiſted partly in his encroaching upon the office of the prieſt and prophet, in not waiting for Samuel, in his endeavouring to palliate his fault by throwing it upon the prophet, and not ſhewing any ſigns of remorſe, compunction, or repentance. Samuel had expreſsly promiſed to come and offer ſacrifice; but Saul offered the ſacrifice himſelf. Samuel had enjoined him to wait ſeven days for him; but he offered on the ſeventh day in the morning: and, laſtly, Samuel had aſſured him, that he would direct him what meaſures to take; but, inſtead of this, he intended to commence his military operations without the prophet's advice.

the

the plot. Jonathan propoſed, that they ſhould ſecretly gain admittance to the camp of the enemy, and endeavour to throw them into confuſion by a ſudden and unexpected attack. The Philiſtines were encamped on a ſpot of ground of a triangular ſhape, bounded on all ſides by rocks, which rendered it nearly inacceſſible. Jonathan, to encourage his armour-bearer to behave himſelf courageouſly on the occaſion, told him, that if, in climbing up the rocks, they ſhould be diſcovered and ſpoken to by the enemy, he might conſider the circumſtance as a certain preſage of their ſucceſs; but, if the contrary ſhould happen, they muſt abandon the enterpriſe.

When they had nearly reached the camp, they were eſpied by ſome of the Philiſtines, who obſerved to each other in deriſion, that there were two of the Iſraelites who had ventured out of their lurking-holes; calling to Jonathan and his companion to draw nearer, to receive the reward of their raſhneſs. This incident afforded Jonathan the greateſt ſatisfaction; and having, with much danger and difficulty, at length attained the top of the rocks, he and his armour-bearer ſuddenly entered a part of the camp where the enemy were aſleep, and ſlew about twenty before they were ſenſible of his approach. The boldneſs of this attempt threw the Philiſtines into inexpreſſible confuſion; ſome abandoning their arms, and endeavouring to ſave themſelves by flight; ſome part of the army being compoſed of different nations, fell by the hands of each other, their terror not permitting them to diſtinguiſh friend from foe; many ruſhed upon death, merely from the very apprehenſion of it; and the number of thoſe who periſhed by theſe various means was very conſiderable.

Valiant exploit of Jonathan.

Saul, having by this time received intelligence that an extraordinary commotion prevailed in the camp of the Philiſtines, ordered inſtant inquiry to be made whether any of his own people were abſent; and being informed that Jonathan and his armour-bearer had ſecretly withdrawn themſelves, he commanded the high-prieſt to habit himſelf in his ſacerdotal veſtments, and to offer up prayers to God for inſtructions how to proceed on the occaſion. This being done, the high-prieſt acquainted Saul, that it was God's pleaſure that he ſhould immediately attack the enemy, in full confidence of obtaining a complete victory; which injunction Saul joyfully obeyed. In the intermediate time, ſuch of the Hebrews as had concealed themſelves in the hidden places of the rocks, having learnt what had happened in the camp of the Philiſtines, aſſembled to the number of nearly ten thouſand men, and putting themſelves under the conduct of their king, attacked the enemy with ſuch impetuoſity, that they ſoon put them to the rout, and purſued them to a conſiderable diſtance with great ſlaughter. But Saul, either through inadvertency, or infatuated perhaps with this unexpected and ſignal ſucceſs, fell into an error which nearly proved of the moſt fatal conſequence to his repoſe, and embittered even the ſweets of conqueſt. From a ſtrong deſire of taking a complete revenge on the enemy, he ordered that the purſuit ſhould be continued, without intermiſſion, till night; and vowed to puniſh with death any perſon who ſhould allow himſelf the leiſure even to eat or drink, till the chace ſhould be at an end †; and this denunciation was ratified by all the people who were with him at the time. Jonathan, however, who was totally unacquainted with the foregoing circumſtance, in paſſing ſoon afterwards through a wood, in the diſtrict of the tribe of Ephraim, perceived ſome bees at work, and taking a honey-comb, began to ſuck it; but, being informed by thoſe who were next him of all the particulars relative to his father's vow, he inſtantly deſiſted, and threw the comb to the ground; but not without ſome reflections on the impropriety of his father's conduct, in interdicting ſuch refreſhment to the people as might enable them to purſue the enemy with the greater alacrity.

Saul's raſh execration cenſured.

Saul was very deſirous of exterminating the wretched remainder of the Philiſtines; nor were the troops leſs anxious to effect this point than their leader. But he determined to conſult the will of God, with reſpect to the matter in queſtion, before he ſhould proceed in his deſign; and he therefore ordered Architob, the high-prieſt, to make application to God for his inſtructions on this head. Architob returned for anſwer, that the oracle was ſilent. Saul obſerved, that the ſilence of the Almighty, in this caſe, certainly proceeded from ſome ſecret and important cauſe, as, at other times, he had been accuſtomed to intimate his pleaſure to them, without any application on their part; adding, with a ſolemn oath, that he would put to death that perſon who ſhould be found by his iniquity to have ſubjected them to this dilemma, even ſhould his own ſon Jonathan be diſcovered to be the offender.

This declaration was highly applauded by the people, and Saul ordered the lot to be caſt; himſelf and his ſon ſtanding, during the time, ſome little diſtance from the reſt. When it was perceived that the lot had fallen upon Jonathan, his father bid him recollect what ſecret crime he had lately committed, and to make an open confeſſion thereof before all the people. Jonathan replied, that he had no fault to charge himſelf with, ſave that of having taſted, during the purſuit on the day before, a little honey; being totally ignorant, at the time, of the prohibition iſſued by his father. Saul aſſured him, with an oath, that his life ſhould pay the forfeiture of his diſobedience: as he preferred the religious obſervance of his vow, before every conſideration of parental tenderneſs and affection.

Jonathan reſcued by the people.

The generous youth, not at all diſmayed at the proſpect of death, calmly anſwered, that he ſhould readily relinquiſh his life, for the ſake of enabling his father to releaſe

† The execration of Saul was fit only for a madman to utter, and than which nothing could be more extravagant, unleſs it was what immediately followed in this paſſage, namely, by his laying himſelf under an execration to cut the throat of his ſon Jonathan, for taſting a little honey, without knowing that he had incurred his father's curſe upon account of it.

himſelf from the obligation of a ſacred bond; and that the reflection that he had been, in ſome degree, inſtrumental in revenging the injuries which the Hebrews had ſo long ſuſtained from the Philiſtines, would afford him ample conſolation under all his ſufferings. The noble conſtancy manifeſted by Jonathan on this trying occaſion, affected the people to that degree, that they forcibly reſcued him out of the hands of his enraged father; unanimouſly declaring, with the moſt ſolemn oaths, that they would not permit the leaſt injury to be done to the man to whom they were ſo largely indebted for the victory of the preceding day; beſeeching God to pardon a fault, into which he had been miſled by ignorance alone.

After this remarkable victory, in which the number ſlain on the ſide of the Philiſtines amounted to nearly ſixty thouſand men, Saul returned to his capital, where he long enjoyed an uninterrupted ſeries of proſperity, and acquired immortal fame by the repeated advantages which he obtained over the Ammonites, the Moabites, the Philiſtines, the Edomites, and the people of Zoba‡. He had three ſons, whoſe names were Jonathan, Joſhua, and Melchiſhui: and two daughters, the eldeſt of whom was named Merab, and the other Michal. His army was commanded by Abner, the ſon of his uncle, Ner; Kiſh, the father of Saul, and Ner, were the ſons of Abiel. He had a numerous army of infantry, cavalry, and chariots; and from every encounter with his enemies, he conſtantly returned victorious. His guards were remarkable for their martial appearance and deportment. In ſhort, under his reign, the Iſraelites attained to a height of reputation and power, which rendered them at once both the envy and terror of all the neighbouring nations.

CHAP. VII.

SAMUEL delivers a Meſſage from the LORD, enjoining SAUL to deſtroy the AMALEKITES. SAUL incurs the Diſpleaſure of GOD for ſparing the Life of King AGAG.

THE prophet Samuel repreſented to Saul, that he had received an expreſs command from the Almighty, to remind him of his duty to the Creator of the univerſe, and the King of kings, who had exalted him to the regal dignity; and that it was the pleaſure of God he ſhould proſecute a war againſt the Amalekites, and utterly extirpate the whole race; that no advantage ſhould be made of the property of the people, and that their cattle, goods, and other poſſeſſions, ſhould be intirely deſtroyed, and, according to the prediction of Moſes, even the name of Amalek expunged from the hiſtory of mankind. Theſe judgments were denounced againſt the Amalekites, as a juſt puniſhment for their iniquities.

Saul engaged to execute with all poſſible diſpatch the inſtructions delivered to him by Samuel. He now aſſembled his followers at Gilgal, and upon a review of his forces, they appeared to conſiſt of forty thouſand men, excluſive of the tribe of Judah, which muſtered thirty thouſand. With this army Saul prepared to attack the Amalekites: he ſtationed ambuſhes upon the paſſes of the rivers and woods, ſo that the enemy could not move from their quarters without danger of being attacked by ſurpriſe. After ſome ſkirmiſhes, a general battle took place, and the Amalekites were totally defeated; great part of them being ſlaughtered during the battle, and excepting a very inconſiderable number, the reſt were effectually cut off in the purſuit. After this victory, in conformity to the divine prediction, Saul proceeded to attack the walled and fortified towns, and other places of ſtrength. Some of theſe he ſubdued by ſiege, and others by ſtratagem.

Saul's criminal lenity, in ſparing Agag.

King Agag was taken priſoner, and, merely from his being of an agreeable perſon, Saul determined to preſerve him from the common ruin: and this act of diſobedience was the foundation of the calamities afterwards experienced by the Hebrews. A conduct ſimilar to that of the king was adopted by the people, who converted the cattle and other valuable effects to their own uſe, and deſtroyed only what was not worth preſervation. Saul ravaged and laid waſte the whole country, extending from Peluſium, on the confines of Egypt, to the Red Sea.

After theſe great atchievements, Saul returned home, apparently reconciled to the idea that, in the important work of reducing the Amalekites, he had inviolably obſerved the directions communicated by the prophet Samuel. But the Lord was incenſed againſt Saul, for having diſregarded his commiſſion in ſparing the life of Agag, and ſuffering the people to make advantage of the plunder; and he was pleaſed to inform Samuel, that as Saul had proved himſelf inclined to purſue the dictates of his own inclination, rather than fulfil the orders intruſted to him, he repented having advanced him to the ſovereignty. The prophet was ſo greatly diſtreſſed by this revelation, that he employed the following night in fervent ſupplications in favour of Saul. In anſwer to theſe interceſſions, the Lord was pleaſed to ſay, "that to excuſe offences of ſuch magnitude as thoſe committed by Saul, would be an ill-placed mercy, and an encouragement for the perpetration of additional crimes."

Finding his prayers for obtaining the pardon of Saul to be ineffectual, he, the next morning, repaired to Gilgal. Upon his arrival, the king embraced him, and after a congratulatory thankſgiving for the late ſucceſſes, he obſerved, that he had, in every inſtance, acted in conformity to his commiſſion. Upon this, Samuel inquired reſpecting the bleating of ſheep which he heard in the camp. The king replied, that

‡ The kingdom of Zoba was a part of Syria, bounded by the river Euphrates on the eaſt, and by Damaſcus and the land of Canaan on the weſt. We are told in ſcripture, that it was under the government of ſeveral kings, 1 Sam. xiv. 27.

the

the ſound proceeded from ſome beaſts which the people had reſerved for ſacrifice; and ſaid, he had ſo effectually deſtroyed the Amalekites*, that only one man remained alive, and that he kept him priſoner, that he might be inſtructed in what manner to diſpoſe of him. Samuel ſaid, it was not ſacrifices, but the righteouſneſs of mankind that proved acceptable to the Almighty; who accounted the only true ſacrifice an obſervance of his ſacred will, without which the fat of beaſts, and offerings of gold and ſilver, he conſidered as oſtentations of pretended piety: but that from thoſe who inviolably obſerved the divine commandments, the moſt trifling offerings were received by the ſupreme Being with infinitely greater ſatisfaction than all the pomp of ceremony unaccompanied by a pious integrity of heart.

Samuel denounces God's diſpleaſure againſt Saul for diſobedience.

"I am now to reveal to you, ſaid Samuel, that you have incurred the diſpleaſure of the Almighty, by the contempt which you have ſhewn towards his commandments. As a puniſhment for your diſobedience to the declared pleaſure and expreſs command of God, you are doomed to be deprived of the ſovereignty, and of the authority which you have groſsly abuſed, in violation of the reverence due to the ſupreme Being, by whom you were exalted to the regal ſtate." Saul admitted that he had been guilty of an heinous tranſgreſſion, in exceeding the commiſſion delivered to him by the prophet; and in extenuation of his crime, he uſed no other argument, than that the ſoldiers were ſo reſolutely determined to plunder the enemy, that he dreaded the conſequence of an attempt to reſtrain their violence: and he intreated Samuel to obtain a pardon from the Lord, promiſing, that the offence of which he had been guilty ſhould be a warning for the better regulation of his future conduct. Having made this declaration of his ſincere repentance, he endeavoured to prevail upon Samuel to continue with him ſome longer time, in order to avert the vengeance of heaven; but, being ſenſible that his mediation would prove ineffectual, the prophet expreſſed his unwillingneſs to comply with that requeſt.

CHAP. VIII.

SAUL is rejected, and DAVID proclaimed King of ISRAEL.

WHEN Samuel was about to leave Saul, the latter, in order to delay his departure, caught hold of the garment of the prophet, who endeavoured to diſengage himſelf, and in the conteſt the mantle was rent; which accident Samuel applied by an alluſion, telling Saul, that the government of the kingdom would be torn from him, and a man of piety, juſtice and probity, appointed as the ſucceſſor to his throne. "This ſentence, (ſaid he,) is paſſed, and the threatening of God concerning you is irrevocable." Having confeſſed that the diſpleaſure of the Almighty was due to his iniquities, Saul intreated the prophet to return with him, that he might humble himſelf before his offended Creator: Samuel complied, and they joined in the worſhip of the Lord. The devotions being concluded, Agag, the king of the Amalekites, was brought forth. He had been heard to make uſe of ſome expreſſions concerning the terrors of death, and theſe were retorted upon him by the prophet, who ſaid to him: "Many an Hebrew mother hath been overwhelmed with affliction by thy deſtructive ſword; it is, therefore, juſt that thy mother be numbered among thoſe who are childleſs." Having given orders for putting Agag immediately to death, the prophet returned to Ramah. This was the laſt interview between Saul and Samuel.

God commands Samuel to anoint David king.

Saul repaired to his palace at Gibea, in the full perſuaſion that his contempt of the divine commands had produced his ſad reverſe of fortune. Samuel was greatly diſtreſſed on account of the ſeparation: but the Lord commanded him to ſuppreſs his uneaſineſs, and, providing himſelf with a cruſe of holy oil, to repair to Bethlehem, and there anoint one of the ſons of Jeſſe, the ſon of Obed, king of Iſrael; ſaying, that the party adjudged worthy to ſupport the regal dignity, ſhould be diſtinguiſhed to him from his brethren. On the arrival of the prophet, the people of Bethlehem anxiouſly inquired as to the cauſe of his journey: he gave them a general anſwer, ſaying, that his buſineſs was to perform ſacrifice.

The holy ceremony being concluded, the prophet invited Jeſſe and his ſons to dine with him. He was ſtruck with admiration by the graceful form and deportment of the elder ſon; and concluded that he was the perſon deſtined to fill the throne. But upon aſking whether he was the man to be anointed, he was anſwered in the negative; and told, that the Almighty judged not from external excellencies: but that the qualifications moſt acceptable to him, were piety, juſtice, fortitude, and the other virtues which harmoniſe and compoſe the beauty of the hu-

* The exciſion of the Amalekites had been determined by God about four hundred years before this tranſaction. Balaam in his viſion confirms this doom. The order to cut them intirely off was renewed by God ſeveral years afterwards; and agreeable to this order, Saul ſet out on this expedition. It may be obſerved alſo, that they continued inveterate enemies to the Hebrews, and joined with their adverſaries, whenever they could, to enſlave and deſtroy them; particularly with the Midianites, Judg. vi. 2, 3, 33. Nay, this very order to Saul, utterly to deſtroy them, ſeems to have been given becauſe they had, together with Moab, Edom, the kings of Zobah, and the Philiſtines, invaded and ſpoiled them; chap. xiv. 48. The Iſraelites, therefore, had a right to revenge themſelves on them, as they were aggreſſors by the law of nature and nations, and utterly to extirpate them too, if that was neceſſary for their own preſervation; and were obliged to do it, if God commanded them. God did command it. And will any man diſpute the right of God to deſtroy an incorrigible nation by peſtilence, earthquake, ſtorm, or famine? As no ſenſible perſon can deny this, how then can he deny the right of God to deſtroy them by the ſword? If this right in God be allowed, then his giving it in command to Saul, by Samuel, was not unworthy of him, and Saul ought to have done it in the full extent of his commiſſion.

man ſoul. Upon this, Samuel requeſted the attendance of the other ſons, and five more appeared, who, in point of perſonal advantages, he found in no reſpect inferior to their elder brother.

The names of theſe ſix ſons of Jeſſe were Eliab, Abinadab, Samma, Nathanael, Rael, and Aſa. Samuel, having conſulted the Almighty on which of theſe brethren he had determined to confer the ſovereignty, received for anſwer, that neither of them was the man on whom he had fixed his choice. The prophet then inquired of Jeſſe, what other ſons he had; who replied, that he had only one more, who was employed in tending his flocks, and was named David. Samuel deſired that he might be ſent for; ſaying, it was but right that he ſhould be admitted to partake of the repaſt. The phyſiognomy of this youth prepoſſeſſed every beholder in his favour; he being of a florid complexion, with ſomething of a martial air, and a countenance highly expreſſive of modeſty and benevolence. Immediately upon his entrance, Samuel whiſpered Jeſſe that this was the youth whom God had deſtined to reign over his people. The prophet ſeated him next himſelf; the father and the reſt of his children taking their places below him. Samuel then anointed* David, and told him in a whiſper, it was the pleaſure of the Almighty that he ſhould aſſume the government of the kingdom; enjoining him to a ſtrict adminiſtration of juſtice, and a due reverence to the commands of God; and aſſuring him, that, by ſuch a conduct, he would eſtabliſh himſelf in the government, ſubdue the Philiſtines, and all his other enemies, and perpetuate his fame to the lateſt poſterity.

CHAP. IX.

GOLIATH, the Champion of the PHILISTINES, defies the ISRAELITES, [illegible] ſlain by DAVID.

The Philiſtines renew the war.

SOME ſhort time afterwards, the Philiſtines entered the country of the Hebrews, and encamped with a vaſt army between the cities of Shecoth and Azekah. Saul obliged them to quit this ſituation; and they eſtabliſhed their quarters on a mountain, oppoſite to that which was occupied by the Iſraelites. In the army of the Philiſtines was a man of prodigious ſtature and ſtrength, named Goliath, a native of Gath. He meaſured in height ſix cubits and a ſpan, and the armour which he wore was proportioned to his vaſt bulk and force: his coat of mail weighing five thouſand ſhekels, and the head of his ſpear, which was of iron, ſix hundred ſhekels: this ſpear he bore upon his ſhoulder, it being too ponderous to be carried in the hand, as lances generally are.

Thus equipped, this prodigy of nature deſcended into the valley between the above-mentioned mountains, accompanied by a numerous body of armed Philiſtines, and, with a voice in the higheſt degree expreſſive of his extraordinary ſize and ſtrength, he uttered the following defiance in the ears of the Hebrews: "Prompted by a deſire of preventing the effuſion of human blood, I come hither, ye men of Iſrael, to propoſe to you a deciſion of the conteſt between the two nations, by ſingle combat. I here offer myſelf as a champion on the part of the Philiſtines; and if you will ſend ſome perſon with a like commiſſion from your nation, the prevailing differences may eaſily be ſettled, without proceeding to a general battle. If he chance to vanquiſh me, then will we be your ſervants; but if I prove victorious, ye ſhall be ſubjected to us: for it is better that one man only ſhould be expoſed to deſtruction, than a whole army." At the concluſion of his ſpeech, he returned to the camp; and this defiance he regularly repeated during the courſe of forty days; the Hebrews being highly chagrined to remain thus long inactive, in ſight of the enemy.

Among the troops of Saul, were three of the ſons of Jeſſe; but David had been ſent back to his father, at the commencement of the war, to his former employ of tending the ſheep. Having been diſpatched to the camp, by Jeſſe, on a certain day, to carry proviſions to his brethren, and to inquire after their welfare, he chanced to hear Goliath reproaching and execrating the Iſraelites, with more than uſual virulence, for their cowardice in declining his repeated challenges. David, who was engaged at the time in converſation with his brethren, could not contain his emotion on the occaſion, and reſolutely declared his willingneſs to encounter this haughty boaſter; but Eliab, the eldeſt ſon of his brethren, ſharply reprehended him for his raſhneſs; bidding him, in deriſion, return to the care of his flocks, as being far the more ſuitable employment for one ſo young and inexperienced.

David deſires to fight the giant.

From reſpect for his brother, David was ſilent for the preſent; but, when he was about to quit the camp, having again mentioned, in the hearing of ſeveral of the ſoldiers, his deſire to engage the giant, they immediately carried the intelligence to Saul, who ordered him to be brought before him, and queſtioned whether he had made any declaration of the kind related by the ſoldiers. David replied in the affirmative; and aſſured the king, that, with his permiſſion, he would quickly render this arrogant Philiſtine as contempti-

* He ſingled him out from the reſt, and privately anointed him: for it is plain, from what is ſaid before, that Samuel was afraid to have it known, and therefore did not anoint him publicly in the midſt of his brethren. And by Eliab's treatment of David, after this, 1 Sam. xvii. 28. it is evident, that he did not know him to be anointed king over Iſrael. David himſelf might be as ignorant of the preciſe intention of Samuel in this ceremony as his brethren, becauſe it was cuſtomary to anoint a perſon for the Prophetic office as well as the Regal. Samuel's not revealing this ſecret to David, ſhewed his prudence; becauſe, if it had got wind before the proper criſis, it would have endangered both their lives.

DAVID anointed KING of ISRAEL.

ble as he at preſent appeared to be formidable; adding, that the glory redounding to the nation from ſuch a conqueſt would be the greater, as being obtained by a raw and inexperienced youth. Saul was ſtruck with amazement at the courage of David, but he dared not intruſt the deciſion of ſo important a cauſe to one whom he deemed, from his want of years and judgment, to be ſo inadequate to the taſk.

David, clearly perceiving in the countenance of the king what paſſed in his mind, endeavoured to diſpel his doubts by the following words: "It is not, Sire, ſo much the Hebrew army, as the omnipotence of heaven itſelf which this wretch dares thus impiouſly to defy; nor ſhould the combat be conſidered as a conteſt between Goliath and David, but between Goliath and the Lord of Hoſts, who ſometimes deigns to effect the moſt glorious purpoſes by the agency of the weakeſt and meaneſt inſtruments. I confide in that almighty power, for the like aid and protection which he has been graciouſly pleaſed to afford me on former occaſions. It chanced on a time, as I was tending the flocks of my father, that a lion entered the fold, and carried off a lamb: I purſued the furious beaſt, and, ſeizing him by the tail, daſhed him againſt the ground with ſo much force, that he inſtantly yielded up his life at my feet. In the like manner I, ſome time afterwards, encountered a bear with ſimilar ſucceſs. I do not conſider this Philiſtine as a more formidable foe than a lion or a bear; but, on the contrary, am firmly perſuaded, that God will make me the humble inſtrument of that puniſhment which he will inflict on this audacious and blaſpheming wretch."

Saul conſents, and arms him for the combat.

Saul was now convinced, from the manner in which theſe words were uttered, that the youth was actuated by a divine impulſe, and therefore no longer heſitated to grant the requeſted permiſſion. To prepare him for the combat, he equipped him in his own ſuit of armour; but David found, that theſe arms were likely to prove rather an incumbrance than a defence to him, and therefore deſired leave to lay them aſide; modeſtly obſerving, that they were better adapted to the uſe of the ſkilful warrior, than of the inexperienced ſhepherd. Having reſumed his own habit, he took his ſhepherd's ſtaff and his ſling *; and putting five ſmooth ſtones, which he had collected from the brook, into his wallet, he advanced towards his antagoniſt, who ran, as well as he was able under ſo cumbrous a load of armour, to meet him. When Goliath perceived the diminutive ſtature of his adverſary, and the uncommon weapons with which he had provided himſelf for the encounter, he aſked him, with ineffable contempt, whether he imagined that he was come thither to beat a dog, or to engage in combat with one ſkilled in the uſe of arms. David replied, that he conſidered him as far worſe than a dog. Theſe words inflamed the Philiſtine with ſuch violence of rage, that he vented the moſt bitter execrations againſt David, and declared that he would give his dead carcaſe for food to the fowls of the air, and the beaſts of the field. "You," ſaid David, "come to the field clad in a coat of mail, and armed with a ſword and ſpear; but my armour is the commiſſion which I have received from the living God, who will this day, by my agency, deliver both yourſelf and your army into the hands of the Hebrews; and I ſhall, ere night, ſeparate your head from your body, and throw your carcaſe upon the dunghill, to be devoured by dogs, of whoſe nature you ſo nearly partake. And this event ſhall convince mankind, that the God of the Iſraelites makes the ſafety of his people his peculiar care; and that neither arms nor numbers can afford any protection to thoſe who incur his reſentment." Goliath was ſo much prepoſſeſſed with a contempt of the youth, and the inexperience of his antagoniſt, that theſe words made not the leaſt impreſſion on him, and he eagerly preſſed forward to the combat.

* Though we ſhould not urge David's confidence in the divine aſſiſtance to clear him from the imputation of raſhneſs in this glorious undertaking, yet his conduct may be vindicated. So far is there from any appearance of raſhneſs, that David ſeems rather to have had the advantage. The Philiſtine was armed with heavy armour, a ſword, a ſpear, and a ſhield; and therefore David, though a ſtripling, was quite ſafe whilſt he kept the ſtalking monſter from coming near him; and had this peculiar advantage over him, that he could ſtrike him at a diſtance, and if he had miſſed him once, had more chances of hitting him, and at laſt could have run away; whereas the ſword, the ſpear, and the ſhield of his enemy, were wholly inſignificant, as theſe could only be employed againſt him in a cloſe encounter. David was dexterous at his ſling, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, and could ſcarce fail of his blow whilſt he had ſo huge an object to aim at. The ſling was an offenſive weapon uſed in war, and it was reckoned an exceeding uſeful qualification for a ſoldier to be exerciſed in it. They were brought up to, and frequently exerciſed in it, and attained to an amazing dexterity in the uſe of it; inſomuch that we read, that they "could ſling ſtones at an hair's breadth, and not miſs."

CHAP. X.

The Death of GOLIATH. The PHILISTINES are purſued and defeated by the HEBREWS. SAUL conceives a mortal Envy and Hatred againſt DAVID.

David kills Goliath with a ſtone and a ſling.

THE eagerneſs which David manifeſted to proceed to action was not at all inferior to that of his adverſary, being incited by his all-powerful and inviſible Protector; and, when the combatants had advanced within a certain diſtance of each other, David took one of the ſtones from his wallet, and, placing it in his ſling, hurled it with ſuch force at the giant, that it fractured his ſkull, and killed him. David inſtantly ran towards the ſpot, and, unſheathing his enemy's ſword, ſtruck off his head therewith.

The Philiſtines are overcome with great ſlaughter

The army of the Philiſtines was thrown into ſo great a conſternation by this defeat of their champion, that they inſtantly fled in the utmoſt confuſion; and were purſued

ſued by the Hebrews as far as the frontiers of Gath, and to the very gates of Aſcalon. On this occaſion full thirty thouſand of the Philiſtines were ſlain, and the wounded amounted to nearly double that number. The Hebrews, upon their return from the purſuit, plundered the enemy's camp, and afterwards ſet it on fire. The head of Goliath was preſerved by David as a trophy, and he offered the ſword as an oblation to the Lord.

When Saul was upon his return with the army, he was met upon the road by the women and maidens of the ſeveral cities through which he paſſed, who came out in troops, to gratulate him on his ſucceſſes, with muſic and ſongs of triumph; the women leading the chorus with the words, "Saul has ſlain his thouſands!" and the virgins replying, "And David his ten thouſands!" From this circumſtance, Saul conceived the ridiculous notion, that he ſhould be no longer ſafe on his throne, while David continued about his perſon; and he, therefore, removed him from the poſt he held in his guards, and advanced him to the command of a thouſand men, in hopes that he might fall in ſome of the enterpriſes in which, from the nature of his new dignity, he would be frequently engaged.

David, on the other hand, was ſo highly favoured by the Almighty, that he eſcaped all the ſnares ſpread for his deſtruction; and not only acquired the univerſal eſteem of the people for his valour and conduct, but alſo made a ſtrong impreſſion on the heart of Michal, the king's youngeſt daughter. Saul ſoon perceived the growing paſſion of the maiden, and would ſometimes inſinuate, in the courſe of converſation, that he ſhould not be altogether averſe to the match, on certain conditions: meaning by this conduct, to lure David into a ſnare which might lead to his deſtruction, to which point all his machinations tended.

Saul, at this time, made declaration to ſome of his courtiers, that he was willing to give his daughter in marriage to David, on condition that he ſhould bring him the heads of ſix hundred Philiſtines. This propoſition he ſuppoſed would naturally engage David, who he knew was ever ready to attend the calls of glory, in ſome dangerous enterpriſe againſt the Philiſtines; preferring that he ſhould be taken off by their hands, rather than by his own immediate command. He alſo employed ſome of his emiſſaries to ſound David on the ſubject of the match in queſtion; who repreſented to him, that the favour which he had acquired both with the prince and the people was ſuch, that a report was current, that Saul intended to confer his daughter on him in marriage; but David rejected their intelligence, as improbable.

Saul lays a ſnare for David.

They were a ſecond time diſpatched by Saul, on the ſame buſineſs, with inſtructions to acquaint David, in his name, that the want of riches he ſhould conſider as no objection in the perſon whom he ſhould conſent to accept as a ſon-in-law; being determined to beſtow, and not to ſell his daughter, whenever he ſhould part with her; and that he required nothing further from him, than to bring him the heads of ſix hundred of the Philiſtines*; which would be the moſt acceptable preſent he could offer, both to himſelf and his daughter; and would, moreover, by the bravery of the action, fully juſtify her in her choice to the world. David, totally unaware of the ſiniſter deſign of Saul in this propoſal, gave himſelf no concern with reſpect to the difficulty and danger of the enterpriſe, but inſtantly concerted the proper meaſures with his companions for carrying it into execution. He accordingly gave battle to the enemy, routed them with great ſlaughter, and delivered to the king the number of ſlain required.

CHAP. XI.

Evil Practices of SAUL againſt the Life of DAVID, whom JONATHAN warns of his Danger.

ALTHOUGH Saul, to avoid the reproach of a breach of faith, had now given his daughter to David in marriage, yet this cloſe alliance did not in the leaſt alter his diſpoſition towards him. For, remarking that David increaſed daily in the favour and eſteem of God and man, he became violently apprehenſive, that both his crown and life were in danger, from the attempts of the youth; and, to ſecure both, reſolved to put him to death in the moſt ſecret manner poſſible; to the performance of which office he deſtined his own ſon Jonathan, and a certain number of his moſt faithful domeſtics. Jonathan was greatly amazed to ſee the late affection which his father bore to David, thus ſuddenly converted into the extremity of hatred; and, ſtruck with horror at the baſe and treacherous deſign meditated by Saul, inſtantly communicated to David the whole matter; and adviſed him to fly with all ſpeed, as the only means of preſerving his life. Jonathan further promiſed to learn from his father the cauſe of this extraordinary enmity towards the youth, and to endeavour to influence him in his favour; obſerving, that he knew of no fault committed by David, which could juſtify the king's indignation; and that, ſhould he accidentally have fallen into any trifling errors, the ſervices which he had rendered both to his ſovereign and to

* The only juſt reaſons that could vindicate Saul in commanding, and David in executing his command, to cut off ſuch a number of Philiſtines, were either God's order, or their being at war with the Philiſtines, or the neceſſity of it to weaken their enemies, the ſafety of their country, the ſecurity of their liberty, and ſuch like motives: and if theſe motives concurred to juſtify David in accepting the condition of becoming Saul's ſon-in-law, by bringing the ſtipulated number, his bringing more was yet a higher ſervice to the public; and ſo far from being any breach of the rules of religion and morality, as that it was a proof of real patriotiſm and public ſpirit, highly merited the thanks of his king and country, and rendered him worthy of the honor intended him. In 1 Sam. xviii. 25. Saul's demand is an hundred fore-ſkins (not heads) of the Philiſtines.

his



And Saul cast the javelin; for he said, I will smite David even to the Wall with it, and David avoided out of his presence twice.

his country, made ample compenſation for them all. He then aſſured David, that he would, from time to time, give him intelligence of his father's proceedings; after which they ſeparated, and David, in conformity to the advice of Jonathan, retired to a place of ſafety, to avoid the reſentment of the king.

On the following day, Jonathan, obſerving that his father was in a placid diſpoſition of mind, took the opportunity to ſpeak to him in favour of David. "It appears to me," ſaid he, "very extraordinary, that you ſhould have conceived ſo violent a hatred againſt this young man, without the leaſt apparent cauſe. Our whole nation is highly indebted to him, not only for the deſtruction of the Philiſtines, but for his victory over the giant, whoſe repeated challenges, for the term of forty ſucceſſive days, ſo deeply affected our national honour; and which no one had courage ſufficient to vindicate, ſave the youth in queſtion. He is doubly entitled to your eſteem, both as a man of great perſonal courage, and alſo as being your ſon-in-law; an honour which he purchaſed on your own terms, by preſenting you with the heads of ſix hundred Philiſtines. Reflect, I pray thee, on the grief which our whole family muſt feel for the loſs of this worthy youth; particularly your own daughter, who, by his death, will be reduced to the pitiable condition of widowhood before ſhe has experienced the happineſs of the maternal ſtate. Be pleaſed to recollect alſo, the relief which you have received from him in thoſe hours when poſſeſſed with that malignant ſpirit which has ſo often of late deprived you of your repoſe; and to entertain ſentiments more worthy of yourſelf, and of the man to whom our family is ſo highly obligated." Theſe arguments made ſo ſtrong an impreſſion on the mind of Saul, that he declared, with a ſolemn oath, that he would never, in the ſlighteſt degree, be guilty of any violence towards David, for the time to come. This welcome intelligence Jonathan immediately communicated to David, who returned with him, thereupon, to court, and reſumed his attendance on the perſon of the king *.

CHAP. XII.

The PHILISTINES are again vanquiſhed by DAVID. He is preſerved by MICHAL from the Deſigns of SAUL, who had again determined to put him to Death. JONATHAN and DAVID contract a ſolemn League of Friendſhip. DAVID reſorts to NOB, and alſo to GATH; at the former of which Places, he is kindly received by ABIMELECH. This Circumſtance being communicated to SAUL, he, in conſequence, puts to Death not only ABIMELECH, but alſo the whole Sacerdotal Race, ſave ABIATHAR, who eſcapes by Flight. The miraculous Deliverances of DAVID; and Death of SAMUEL. DAVID takes to Wife ABIGAIL, the Widow of NABAL. He is received by ACHISH, who puts him in Poſſeſſion of ZICKLAG, and retains him in his Service.

The Philiſtines again defeated by David.

NEARLY about this period, the Philiſtines again commenced hoſtilities againſt the Hebrews, and were defeated in a pitched battle by David, to whom Saul had entruſted the command of the army. Upon the arrival of David at court, with the intelligence of this glorious victory, he was received by the king with a ſullen and gloomy air, and in a manner little conſonant either to his expectation or his deſerts: for Saul was conſtantly apprehenſive of the increaſing reputation of David with the people.

The envy and jealouſy of Saul ſtill continues.

On a certain day, Saul, being ſeized with a return of his old diſorder, ſent for David, to ſing and play on the harp, as uſual; and, whilſt the latter was employed in the above manner, Saul, ſuddenly ſtarting from his couch, with the utmoſt effort of his ſtrength, threw at him a javelin which he held in his hand, and which muſt have put a period to his life, had not David providentially avoided the blow, by ſlipping on one ſide. He immediately retired, in all haſte, to his own houſe, where he remained for the reſt of the day. When night arrived, a guard of ſoldiers were ſent to the houſe, with orders from the king to prevent his eſcape, and to ſeize his perſon in the morning, in order to his being put to death with all the formalities of a public execution. But Michal, who had received intimation of her father's deſign, gave David inſtant warning of his danger; adviſing him to fly before day-light; and, after mutual endearments and lamentations, ſhe let him down from a window at the back part of the houſe; and thus he eſcaped the imminent peril to which he was expoſed.

Michal favours David's eſcape.

When the ſoldiers whom her father had ſent entered the houſe, and inquired for her huſband, Michal anſwered, that he had been very ill during the night, and was juſt then fallen aſleep; and to confirm her aſſertion, ſhewed them the bed, under the coverlet of which ſhe had purpoſely placed the liver of a kid newly killed, which, by its palpitation they ſuppoſed to be the body of the ſick perſon. They, therefore, returned to Saul with an account of theſe particulars; but were inſtantly ſent back again, with orders to bring David away with them, in whatever condition they might find him; Saul being determined, at all events, to put him to death. Having repaired a ſecond time to the houſe of David, they diſcovered the deception which

* The reader will obſerve, that Jonathan ever conſiders David as an innocent perſon, and pleads for him to his father, not as a rebel or notorious offender, to obtain his pardon, but as having never done any thing to forfeit Saul's favour, or his own life; and therefore Jonathan muſt be commended in diſobeying his father's order to David's hurt, and doing all he could to prevent his purpoſe to kill him.

had been put upon them; and, acquainting the king therewith, he severely chid his daughter for thus leaguing against her father with his greatest enemy. But Michal excused herself, on the plea that her husband had compelled her to conceal him, and to assist him in his escape, by threats of instant death, if she refused; and by this pretence she pacified her father's wrath. In the mean time, David fled to Ramah, where Samuel then resided, and acquainted the prophet with all the particulars of Saul's conduct towards him; assuring him, at the same time, that he had been guilty of no fault which could afford the slightest pretext for the king's present inveteracy against him.

David resorts to Samuel;

Samuel, hereupon, in order to shelter David from the great danger with which he was now threatened, repaired with him to Galbaah, where they remained together for some time. But no sooner was Saul made acquainted with the place of their retreat, than he dispatched thither a number of armed men, with orders to seize the person of David, and to bring him away in chains. When the messengers arrived at Galbaah, they found Samuel in company with several other prophets; and, the Spirit of God falling upon them at the instant, they also began to prophesy with the rest; and the like happened to those also whom Saul sent afterwards on the same business. Saul, at length, went thither himself; but, as soon as he came within sight of Samuel, he found himself possessed with the same spirit; and, upon a nearer approach, he threw off his garments, and prophesied naked before Samuel and David, for the space of a whole day and a night *.

and complains to Jonathan of Saul's treatment.

David, conscious of the irreproachableness of his conduct, bitterly complained to Jonathan of the injustice of the king in seeking his life. Jonathan assured him, that he had been misled by the reports which he had heard on that subject; as the king his father never formed any resolution of importance without acquainting him therewith, previously to the carrying it into execution. But David persisted, with an oath, that his fears were too well founded; adding that, as Saul was acquainted with the strict friendship which subsisted between them, it was not probable that he should communicate to his son any design of a like tendency to that in question. Jonathan was at length convinced; and desired his friend to consider in what manner he might render him the most effectual service.

A private token between David and Jonathan.

Jonathan directed David to a certain spot without the city, there to remain concealed till his return; promising that, when he should have discovered the disposition of his father towards him, he would come to the place with his bow and arrows, attended by one page only; that he would let fly three arrows, and, if the intelligence he brought him was favourable, he would order the page to fetch them again to him; but, if he gave him no such order, David was from thence to conclude, that his person was in danger from the king's resentment.

At the festival of the following day, Saul, having first purified himself in the customary forms, took his seat at the table, with Jonathan on his right hand, and Abner, the general of his army, on his left; the seat which, in virtue of his office, belonged to David remaining vacant. Saul observing this circumstance, imagined that David had not regularly purified himself, and therefore passed it over in silence; but, remarking that he still did not attend on the second day of the festival, Saul, with a considerable degree of asperity, questioned Jonathan why David had thus absented himself, for two successive days, on so solemn an occasion. Jonathan replied, that he had granted him permission to repair to Bethlehem, to solemnize the festival with his own tribe; adding that, from the sincere affection which he bore to the young man, he should be glad to have his majesty's leave to repair thither to him.

Saul resents Jonathan's good-will to David.

These last words so highly irritated Saul, that he could no longer conceal his hatred to David; and, loading his son with the injurious epithets of traitor, and confederate with the enemy of his family, he ordered him forthwith to send some persons to Bethlehem, to bring David from thence, that he might be punished according to his demerits; observing, that it must be apparent to every one who did not wilfully shut his eyes against the truth, that his personal safety could be no otherwise secured than by the death of David. Jonathan, in the most respectful manner, desired his father to inform him by what heinous offence David had thus drawn upon himself his resentment: but the question had nearly cost him his life; for Saul, seizing a javelin which stood near, would infallibly have killed him therewith on the spot, but for the interference of some of the attendants, who wrested it out of his hand.

This action clearly evinced to Jonathan the violence of that hatred which his father had conceived against David, and he immediately retired from the company, deeply affected with the reflection on the danger which threatened both his friend and himself. Having spent the night in sleepless anxiety, he rose at an early hour in the morning, and, taking with him his bow and arrows, he repaired, with one page only, to the spot where David was concealed.

* The change in the messengers of Saul was great; but that which was wrought in Saul himself was astonishing. He came to wreak his vengeance: but instead of a murderer, he becomes a prophet; puts himself naked intirely into the hands of Samuel, the prophets, and David, who might have made what advantages they pleased of an adventure so fortunate, even to have cut off Saul, and raised David to the throne. But they abhorred the thought; and as the spirit of the Lord kept Saul in that condition till David was safe, so Saul was safe during the time that he was naked (i. e. destitute of his royal military robe.) A noble evidence this of the innocence and loyalty of Samuel, the prophets, and David; whilst at the same time it affords a pleasing instance, to a generous compassionate mind, of the care of Providence over persecuted virtue, and of the impotence of human malice towards those whom God is determined to preserve.

He

He first discharged his arrows, and in token that the intelligence he brought was unfavourable, instead of sending the page to pick them up, he re-dispatched him into the city, on a feigned errand, that he might be at liberty to converse with his friend with the greater privacy.

The two friends part, to meet no more.

Immediately upon the departure of the lad, David came forth from his hiding-place, and prostrated himself at the feet of his benefactor, who raised him up in the most affectionate manner; and they joined in deploring the malignity of their fate, which thus compelled them to a separation, to which death itself was, in the opinion of each, far preferable. After some time spent in these mutual condolements, and in renewing, with the most solemn protestations, the league of friendship they had formerly contracted, they took a final leave of each other *, and Jonathan returned to the city.

David repairs to Abimelech, the priest, at Nob, who gives him money and arms.

In order to avoid the unceasing persecution of Saul, David fled to Nob, the residence of Abimelech the high-priest. As he came without a single attendant, Abimelech could not conceal his surprize at the circumstance; but David informed him that, being charged by the king with the execution of a commission of a most secret and important nature, he had, for the greater privacy, dismissed his suit for the present, and had appointed them a certain place where they should meet him. Under this pretext he obtained from Abimelech a supply of money, and also the sword of Goliath, which had been hung up in the temple, and dedicated to God; and, being thus provided, he retired to Gath in the land of the Philistines, where Achish, the king of the country, then kept his court. It chanced, that the whole of the foregoing conversation between David and Abimelech was overheard by a Syrian, named Doeg, who was employed by Saul in the capacity of a groom.

David arrives at Gath.

Immediately upon the arrival of David at Gath, he was recognized by several of the king's servants, who seized him, and conducted him before their master, with loud complaints of the many signal injuries which their nation had sustained from this man. David, now perceiving himself involved in a worse dilemma than before, suddenly assumed the behaviour of an idiot; drivelling at the mouth, and using other actions of a like kind; which expedient succeeded so well, that Achish, in a violent passion, bid his servants remove him from his presence, and drive him out of the city: and thus David escaped the imminent danger to which he had been exposed.

He retires to a district of Judah.

From Gath he retired into the district of the tribe of Judah, where he remained concealed for some time, in a cave situated in the field of Adullam. Hither numbers of his friends, relations, and other persons repaired to him, some being influenced thereto by an affection for himself, others by their hatred and fear of Saul, and others again by the hopes of retrieving their ruined fortunes; and with these, amounting in the whole to about four hundred persons, he put himself under the protection of the king of Moab, who entertained him and his followers with the greatest hospitality, during the whole time that they remained in his dominions, from whence, by the advice of the prophet Samuel, they removed to Hareth in the land of Judah.

Saul quickly received the alarming intelligence, that David had been seen at the head of an armed force; and, being well acquainted with the courage and enterprising genius of the man, he was greatly apprehensive that he might enter upon some attempt, which might, at least, perplex the peace of his kingdom, and might probably endanger even the security of his crown and government.

Saul chides Abimelech,

Saul ordered Abimelech and the rest of the priests to be brought before him, and upon their arrival addressed the high-priest in these words: "What offence had I given you, that you should thus favourably receive the avowed enemy of my person and government; furnishing him with money and arms, and encouraging him in his perfidious designs, by communicating to him the responses of the oracle relative thereto? You cannot be unacquainted, that he is at the present time a fugitive, merely from the apprehension of receiving the punishment to which his inveterate malice against my person and family has justly rendered him obnoxious."

who clears himself.

Abimelech did not attempt to disprove the charge, but alledged, in vindication of his conduct, that he had considered David, not as the enemy, but, on the contrary, as the friend and faithful servant, as well as the son-in-law of the king. He added, that it was in consideration of these qualities that he had afforded him the assistance he had requested, on the plea that he had been sent by the king to execute a commission, which required the utmost secrecy and dispatch; that, with respect to the circumstance of his consulting the oracle at the desire of David, it was nothing more than what he had repeatedly done on former occasions: and, finally, that, whatever designs it might appear David had formed against the person or government of the king, he beseeched his majesty to do him the justice to believe that, either directly or indirectly, he had not the least share or concern therein.

This justification, though highly plausible, Saul, being prepossessed by his fears, totally disregarded, and instantly commanded his guards to seize Abimelech and the rest of the priests, and to put them

* This adieu is the most pathetic and tender that ever was described. There was reason for David to exceed in sorrow (which in 1 Sam. xxi. 41. we are told, was the case), as he was now to become an exile from his friends, from his wife, from his parents, from his kindred, from the people of God, and from all sacred solemnities.

to

to death on the ſpot*. But, it being prohibited by the law of Moſes to ſpill the blood of any perſon inveſted with the ſacerdotal function, the Hebrews unanimouſly and ſteadily refuſed to comply with the king's order; and the execution of this barbarous commiſſion was, in conſequence, committed to Doeg, the Syrian, and a band of ruffians whom he ſelected for that purpoſe: the number of thoſe who were thus inhumanly maſſacred, amounted to three hundred and eighty-five perſons.

Abimelech and the prieſts maſſacred by Saul's order.

The vengeance of Saul not being yet ſufficiently glutted, he diſpatched his agents to Nob, the reſidence of the prieſthood, with orders to put the inhabitants to the ſword, without diſtinction either of ſex or age: this ſavage commiſſion was executed in its fulleſt extent; no one eſcaping the general deſtruction, ſave Abiathar, the ſon of Abimelech, who was preſerved by a miraculous interpoſition of the divine providence. Thus was verified the revelation which God had diſcloſed to Eli the high-prieſt, intimating, that the guilt of his two ſons would, in the courſe of time, be puniſhed with the utter extirpation of his family.

Abiathar eſcaping, repairs to David.

Abiathar, the ſon of Abimelech, who was the only perſon, that eſcaped the general maſſacre, repaired to David, with the afflicting intelligence of all that had paſſed. David condoled with him on the occaſion; expreſſed great ſorrow to have been in any reſpect the cauſe of ſo dreadful a calamity, of which he had from the firſt been apprehenſive, from the circumſtance of Doeg's being preſent at the interview between him and Abimelech; and concluded with recommending it to Abiathar to continue with him, as the beſt means of ſheltering himſelf from the purſuits of Saul.

David ſuccours Keilah.

Nearly at this period David received intelligence, that the Philiſtines had invaded the provin[illegible] of Keilah with a numerous army, ſpreading un[illegible]al devaſtation wherever they came; he therefore reſolved to oppoſe them, but previouſly conſulted the oracle; and, having received a favourable anſwer, advanced with his ſmall force againſt the enemy, routed them with a conſiderable ſlaughter, and acquired a valuable booty. After this victory, he continued ſome time at Keilah, to protect the inhabitants during the ſeaſon of harveſt. When the intelligence of this victory, which was repreſented much to the advantage of David, and the circumſtance of his ſhutting himſelf up in the city of Keilah, were communicated to Saul, he inſtantly diſpatched a body of forces to beſiege the place, with orders not to abandon the ſiege till David was delivered into their hands. But David, being forewarned, that if he continued at Keilah, the people would deliver him up, in order to make their peace with the king, he retired from thence, with his four hundred followers, and encamped upon a hill of great natural ſtrength, named En-gedi, which was ſituated in the deſert.

But, when Saul received information that David had quitted Keilah, he countermanded the orders which he had before given, reſpecting the ſiege; and David again changed his quarters, retiring to Cœna, in the diſtrict of Ziph. At this place he had an interview with Jonathan, who exhorted him to ſupport himſelf with reſolution under his preſent troubles; aſſuring him, that in a ſhort time he would be inveſted with the ſupreme government; and repreſenting to him, that ſuch exalted dignities were not attainable without much toil and danger.

The Ziphites engage to ſeize David.

The people of Ziph, with the view of ingratiating themſelves with the king, gave him notice of the place whither David had retired; and engaged, if Saul would furniſh them with a body of troops, to ſeize his perſon; which, they alledged, might eaſily be effected, by ſecuring certain paſſes, whereby his retreat would be rendered totally impracticable. Saul expreſſed his acknowledgments for this intelligence, and immediately diſpatched a party to carry the deſign into execution; promiſing to follow them at the head of a larger force, with all convenient diſpatch. The Ziphites ſerved as guides to the troops ſent by Saul, and afforded them every aſſiſtance in their power towards executing the commiſſion with which they were charged.

He retires to the deſert.

But God would not permit theſe wicked deſigns to take effect; for David, having received information of the king's approach, retired to a large rock in the deſert of Maon †. Hither he was ſo cloſely purſued by Saul, that he appeared to be deprived of every hope of eſcaping, when intelligence was brought to the king, that the Philiſtines had invaded his dominions, and were ravaging the country without controul. This circumſtance induced Saul to abandon the purſuit of David, and to turn his arms againſt the invaders; conſidering it as highly imprudent to riſk the total loſs of his kingdom, merely for the ſake of gratifying his revenge againſt a particular perſon. In this manner was David preſerved, from the apparently

* Why ſhould the prieſts have been involved in this barbarous maſſacre? Doeg mentions only Abimelech as being applied to by David; and in like manner Saul himſelf, in the charge he brings againſt Abimelech, accuſes him and David: *Why have* ye *conſpired againſt me*, thou *and the* ſon of Jeſſe? without a ſyllable of any other prieſts. As to the prieſts not acquainting Saul with David's flight, why ſhould they do it, if they were not informed of it, but believed, as David had pretended, he was in haſte upon the king's buſineſs? And if they had known the reaſon of it, it was not in their power to have acquainted Saul with it time enough for him to have apprehended him: it is therefore evident, from Saul's charge againſt Abimelech, that his ſuſpicion of the prieſts being in David's intereſt, aroſe merely from the information of Doeg, and not from any thing they had done, before this, contrary to their duty.

† Maon was a diſtinct wilderneſs from Ziph, though they both lay in the tribe of Judah.

inevitable

inevitable deſtruction with which he was threatened; and from hence he marched with his troops to the ſtreights of En-gedi †.

Saul perſiſts in perſecuting David;

As ſoon as Saul had routed the Philiſtines, and compelled them to return to their own country, he ſelected three thouſand of his choiceſt troops, and, putting himſelf at their head, renewed the purſuit of David, of whoſe retreat to En-gedi he had now obtained the moſt indiſputable information. When he had arrived very near to the ſpot, he retired, for a ſhort time, without any of his attendants, into a dark and ſpacious cave, in which it ſo happened that David and his companions were concealed; one of them recollecting the perſon of Saul, inſtantly acquainted David with his diſcovery, and adviſed him to avail himſelf of the opportunity which God had thus afforded him, of eſtabliſhing his own ſafety by the death of his implacable foe. But David rejected this advice with horror, and contented himſelf with cutting off a piece of the ſkirt of Saul's robe; and even this action created a ſtrong compunction in his breaſt, as he conſidered it as an unwarrantable violence committed againſt the perſon of one whom God had been pleaſed to ſet over him in the quality of his ſovereign.

who ſpares his enemy.

Immediately upon the departure of Saul from the cave, David followed him, and, in the moſt reſpectful manner, addreſſed him in theſe words: "It is the common misfortune of all princes, Sire, to be ſurrounded with numerous ſycophants, whoſe conſtant practice it is to fill their minds with injurious ſuſpicions of their ſincereſt and moſt approved friends. Profeſſions may deceive, but the man who acts in conformity to his duty, gives an incontrovertible teſtimony of his affection and reſpect for his ſovereign. I have been accuſed to your majeſty of crimes which never entered into my imagination; and you, in conſequence, purſue my life with the moſt unremitting ardour. But I truſt, Sire, that the example of my conduct on the preſent occaſion, will convince you how totally undeſerving I am of the rigour which I have experienced at your hands. For it was equally in my power to have deprived you of your life, as to cut of this piece of your garment, which you now ſee in my hand: but even all the provocation which I have received, could not induce me to be guilty of ſo vindictive an action. Judge then, Sire, whether you can, without the moſt palpable injuſtice, continue to perſecute me. I ſubmit my conduct to the judgment of the Almighty, and he will decide by whom the charge of guilt hath been incurred."

Saul juſtifies David's conduct.

Saul reflecting on the imminent peril which he had eſcaped, and on the great moderation exhibited by David on the occaſion, obſerved that he had repaid all the benefits and ſervices which he had received from him with the baſeſt ingratitude and cruelty. He further acknowledged that David, by his conduct on that day, had proved himſelf to be poſſeſſed, in the higheſt degree, of the generous ſentiments of their forefathers, who gloried in ſparing the lives of ſuch of their foes as Providence had delivered into their hands; adding, that he was from hence convinced, that it was the intention of the Almighty to confer on him the ſupreme government of the Hebrew nation; and conjuring him, when that period ſhould arrive, to ſhew mercy to his children. After David had bound himſelf to the king, by a ſolemn oath, to a ſtrict obſervance of his requeſt, they ſeparated, and David removed with his troops to the ſtreights of Mizpeh *.

Death of Samuel.

Nearly at this period the Hebrews were deprived of the prophet Samuel; a man whoſe numerous virtues had juſtly endeared him to the whole nation. He died at Ramah, his native city, and was interred with a magnificence highly expreſſive of the affection which the people entertained for him. He held the ſupreme authority twelve years ſubſequent to the death of Eli, and died in the nineteenth year after the introduction of the monarchical form of government.

Story of Nabal and Abigail.

In the city of Emma, ſituated in the diſtrict of Ziph, and near the ſpot on which David had encamped his troops, dwelt a certain perſon named Nabal, whoſe flocks were ſo numerous that they were computed to amount to three thouſand ſheep, and one thouſand goats. David ſtrictly prohibited his people from committing the ſlighteſt depredation on the poſſeſſions of this man, and even permitted them to aſſiſt the ſhepherds of Nabal in tending their flocks; flattering himſelf, that he ſhould thereby confer an obligation on a perſon who was deſerving of his favour. But the diſpoſition of Nabal was naturally churliſh and moroſe, whilſt his wife was equally remarkable for the graces of her perſon and mind.

Nabal's churliſh behaviour to David.

When the ſeaſon of ſheep-ſhearing arrived, David ſent ten of his men to compliment Nabal, in his name, and to requeſt a ſmall ſupply of proviſions, for which he would, when opportunity offered, make him ample compenſation. They were further ordered to repreſent to him that, during the whole time of their abode in the deſert, they had never once injured him in his

† This ſtrong hold, now called An-guedi, was a large village, ſituated in the deſerts, which lay upon the weſtern coaſt of the Salt or Dead-Sea, not far from the plains of Jericho. This country abounded in mountains aad large caverns, and therefore was a very commodious place for David to retire to, and conceal himſelf from his jealous enemy.

* That Saul ſhould break his vows, and, what is worſe, that he ſhould ungratefully purſue his deliverer; with increaſing thirſt after his blood, is an extraordinary inſtance of the length in wickedneſs which ſome men are permitted to run. Saul imitated in this reſpect thoſe who had ſold themſelves to work iniquity in the ſight of the Lord.

property, but, on the contrary, had done him some service by the assistance which they had afforded his servants. Nabal enquired from whom they came, and, being informed that they were sent by David, the son of Jesse, he not only peremptorily refused to comply with their request, but accompanied his refusal with many opprobrious expressions respecting David, whom he styled a fugitive, who had left his master from an apprehension of receiving the punishment due to his crimes.

He vows revenge; When David was informed of this behaviour of Nabal, he instantly put himself at the head of a party of four hundred of his followers, and, leaving the remaining two hundred to guard the baggage, began his march towards the dwelling of this man, with a full determination utterly to extirpate his whole family, and destroy his habitation: and this he bound himself by an oath to perform before the next day's dawn. In the mean time, some of the servants of Nabal, who had been present at the conversation between their master and the persons sent by David, communicated to Abigail, the wife of Nabal, the particulars of all that had passed; at the same time suggesting to her their fears, lest this conduct of their master should be attended with fatal consequences to himself and his family. Upon this intelligence Abigail, without mentioning a syllable of her design to her husband, who was, at the time, in a state of intoxication, ordered a number of asses to be laden with refreshments of various kinds, and immediately began her journey to meet David on the way.

but is pacified by Abigail, When she arrived near the foot of the mountain, she perceived David and his men descending into the valley, and, upon a nearer approach, prostrated herself before him, and earnestly solicited him to pardon the contemptuous expressions uttered by Nabal, whose name strictly accorded with his disposition. She assured him, that she was not present when his messengers came to her husband; observed, that he ought to return thanks to heaven for preserving him, by her agency, from the guilt of blood, and expressed her wishes, that he might ever continue free from that pollution, as a means of securing the favour and assistance of God in all his contests with his enemies. She readily admitted the justice of his resentment, but earnestly besought him to set due bounds to his vengeance, and to reflect, that nothing gave so great a lustre to the character of a person destined to rule over others, as the virtues of moderation and clemency; concluding with a request, that he would condescend to accept from her hands the refreshments which she had brought with her, as a small token of her respect and good will.

David received her in the most favourable manner; accepted her presents, and assured her, that God himself had certainly inspired her with the design of atoning for her husband's offence in the manner she had adopted; and that she, otherwise, would never have seen the morning's light, as he had solemnly sworn, never to close his eyes till he had utterly destroyed the habitation of Nabal, and had put every individual of his family to the sword. He added, however, that, although he was content, upon her account, to pass over the affront which he had received from her husband, yet Nabal would certainly be punished in due time by the hands of the Almighty. who obtains her request.

Abigail, upon her return home, found her husband so much intoxicated, that she perceived it would be in vain to acquaint him that night with what had passed. When Nabal learnt, on the next day, the imminent danger which he had escaped, he was affected so strongly, that he was immediately seized with a numbness which pervaded his whole body; and, in this condition, he continued to the time of his death, which happened on the tenth day. When David was informed of this event, he observed, that Nabal had merited the punishment he had suffered; and returned thanks to God, for his goodness in preserving him from the guilt of blood. Death of Nabal.

David dispatched a messenger to the widow with proposals for taking her in marriage*. She replied, that she was unworthy even to wash the feet of David; but in compliance to his desire, she repaired to him, and they were espoused. The virtues of her mind, and the beauties of her person, obtained her this honourable preferment. Michal, the first wife of David, was disposed of by her father to Phalti, the son of Laish of Gallem; after which he contracted a marriage with a woman of Abesar, named Ahinoam. David marries Abigail.

The people of Ziph informed Saul, that David was returned to their quarters, and that he might be repulsed with a moderate force. Hereupon Saul repaired immediately to Zicklag. David dispatched spies to learn the situation of the enemy, and upon receiving intelligence, that Saul had pitched his tents at Zicklag, he rose in the night, and attended only by Abishai, the son of his sister Zeruiah, and Abimelech the Hittite, privately departed and gained admittance to the royal tent, where he found the king asleep, Abner, his general, and his guards being in the same situation. Abishai was desirous of putting Saul to death, but this design was opposed by David, who said, that however iniquitous, considered as a man, the person of the king was sacred, since he had been exalted to a

David enters Saul's camp while he and his attendants were asleep, but refrains from violence.

* The heart of David was susceptible of the tenderest emotions. The amiable and lovely appearance of Abigail compensates for the brutal behaviour of her husband, and wins the affections of the Israelitish Champion, though he waited for the death of Nabal before he acknowledged his passion. Had he used the same wisdom and justice in the affair of Bathsheba the wife of Uriah, he would have saved himself many bitter lamentations, and the cause of religion much disgrace.

throne

throne by the appointment and authority of the Almighty; and that for the abuſe of power he was accountable only to the Supreme Being, by whom that power was delegated. He ſaid, though he would not avail himſelf of the advantage afforded him, he would take away the lance and pitcher of water from the bed-ſide, as teſtimonies to prove how abſolutely the king depended upon his mercy.

He reprehends Abner, &c.

He now left the camp, and, having croſſed the river, aſcended a mountain whence he called aloud to Abner and the guards: the general, ſurpriſed to hear himſelf thus addreſſed by name, demanded whence the voice proceeded. David acknowledged himſelf, and ironically aſked Abner, whether the general of an army, the favourite of a prince, and the profeſſed guardian of his perſonal ſafety, did not greatly exalt his character, by indulging himſelf in ſleep at the time his maſter's life was in danger. He mentioned the circumſtance of the lance and pitcher of water being taken from the king's tent, obſerving that, whether the opportunity of removing them was afforded through neglect or treachery, Abner had merited to be condemned to the loſs of his head.

Saul acknowledges David's laudable conduct.

Saul knowing the voice of David, and finding that he had been a ſecond time in the power of this generous friend, whom he conſidered as an implacable enemy, publicly thanked him for having ſpared his life; and deſired him to return home, in full aſſurance, that all enmity ſhould ſubſide on his part; for he was convinced that his life and ſafety were not dearer to himſelf than they were to David, who, in return for repeated baniſhments and attempts upon his life, the loſs of friends, and other injuries, had manifeſted a ſteady attachment towards him, by an uninterrupted ſeries of friendly offices. David deſired a meſſenger to be diſpatched, by whom he might return the lance and the pitcher, calling God and man to witneſs, that when he took them from the tent, the king's life was equally in his power.

Saul now returned to his palace; and David, at the head of his ſix hundred men, marched into the land of the Philiſtines, from whom he had obtained permiſſion to eſtabliſh his reſidence among them. David and his two wives, Ahinoam and Abigail, met with a liberal reception from Achiſh, the king of Gath: but conceiving himſelf to be degraded, by remaining a burden on the public, his ſituation became extremely irkſome, and he determined to petition Achiſh to grant him a portion of land. In conſequence of his application, the king aſſigned Ziklag to himſelf and his heirs in perpetuity; and for this place he entertained a great partiality, even after his exaltation to the throne.

David remained in Ziklag four months and twenty days, during which ſpace he made frequent incurſions upon the Sarites and the Amalekites, from whom he obtained great numbers of mules, camels, and other ſpoil; but he avoided taking any priſoners, leſt they ſhould betray his proceedings to Achiſh. He diſpoſed of part of the booty in preſents to the king, who often queſtioned him reſpecting the manner of his obtaining the gifts. His anſwer was, that he had made inroads on the ſouthern parts of Judah *.

The Philiſtines prepare for renewing the war.

About this time, the Philiſtines were making preparations for commencing a war againſt the Hebrews, and a day was appointed for a general rendezvous at Rengam, whence Achiſh was to lead his troops to the encounter. The king requeſted the aſſiſtance of David, with his ſix hundred men; and to this he readily conſented, obſerving that the period was approaching when he ſhould be afforded an opportunity of making an honourable compenſation for the bounties he had received. In return, the king promiſed, that if he proved victorious in the engagement, he would appoint David to the command of his guards, and inveſt him with every honourable diſtinction within the compaſs of his power.

CHAP. XIII.

The Ghoſt of SAMUEL foretells the Defeat of SAUL, and the Death of himſelf and his Sons. ZIKLAG pillaged and burnt by the AMALEKITES, who are purſued and cut off by DAVID.

SAUL had already baniſhed from his kingdom the ſoothſayers, fortune-tellers, and all other vain pretenders to a ſkill in foretelling future events; but the prophets were not included in the proſcription. Intelligence being communicated, that the Philiſtines had pitched their tents upon a plain at Sunem, Saul drew up his forces oppoſite to the camp of the enemy, near the mountain of Gilboah. The armies being in ſight of each other, Saul obſerved, that the Philiſtines had a great ſuperiority both in point of numbers and diſcipline; and his ſpirits being greatly depreſſed by this circumſtance, he reſolved to conſult the prophets in relation to the iſſue of the expected engagement. The queſtion being propoſed, and no anſwer given, his uneaſineſs encreaſed to abſolute deſperation; for he conſidered the ſilence of the oracle, as a certain indication of approaching calamity. Notwithſtanding this, and a conſciouſneſs that

* The anſwer was true, but ambiguous; for all thoſe people actually dwelt on the ſouth of Judah. But Achiſh underſtood the anſwer as meaning that the incurſion was made on Judah, on the Jerahmeelites and Kenites themſelves, though David aſſerted no ſuch thing. He therefore was not guilty of a falſity, as ſome writers ſuppoſe, and labour to palliate or condemn; and if in any thing he was to blame, it was for giving an ambiguous anſwer to a queſtion which he was not obliged to give a direct reply to. Achiſh well knew that David had made an incurſion upon ſome of the neighbouring tribes, and in this David did not deceive him; but he thought he was no ways obliged to tell him who they were; and therefore ſaid only in general, that they were ſuch as dwelt on the ſouth of Judah. And if Achiſh miſunderſtood him, I do not yet ſee that David was obliged to undeceive him.

he had forfeited the favour of the Almighty, he had recourſe to wizards and conjurers, in order to obtain the knowledge of future events, and employed agents to find out ſome woman ſkilled in the myſteries of divination. Being informed that a woman of this deſcription reſided at Endor, he immediately repaired thither, being diſguiſed, and attended by two confidents. Upon his arrival, he requeſted her to call up the ſpirit of a perſon he ſhould name, as a proof of her ſkill. In conſideration of the king's edict, which had prohibited this mode of divination, on the penalty of baniſhment, ſhe declined a compliance, intreating him not to lead her into an act of diſobedience, the diſcovery of which would inevitably prove her deſtruction. Saul continued his importunities in a more urgent manner, invoking the moſt bitter imprecations to befal him, if he ſhould divulge any part of the proceeding; and on the credit of his aſſurances, ſhe at length conſented to gratify his deſire.

Saul ſeeks to a witch at Endor.

Saul deſired her to call up the ghoſt of Samuel. Being entirely unacquainted with the perſon of Samuel, ſhe was greatly aſtoniſhed by the divine figure of the ſpectre; and turning to Saul, ſhe aſked him, if he was not the king? (this Samuel had intimated to her): and he replied in the affirmative, deſiring to know the cauſe of the confuſion by which ſhe appeared to be affected*. She ſaid, the apparition cauſed her diſorder, being the reſemblance of an aged man, encompaſſed with a glory, and in the attitude of aſcending from the earth. He queſtioned her as to the age, figure, and habit of the ſpectre; and was anſwered, that it appeared to be an ancient and venerable man, in a ſacerdotal garment. Hence Saul concluded it to be the ghoſt of Samuel, and proſtrated himſelf on the earth. The ſpirit aſked Saul, for what reaſon he had called him from his peaceful abode; and the [illegible] replied, that being threatened with a powerful army, and having no prophets to conſult with, or viſions imparted for the regulation of his conduct, and being abandoned by the Lord, he was compelled into the preſent meaſure by the moſt urgent neceſſity, finding his laſt reſource for advice to be in Samuel, whom he had, on various occaſions, found to be ſteadily attached to his intereſt.

Saul deſires the ghoſt of Samuel to be called up.

The ghoſt reproved Saul for his unſeaſonable deſire of learning what ſhould befal him; but added that, as he had expreſſed himſelf ſo anxiouſly on the ſubject, he would foretel his fate. The ghoſt proceeded to inform Saul, that himſelf and his ſons would be ſlain in battle the next day, and that David would ſucceed to the government, and effect an happy termination of the war; adding, that he was doomed to the loſs of his crown and life for his diſobedience to the commands of God, reſpecting his conduct towards the Amalekites.

He is rebuked by the ſpectre, and greatly terrified at his relation.

Upon hearing this ſentence pronounced, the king's vital powers ſeemed to deſert him, and he fell to the ground; but whether this was the effect of ſudden ſurpriſe, or having remained without food for the ſpace of four and twenty hours, may admit of a doubt. However, upon his recovery, the woman urgently preſſed him to take the neceſſary refreſhment for the ſupport of nature, that he might be able to return to the camp. Her repeated ſolicitations, at length, induced him to compliance; and ſhe killed a calf, and, having dreſſed it, ſet it before her royal gueſt and his attendants. After the repaſt, the king departed, and the ſame night joined the army.

The Philiſtine troops were aſſembled, according to their ſeveral diſtributions, into tribes, kingdoms, and governments; Achiſh, the king of Gath, and his men, being drawn up behind the other forces, and David, with his party of ſix hundred, in the rear of him. The Hebrews being obſerved by the Philiſtine commanders, they demanded whence they came? by whoſe order? and for what purpoſe? Achiſh replied, that "the leader of the Hebrews, (pointing to David) had been ſervant to Saul, whoſe diſpleaſure he had incurred; and, judging his life to be in danger, he fled into my dominions for ſanctuary, attended by the party whom he now commands; in gratitude for the aſſiſtance I afforded him, and from a principle of reſentment againſt his late maſter, he has engaged, on the preſent occaſion, to exert his utmoſt efforts in ſupport of our cauſe." The Philiſtines unanimouſly diſapproved of repoſing confidence in a declared enemy; urging that, in the important cauſe depending, the moſt dangerous conſequences might ariſe from the treachery of the party in queſtion; they, therefore, requeſted that Achiſh would order him to leave the army, and return to the place appointed for his reſidence†; adding, that David was the man by whom many thouſands of the Philiſtines had been ſlaughtered, and whoſe exploits were ſo highly celebrated in the ſongs of the Hebrew virgins. Theſe objections were ſo reaſonably founded, that they were readily admitted by Achiſh. He aſſured David, that experience had convinced him of his bravery and ſteady attachment, and that on theſe con-

The Philiſtines being jealous of David, he is diſmiſſed from the army.

* Magic, eſpecially that part of it which was ſtyled Necromancy, owed its origin to the ſhows which were exhibited in the Pagan myſteries; and this woman deſigned to have put the trick upon Saul, by paſſing ſome accomplice upon him for the prophet Samuel. But to her great aſtoniſhment the prophet now appearing, ſhe was ſo ſurpriſed that ſhe cried out. Saul, as ſhe had told him before, had proſcribed all the profeſſors of magic; but by the appearance of Samuel, ſhe collected that the perſon who conſulted her was Saul himſelf; and reflecting on his ſeverity, ſhe could expect nothing but death for exerciſing her trade: ſhe might therefore well aſk him, "Why haſt thou deceived me?"

† The lords of the Philiſtines were ſuſpicious of David's purpoſes, and inſiſted upon his diſmiſſion. His pleaſure muſt certainly have been great, to find himſelf extricated out of ſo delicate a ſituation as he had been in, when there might have been a ſtruggle between his gratitude to his friend and his love to his country; and in which he could not poſſibly know what part he had to act, or was bound to act, till the two armies were nearly, or actually engaged.

ſiderations



Luyken inv.

Saul consults the Ghost of Samuel.

ſiderations he had received him as an ally; but he deſired him to decline taking a further part in the preſent expedition, and to return to Zicklag, in order to guard the people againſt any advantage which might be meditated by the enemy during the abſence of the army; obſerving, that by this commiſſion he would be able to render himſelf as effectually ſerviceable, as by remaining with the troops. Achiſh having declared, that the friendſhip he had conceived had ſuffered no abatement, David departed for the place of his deſtination.

The Amalekites attack and burn Zicklag.

The Amalekites availed themſelves of David's attendance upon the Philiſtine army, and attacked Zicklag, which they fired, and entirely deſtroyed, and committed great devaſtation in the adjacent country; after which they retired, making booty of all the effects which they were able to remove. David finding his habitation to be laid deſolate, and that his wives, thoſe of his fellow-ſoldiers, and their children, had been made priſoners, gave way to the moſt paſſionate lamentations, tearing his garments, and by other extravagant actions proving the exceſs of his ſorrow. His companions were ſo exaſperated on this occaſion, that they formed a reſolution of ſtoning David to death, as being the cauſe of their preſent diſtreſs, but they did not carry this deſign into execution.

When the violence of his grief had ſubſided, David requeſted Abiathar, the high-prieſt, to habit himſelf in his pontifical robes, and conſult the Lord, whether, upon purſuing the enemy, it would be granted to the Hebrews to recover their women and children, and to take revenge for the injuries they had ſuſtained. Abiathar directed him to follow the Amalekites, ſaying, ſucceſs would attend the expedition. Thus encouraged, David put himſelf at the head of his troops, and cloſely purſued the enemy as far as the brook of Beſor. At this place they perceived a man, who, it appeared, had loſt his road in the deſert, and was on the point of ſtarving, having remained three days without ſuſtenance. After taking ſome refreſhment, the man ſaid, in reply to the queſtions put to him by David, that he was an Egyptian, who had attended his maſter at the deſtruction of Zicklag, and that, on the return of the troops, his ſtrength failed him, and he was left in the deſert.

David overtakes the Amalekites, and recovers the ſpoil and priſoners.

David appointed this man to be a guide in the purſuit of the Amalekites, whom he, at length, overtook, and found in a ſtate of the utmoſt diſorder; ſome being engaged in a vain contemplation of the ſpoils they had obtained, others in the indulgence of gluttony, ſome unarmed, and thoſe who were provided with weapons, ſo much intoxicated as to be unable to uſe them. In this confuſed ſituation, they were vigorouſly attacked by David and his followers, who committed ſo terrible a ſlaughter, that not more than four hundred men eſcaped, and theſe were indebted for their ſafety to the ſpeed of their camels. The purſuit continued from noon till evening; and, during the action, the women and children belonging to David's party were recovered, as were the effects which had been pillaged from Zicklag.

His impartial juſtice to thoſe not concerned in the action.

On this expedition David was attended by only four hundred men, having ſtationed the other two hundred of his party as a guard to the baggage. The four hundred who were engaged in the action, objected to the other two hundred being admitted to ſhare in what had been recovered from the enemy, inſiſting that their wives and children only ſhould be reſtored. David remonſtrated againſt arrogating to themſelves the merit of the victory, which was to be attributed only to the Almighty; urging, the injuſtice of excluding the party of two hundred men from their proportion of the booty; as, while the others were engaged in purſuit of the enemy, they had guarded the baggage, the preſervation of which was eſſentially neceſſary to the common cauſe. This determination was ſubmitted to the authority of a law, which ſtill remains in force, whereby ſuch as guard the baggage, are declared to have an equal right to the ſpoil with thoſe who are more actively engaged in the war*. Upon his return to Zicklag, David diſpatched meſſengers with a part of the ſpoil, as preſents to his friends in the tribe of Judah.

Deciſive battle between the Philiſtines and Hebrews, in which Saul and his ſons are ſlain.

The armies of the Philiſtines and Hebrews joined battle in the neighbourhood of the mountain of Gilboa. Saul and his ſons, Jonathan, Aminadab, and Melchi, fought with aſtoniſhing bravery: they foreſaw that they muſt inevitably fall in the conteſt, but reſolutely determined that the enemy ſhould have but little cauſe to boaſt of the victory. They were oppreſſed by a great ſuperiority of numbers; and when they had ſubdued one party, they were attacked by others in ſucceſſion, till, at length, they yielded up their lives in the heat of the battle. Upon the death of Jonathan, Aminadab, and Melchi, the army fled, and was purſued by the Philiſtines with a terrible ſlaughter. Saul maintained a defence, at the head of a ſmall party, ſome time longer: but from the wounds he had received from the darts and ar-

* The equity of this law appears not only from its being perpetuated, but likewiſe from the nature of things: for theſe two hundred were left behind by common conſent to guard the baggage; they were part of the ſame corps, and belonged to the ſame nation; they were prevented by too great fatigue from being preſent at the engagement; and as they would otherwiſe have taken part in the battle, their will was accepted for the deed. By ſtaying with the baggage they facilitated the conqueſt of their fellow-ſoldiers, who, when embarraſſed and hindered with that impediment, could neither have charged with ſo much vigour, nor could have performed the neceſſary *manœuvres* and evolutions with ſo much dexterity and addreſs. In this reſpect they might be conſidered in a remote view as having a ſhare in the defeat of the enemy. Beſides which it may be added, that they were equally expoſed to danger with thoſe who actually engaged the enemy; for if the four hundred had been defeated, the enemy would undoubtedly have marched up to them for the ſake of booty, and would have cut them off as well as their main body.

rows of the Philiſtines, his ſtrength was ſo much exhauſted, that he became incapable of further reſiſtance, and even of the power of depriving himſelf of life. In this extremity of his fate, he commanded his armour-bearer to diſpatch him: but the man, from a veneration he entertained for the king, excuſed himſelf from the office; in conſequence of which, Saul ruſhed on the point of his own ſword; but this not fully anſwering his purpoſe, he applied to a young Amalekite, requeſting him effectually to prevent his being taken alive by the enemy. The Amalekite immediately killed the king, and taking his crown and golden bracelets, made a precipitate retreat. When the armour-bearer perceived that his royal maſter was dead, he immediately put an end to his life; and of thoſe who compoſed the king's guard not a man ſurvived his royal maſter.

The Philiſtines diſpoſſeſs the Hebrews of their cities.

The Hebrews, inhabiting the valley beyond Jordan, and the cities upon the plains, having learnt the event of the battle, and that Saul and his ſons had periſhed in the action, quitted their open towns and ſtrong holds, and the Philiſtines poſſeſſed themſelves of the places which the others had evacuated. On the day following that of the battle, the Philiſtines returned to the field, and finding the bodies of Saul and his ſons, they ſtripped them, cut off their heads, and expoſed the bodies under the walls of the city of Bethſham, which at this time bears the name of Scythopolis. The people of Jabeth-Gilead being highly incenſed againſt the Philiſtines for theſe violences, formed a party of enterpriſing men, who determined to take down the bodies; and after privately travelling all night, they arrived at the ſpot, and effected their purpoſe. The death of Saul and his ſons † was ſeverely regretted by the people of Jabeſh, who afforded a teſtimony of their eſteem, by a public interment of their remains in the chief part of the country. On this occaſion, all ranks of people were enjoined to a ſtrict obſervance of faſting and mourning for the ſpace of ſeven days. Thus was Saul puniſhed for his diſobedience to the command of the Lord, reſpecting the war againſt the Amalekites, the maſſacre of Abimelech and his family, and the deſtruction of the ſacerdotal city. Saul continued in the government eighteen years previous to the death of Samuel, and twenty-two years after that period.

† On peruſing this narrative, no one will expreſs much regret at the death of the cruel, unrelenting, and perſecuting Saul, the firſt king of Iſrael; but that the amiable, generous-hearted Jonathan ſhould fall a ſacrifice at the ſame time, will ſenſibly affect the tender feelings of the friendly and benevolent. It is one among a thouſand other proofs, that, with reſpect to the affairs of this life, "One event happeneth to the righteous and to the wicked."

BOOK VII.

Containing the HISTORY of EVENTS from the YEAR of the WORLD 2890, to 2931.

CHAP. I.

DAVID expreſſes the deepeſt Sorrow for the Death of SAUL and JONATHAN. He is proclaimed King by the Tribe of JUDAH; but the other Tribes declare in favour of ISHBOSHETH. His Forces are defeated by thoſe of DAVID, under the command of JOAB. ASAHEL, the Brother of JOAB, is ſlain by ABNER. In conſequence of a Reproof received from ISHBOSHETH, ABNER abandons his Intereſts, and joins the Party of DAVID; and is, ſoon afterwards, treacherouſly aſſaſſinated by JOAB.

THE battle, which proved ſo fatal to the Hebrews, was fought on the ſame day in which David obtained the victory over the Amalekites: and, on the third day after his return to Zicklag, a perſon arrived there, who had eſcaped from the encounter in which Saul and his ſons were ſlain. He preſented himſelf before David with his garments rent in various parts, and his head covered with aſhes, and acquainted him with the defeat of the Hebrews, and the death of the king and his ſons; adding that he was an Amalekite by birth, and that Saul, after having received many wounds, attempted to thruſt himſelf through with his own ſword, in order to avoid the diſgrace of falling alive into the enemy's hands; but, wanting ſtrength to execute his purpoſe, he had earneſtly requeſted him to perform the above office, with which requeſt he found himſelf under the neceſſity of complying; and, in confirmation of the truth of his aſſertions he, at the ſame time, delivered into the hands of David the royal bracelets and diadem.

David laments the death of Saul and Jonathan.

Upon receiving this intelligence, David rent his cloaths, and devoted the whole of that day to lamentation for the loſs

which

which both the nation and himſelf had ſuſtained on the occaſion. But his grief aroſe chiefly from the conſideration of the ſincere affection and friendſhip which had ſubſiſted between him and Jonathan, to whom he had more than once been indebted for the preſervation of his life. As a proof of the generous diſpoſition of David, he not only thus publicly lamented the cataſtrophe of Saul, but, uninfluenced by any conſideration of the manifold injuries which he had received from him, he alſo condemned to immediate death the wretch who had confeſſed himſelf to be his murderer; and who, by his principles, clearly evinced from what country he derived his birth. David compoſed various elegies and epitaphs, in praiſe of Saul and his ſon Jonathan, all which are ſtill extant.

He fixes his reſidence at Hebron.

When the term of the mourning for Saul and his ſons was expired, David conſulted the oracle in which of the cities of Judah he ſhould take up his reſidence; and was directed to fix upon the city of Hebron for that purpoſe. He accordingly repaired thither, with his two wives and thoſe perſons who conſtituted his body-guard, and was quickly followed by all his whole tribe, who, in an aſſembly held for that purpoſe, unanimouſly proclaimed him king of Iſrael.

Abner makes Iſhboſheth king.

Abner, the ſon of Ner, and the late general of the army of Saul, no ſooner heard of the death of that prince and three of his ſons, than he inſtantly repaired to the camp, in ſearch of Iſhboſheth, another of the children of Saul, whom he conducted to the further ſide of Jordan, in order to preſerve him from danger, and cauſed him to be acknowledged and proclaimed king of Iſrael, by all the tribes ſave that of Judah; fixing on Meanahaim, for the place of his reſidence. The conduct of the men of Judah, in electing David for their king, had given ſuch offence to Abner, that, aſſembling a numerous army, he marched into their country, with the deſign of puniſhing them ſeverely for their temerity. The forces of David were commanded by Joab, the ſon of Suri and Zeruiah, the ſiſter of David; and Joab was accompanied in the expedition by his two brothers, Abiſhai and Hazael.

Bloody conteſt between twelve men of each army.

When the two armies arrived in ſight of each other, in the neighbourhood of Gibeon, they drew up in order of battle: but, previous to the commencement of a general engagement, Abner propoſed that each party ſhould ſelect a certain number, to make trial of their valour in a ſeparate combat. This propoſal being accepted by Joab, twelve men on a ſide were choſen for the purpoſe; and, in the ſpace between the two armies, they attacked each other firſt with their darts, and afterwards with their ſwords, with ſuch fury, that, in the end, they all fell lifeleſs upon the ſpot. The two armies then joined battle, and, for a while, the conteſt was maintained with equal obſtinacy; but, at length, the troops of Abner were utterly defeated, and put to flight.

Aſahel killed by Abner.

Aſahel, the brother of Joab, poſſeſſed a ſwiftneſs of foot, in which he was ſurpaſſed by very few horſes. This man, without paying any attention to the reſt of the fugitives, confined himſelf wholly to the purſuit of Abner, who, perceiving that his adverſary gained ground on him at a very conſiderable rate, repeatedly deſired him to deſiſt from following him, and offered to compenſate him with a full ſuit of arms*; repreſenting to him how unwilling he ſhould be to kill him, even in the defence of his own life, as he was ſenſible that he ſhould thereby draw upon himſelf the irreconcileable enmity of his brother Joab. But when Abner perceived that all his arguments were loſt upon Aſahel, he ſuddenly darted his lance at him, and laid him breathleſs on the ground.

The ſtruggle for the ſupreme authority, between David and the ſon of Saul, produced a civil war which was of conſiderable duration, but terminated, at length, in favour of the former.

Abner, taking offence at Iſhboſheth, quits his party, and joins David.

The valour, diſcretion, and popularity of Abner were, throughout the whole war, the chief ſupport of the pretenſions of Iſhboſheth; but that prince, having received information that a familiar connection ſubſiſted between Abner and Rizpah, the daughter of Sibeth, who had formerly been one of the concubines of his late father Saul, reproached him on the ſubject with ſo much acrimony, that Abner, from that hour, determined, in revenge, to quit the party of Iſhboſheth, and to unite himſelf with that of David. In purſuance of this reſolution, he diſpatched one of his friends ſecretly to Hebron, with inſtructions to inform David that he was ready to enſure him the poſſeſſion of the kingdom with the general conſent of the whole people, by bringing over to his intereſts thoſe tribes which had been hitherto adverſe to his pretenſions, on condition that he ſhould bind himſelf by an oath to confer on him the office of prime miniſter, as ſoon as he ſhould have made good his engagements. David eagerly cloſed with the propoſal, and deſired that Abner, as a proof of his ſincerity, would cauſe his wife Michal, whom he had obtained from her father at the imminent hazard of his life, to be immediately reſtored to him. Michal was accordingly taken from Phalti, on whom her father had beſtowed her after the diſgrace of David, and was again delivered up to her firſt huſband; and this was done with the privity and conſent of Iſhboſheth, who however expreſſed a ſtrong conviction of the reaſonableneſs of the requiſition.

Abner confers with David at Hebron.

After theſe proceedings Abner repaired to David at Hebron, with a band conſiſting of twenty perſons, whom he had ſelected for the purpoſe; the intent of his journey being to ſettle matters with David in perſon, and to acquaint him

* Kimchi imagines that Abner's real meaning was, that Aſahel ſhould take one of his attendants with his armour, and be content with the glory of carrying him off as a captive. Others ſuppoſe, he bids him try his valour on one of the common ſoldiers, by endeavouring to diſarm him, in order to divert him from attacking himſelf, who was an old ſoldier, and an experienced general.

him with the progreſs he had made towards the completion of his engagements. Upon his arrival at the court of David, he was received in the moſt friendly manner by that prince, who entertained him with the utmoſt magnificence for the ſpace of three days, at the expiration of which time Abner requeſted to be diſmiſſed, that he might finiſh the undertaking in which he had embarked.

During the above three days, Joab, the general of the army of David, was abſent from Hebron; but he returned juſt at this juncture, and entered the city at one gate as Abner quitted it by another. Having been made acquainted with all that had paſſed during his abſence, he inſtantly conceived a ſuſpicion that Abner, with whoſe abilities he was well acquainted, would effectually ſupplant him in the king's favour, even, perhaps, to the depriving him of the honourable office of commander of the forces.

He endeavoured, therefore, at firſt to impreſs the mind of David with ſentiments diſadvantageous to Abner, whom he repreſented as a perſon, whoſe ſole intention it was to miſlead him by his profeſſions, that he might with greater facility ſecure to the family of Saul the poſſeſſion of the throne. When he perceived that all his ſuggeſtions were ineffectual, he formed the execrable deſign of ridding himſelf of his rival by aſſaſſination; and, accordingly, ſent meſſengers after Abner, to deſire him, in the name of David, to return immediately; he having omitted to mention a matter to him which was of great moment. Abner was overtaken by the meſſengers at Sirah, about twenty furlongs from Hebron, and, not ſuſpecting any miſchief, he readily accompanied them back to the latter city, at the entrance of which he was met by Joab and his brother Abiſhai, who, the better to conceal their infamous purpoſe, received him with the moſt flattering profeſſions of regard and eſteem.

He is treacherouſly ſlain by Joab.

When, under the pretext of private buſineſs, they had [illegible]n him on one ſide, to a diſtance from his attendants, Joab ſuddenly thruſt him through with his ſword. He pretended to juſtify this baſe and treacherous deed on the plea of reſentment for the death of his brother Aſahel; but his ſole motive to the commiſſion of the fact was, the fear leſt Abner, by his ſuperior merit and ſervices, ſhould prove a dangerous rival to him in the favour of the king.

David grieves for the murder of Abner, and denounces a curſe on Joab for the horrid deed.

David expreſſed the greateſt affliction for the untimely fate of Abner, and, in the moſt ſolemn manner, declared his utter ignorance of the barbarous deſign; venting, at the ſame time, the moſt bitter execrations on the perpetrators and abettors of ſo nefarious an action†. He ordered all the honors of a public mourning to be paid to his memory, and attended his funeral in perſon, as chief mourner, accompanied by all the great officers of ſtate. On this occaſion his whole deportment manifeſted the real eſteem he had entertained for Abner whilſt living, and the ſincere grief he felt for his death. He cauſed the body of Abner to be interred, with the utmoſt magnificence, at Hebron; and inſcribed on his tomb an epitaph of his own compoſition, in which he highly extolled the bravery and other numerous virtues of the deceaſed. By this conduct David conciliated the affection of the people in general, but eſpecially of the friends of Abner; and they unanimouſly exculpated him from all imputation of being acceſſary, either directly or indirectly, to the barbarous treachery of Joab.

† If we tranſlate the words uſed by David on this occaſion, "Let the blood of Abner reſt on the head of Joab, &c." in the future tenſe, inſtead of the imperative word, "*It ſhall* reſt, &c." the character of David may be cleared from aſperſions, and the ſentence, inſtead of an execration, will become a prophetical prediction, which David delivered by divine inſpiration, and which was, in the ſequel, accompliſhed in its greateſt extent. David had, indeed, the greateſt reaſon for expreſſing his indignation in the moſt paſſionate manner for ſo foul an act. Abner was a man of great power and authority, and at that time the head of the oppoſite party, and therefore rendered it ſuſpicious that David had ſome concern in the murder, as it was perpetrated by his firſt miniſter, and the general of his forces. Beſides, as Abner had been reconciled to David, the breach of faith and hoſpitality was added to the crime of murder, which was ſufficient to alienate the minds of the Iſraelites from him for ever.

CHAP. II.

ISHBOSHETH aſſaſſinated. The Conſpirators carry his Head to DAVID, who cauſes them to be put to Death. The Tribes unanimouſly concur in electing DAVID for their King. He aſſembles an Army, and makes himſelf Maſter of JERUSALEM.

ISHBOSHETH was extremely afflicted at the loſs of Abner, not only on account of his relationſhip, but alſo as by his intereſt and influence alone he had been advanced to the throne of his father. But that prince did not long ſurvive him, being treacherouſly murdered by Baanah and Rechab the ſons of Rimmon. Theſe men, who were two of the principal perſons of the tribe of Benjamin, vainly imagining that they ſhould thereby recommend themſelves to the higheſt preferments in the ſervice of David, determined to aſſaſſinate Iſhboſheth whenever an opportunity ſhould offer. Accordingly, at a time when that unfortunate prince had retired to repoſe himſelf, on account of the violent heat of the weather, they entered his chamber, his attendants being all aſleep, and, after having deprived him of life, they cut off his head, and then retired with the ſame privacy with which they had entered.

They immediately began their journey to Hebron, at which place, after travelling with the utmoſt expedition during the whole night, they arrived on the next day. But when they appeared before David, and preſented him with the head of Iſhboſheth, magnifying the ſervice they had rendered him by thus ridding him of his competitor for the kingdom, he,

to their great aſtoniſhment, expreſſed his utter abhorrence of their conduct. David ordered theſe men to be taken from his preſence, and to be put to death: and he cauſed the head of Iſhboſheth to be placed in the tomb of Abner, with ſuch funeral ſolemnities as were due to the exalted ſtation of the deceaſed.

The tribes vow allegiance to David at Hebron.

Soon after this event, the principal perſons of the tribes of Iſrael, and the officers of the army repaired in a body to Hebron, where they ſolemnly acknowledged David as their king, vowed allegiance to him, and made him a formal tender of their lives and fortunes; repreſenting to him the predilection they had always manifeſted for him, even during the reign of Saul; adding, that they were convinced, from the declaration of the prophet Samuel, that he and his deſcendants were deſtined by the Almighty to rule over them for a ſucceſſion of ages, and that the important work of ſubduing the Philiſtines, and, conſequently, of eſtabliſhing the kingdom on the firm and ſolid baſis of peace and ſafety was reſerved alone for him. David expreſſed his acknowledgments; and aſſured them, that he would exert all his endeavours to fulfil their expectations. After having regaled them with the utmoſt magnificence for the ſpace of three days, he diſmiſſed them, with inſtructions to ſelect out of each tribe all thoſe who were capable of bearing arms, and to conduct them, properly equipped, to Hebron.

David unanimouſly choſen king.

Theſe troops repaired to David at Hebron; bringing with them corn, wine, and all other neceſſaries in the greateſt plenty. They unanimouſly ſaluted David with the title of king, and, after having ſpent three days in public rejoicings on the occaſion, he put himſelf at their head, and marched againſt Jeruſalem; which city was then inhabited by the Jebuſites, who were deſcended from the ancient Canaanites. Upon the approach of David, they ſhut their gates, and, to ſhew their contempt of the force he had brought againſt them, they placed their blind and lame on the walls, thereby intimating alſo their confidence in the natural ſtrength of the place. David was ſo highly incenſed at this inſult, that he determined to attack them in the moſt vigorous manner, without any further delay; hoping, by the capture of this place, to ſtrike ſuch a terror into the inhabitants of all the other cities, as ſhould induce them to ſubmit upon the very firſt ſummons.

He reduces Jeruſalem.

Having made the neceſſary diſpoſitions, he advanced to the walls, at the head of a ſelect body of his troops, and, by making a general aſſault, ſoon became maſter of the place‡: but the garriſon retired into the citadel. This fortreſs was of very conſiderable ſtrength, and David, conſidering how much his honour was concerned in the ſubjection of it, endeavoured to animate the courage of his ſoldiers and their leaders, by promiſes of pecuniary gratifications to the former, and by engaging to confer on him, among the latter, who ſhould firſt make good his ſtation on the parapet of the citadel, the poſt of commander in chief of all his forces. The proſpect of theſe rewards inſpired the Hebrews with ſo ſtrong an emulation, that each man performed miracles of valour on the occaſion: but it was the fortune of Joab to reach the top of the battlements, before any of his companions.

CHAP. III.

DAVID repairs and beautifies JERUSALEM, and eſtabliſhes his Court there. The King of TYRE ſends Embaſſadors to DAVID, and makes an Alliance with him.

Jeruſalem repaired, and alſo called the city of David.

AFTER the capture of the citadel, David repaired the fortifications of the place, and gave it the additional title of the city of David; and he removed his court thither, where it continued for the whole ſubſequent term of his reign. At the time of transferring his court from Hebron to Jeruſalem, he had reigned over the tribe of Judah alone ſeven years and ſix months; and, by the continual embelliſhments which he beſtowed on the latter place, it became, at length, the ſeat of the utmoſt ſplendor and magnificence.

Embaſſy of Hiram.

At this period embaſſadors were ſent by Hiram, king of Tyre, to ſolicit an alliance with David; and theſe perſons brought with them a valuable preſent of cedar-wood, and alſo a number of ingenious workmen, in different branches, for the purpoſe of conſtructing a palace for his reſidence in Jeruſalem. David united the fortreſs above-mentioned to the city, and encompaſſed both with a wall.

CHAP. IV.

DAVID gains ſeveral Victories over the PHILISTINES and their Allies. The Ark is conducted to JERUSALEM. UZZAH, for touching the Ark,

‡ David was of an enterpriſing genius, which he always employed for the honour and intereſt of his country. His ſiege of Jeruſalem was founded in juſtice, and the taking it neceſſary to the ſafety of his government and people. It was ſituated in the middle of the tribe of Benjamin, and taken by the Hebrews ſoon after Joſhua's death; not indeed the whole of it, but the lower city; for the Jebuſites kept poſſeſſion of the fortreſs of Zion, the Hebrews and Jebuſites dwelling together in the other part of the city after it was rebuilt. The Hebrews dwelt in it in the reign of Saul, for David took the head of the Philiſtine, and brought it to Jeruſalem; 1 Sam. xvii. 54. But the whole city, as well as the fort, was now in the hands of the Jebuſites; for when David demanded the reſtitution of the city, the Jebuſites ſay, "Thou ſhalt not come in hither." How it came into the poſſeſſion of the Jebuſites, is not ſaid. Probably they ſeized it during the war between Saul and the Philiſtines; or the conteſt between David and Iſhboſheth, which laſted for above ſeven years. David therefore had a right to recover it, as the ancient poſſeſſion and property of his people; and would have been an impolitic negligent prince, had he ſuffered ſo ſtrong a fortreſs, in the midſt of his dominions, to have remained in the hands of his enemies. And what fixed David the more in his reſolution to become maſter of it, was the inſult offered him by the Jebuſites in the town and fortreſs, upon the ſuppoſition that it was impregnable.

is punished with instant Death. DAVID sings and dances before it; and is reproached by his Wife MICHAL, as acting unbecomingly.

The Philistines attack the Hebrews, who defeat them.

WHEN intelligence was communicated to the Philistines that the sovereignty of David had been recognized by all the tribes, they marched into the country of the Israelites, and encamped on a spot, situated at a small distance from Jerusalem, which bears the name of the Valley of the Giants. David having consulted the Oracle, as was his constant custom before he entered upon any enterprize of importance, and having received a favourable answer, immediately marched against the enemy, whom he surprised in their camp, and routed with a prodigious slaughter.

Although this victory was obtained with great facility, and with a very trifling loss of men on the side of the Israelites, it must not be from thence inferred that the enemy were deficient either in numbers or bravery; they having called to their aid the Syrians, Phœnicians, and several other warlike nations; their frequent losses in former contests with the Hebrews having rendered them incapable of supporting a war without such assistance. Their martial spirit, however, was not depressed, for they again appeared in the field, with an army thrice as numerous as that with which they last invaded the country of the Hebrews, and encamped on the same spot on which they had been defeated by that people.

David once more consulted the Oracle, and was ordered to post his army in a certain forest, named the Grove of Mourning, and to lie quiet till he should perceive a supernatural agitation in the leaves and branches of the trees, without the slightest breath of air to occasion it; immediately upon which signal he might attack the enemy, with the most perfect confidence of success. These orders David closely observed, and the Philistines gave way on the first onset, and fled in the utmost confusion as soon as the Israelites advanced so near as to be able to use their swords. The Hebrews continued the pursuit, with great slaughter, as far as Gazer, which is situated on the frontiers of the country of the Philistines; after which they returned to plunder the enemy's camp, where they found an immense booty, and also the idols of the Philistines, which they utterly destroyed.

They are a second time worsted.

This war being terminated so speedily and fortunately for the Israelites, David, with the advice of the elders and chief persons of the several tribes, determined to march with his whole army, accompanied by the priests and Levites to Kirjath-jearim, for the purpose of conducting the ark of God from thence to Jerusalem; which city was destined to be the place at which the people were to assemble in future, to offer up their oblations, and to perform all the other offices of their religion; a proper observance of which duties, would have preserved Saul from the fatal catastrophe which he experienced.

David makes preparations for bringing the ark to Jerusalem.

When the necessary preparations had been made, the ark was removed from the house of Aminidab, by the priests and Levites, who placed it on a carriage constructed for the purpose, and drawn by oxen, and delivered it into the care of their sons, and the other persons of their families. David took the lead in the procession, and was followed by a numerous body of the people, dancing and singing hymns of praise to the Almighty, in which they were accompanied by various performers on the harp, cymbal, and other instruments. In this order they proceeded towards Jerusalem; and, when they arrived at the spot which is distinguished by the title of the Threshing-floor of Chidon, or Nachon, the oxen which drew the carriage chancing to stumble, Uzzah, who happened to be close to the ark at the time, put forth his hand to save it from falling, and was immediately struck dead by the judicial vengeance of heaven, in consequence of his presuming to touch it: a privilege enjoyed solely by the priests and Levites*. The unhappy fate of this man, greatly affected both David and the people in general; and the place was, from that day, intituled Perez-Uzzah, or *the Transgression of Uzzah.*

Uzzah's presumption punished with death.

The severity of the punishment inflicted on Uzzah so much alarmed David, that he was apprehensive lest a similar fate should attend himself, if he persisted in his design of removing the ark to Jerusalem: he, therefore, deposited it in the house of Obed-Edom, a Levite of great reputation for the sanctity of his manners, who lived in the open country, at some distance from that city, where it remained for the space of three months. During this period, Obed-Edom, whose circumstances had been hitherto much contracted, acquired a degree of wealth, which rendered him at once the envy and admiration of all who knew him. This incident being communicated to David, he no longer entertained any doubts of the propriety of conducting the ark to Jerusalem; and he, accordingly, gave immediate orders for its removal, which was performed in the following form:

The ark brought to the house of Obed-Edom.

A certain number of the priests went first, carrying the ark on their shoulders, and these were accompa-

* The ark ought not to have been drawn by oxen, but carried by the Levites on their shoulders, as we find it afterwards; and their neglecting to do it on this solemn occasion, and consulting their ease more than their duty, was an offence of no small aggravation. Besides this, the Levites were prohibited from touching the ark, under the express penalty of death, Numb. iv. 15—20. And as this is the first instance that we have of violating this prohibition, the penalty of death was incurred, and therefore justly inflicted by him that threatened it, as an example to others, and to preserve a due reverence to the divine institution, and shews that the prohibition was divine; and as David himself and the whole house of Israel were present at the solemnity, the nature of the death, and the reason why it was inflicted, could not be concealed.

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nied by a band of ſinging men, at the head of whom was the king himſelf, who danced and ſung with the reſt, to the ſound of his harp; and the proceſſion was cloſed by an infinite multitude of the people. Upon the arrival of the ark at Jeruſalem, it was placed in the tabernacle which David had cauſed to be built purpoſely for its reception; and ſo numerous were the oblations offered up in conſequence of this event, that each man, woman, and child, who were preſent at the ceremony, received a piece of fleſh and a cake of bread.

The ark conveyed to Jeruſalem.

When David returned to his palace, he was met by his wife Michal, the daughter of Saul; who could not refrain from reproaching him with an indecency of conduct, in dancing before the ark, in the manner above-mentioned, and thus expoſing himſelf to the deriſion of his ſervants and handmaids. But David juſtified the action, as being, he maintained, pleaſing to that Almighty Power, who had preferred him before the king her father, and all the reſt of his countrymen.

David forms a deſign to build a magnificent temple.

The uninterrupted felicity which David now enjoyed, inſpired him with the deſign of building a ſumptuous temple for the public worſhip of the Deity; deeming it in an high degree criminal, any longer to permit the ark of God to remain in ſo unworthy a building as a tabernacle, at a time when he reſided in a palace conſtructed and ornamented with the utmoſt profuſion of elegance and ſplendor; and to this he was further incited, by an ancient prediction of Moſes on that ſubject. Nathan the prophet alſo, to whom the king communicated the reſolution which he had formed, highly approved of the deſign, and encouraged him to execute it with all convenient diſpatch. But on the following night the Lord ſpake thus to Nathan: "Inform David, that I approve his propoſal for dedicating a temple to my worſhip; but that on account of the hoſtilities in which he has been engaged, having rendered him a man of blood, I cannot conſent to the deſign being carried into effect in his days. Inſtruct him, that on the concluſion of a long reign of felicity, he ſhall charge the execution of this important buſineſs to his ſon Solomon, who ſhall experience from me the tendereſt care of a father towards an only child. You are further commiſſioned to ſay, that if Solomon ſhall degenerate into wickedneſs, the land ſhall be viſited by ſickneſs or famine, but that the government ſhall not be tranſlated to another family." Nathan immediately repaired to David, and related this meſſage from the Almighty. David proſtrated himſelf before the ark, and worſhipped the Lord. "Almighty God (ſaid he) thou haſt exalted thy ſervant from the ſheep fold, to the eminence of regal power and dignity. For all thy benefits and mercies, glorified be thy holy name. I bleſs thee, O God, for thy providences towards myſelf, thy gracious promiſe to my poſterity, and for the many protections and deliverances of thy people*." Having accompanied this benediction with an hymn to the honour of God, he departed.

Meſſage from God, by the prophet Nathan, concerning it.

CHAP. V.

The PHILISTINES, the MOABITES, and the SOPHENIANS ſubdued by DAVID.

BEING naturally averſe to a life of inactivity, David determined to commence hoſtilities againſt the Philiſtines; and to proſecute this deſign, he was animated by the prediction, that having effectually vanquiſhed all his enemies, he ſhould leave the government to his ſucceſſor in a ſtate of perfect tranquillity.

In preparation for the conqueſt he had meditated, he called a general rendezvous of his forces; and when he judged them to be in a proper condition to march, he invaded the country of the enemy, and made ſeizure of very conſiderable tracts of land, which he annexed to the juriſdiction of the Iſraelites. He declared war againſt the Moabites, upon whom he committed a terrible ſlaughter. About one third of the enemy eſcaped the rage of battle, and they were rendered tributaries to David. Near the Euphrates he encountered, and obtained a complete victory over, Adrazar the ſon of Arach, who was king of the Sophenians. In this action he deſtroyed twenty thouſand foot, and five thouſand horſe. He took from the enemy a thouſand chariots, one hundred of which he reſerved, and the reſt he burnt.

David overcomes Adad, king of Syria.

Some time after, Adad, king of Syria and Damaſcus, marched a formidable army to the aſſiſtance of his friend and ally Adrazar, expecting thereby to remove the ſeat of war from the country of the Sophenians. After ſome ſkirmiſhes, a general engagement enſued near the Euphrates, wherein twenty thouſand of the troops of Adad were deſtroyed, and the reſt were put to flight.

His further conqueſts.

David ſubdued Damaſcus and the other parts of Syria, and eſtabliſhed garriſons in ſuch places as he judged to be convenient; and having ſubjected the whole country to contribution, he returned to Jeruſalem, taking with him the golden quivers and other rich trophies obtained in the battle with Adad. He dedicated this ſpoil to the Lord, in gratitude for the victory obtained through his favour; and ſtill continued to purſue his conqueſts under the evident aſſiſtance and protection of heaven. He beſieged two of the moſt conſiderable cities in the dominions of Adrazar, which were called Bettea and Machon, and acquired gold and ſilver to

* Abarbinel, in his explanation of this part of ſacred writ, tells us, that the royal prophet, on this occaſion, magnifies the goodneſs of the Lord, who had not only made him a powerful king, but had promiſed that his ſeed for a long ſeries of years, and at laſt, the great Meſſiah, the deſire of all nations, ſhould ſit upon his throne.

an immenſe value, excluſive of a conſiderable quantity of a kind of braſs, held in greater eſtimation even than gold itſelf; and this metal Solomon cauſed to be uſed in forming the beautiful baſons and the extenſive veſſel called the ſea, by which the temple was decorated.

Toi enters into a league with David.

Toi, the king of Hamath, having received intelligence that David had ſubdued the army of Adrazar, he judged it expedient to provide for his own ſafety by connecting himſelf to the victor in a league of amity. He furniſhed his ſon Joram with a variety of magnificent preſents, conſiſting of antique veſſels in gold, ſilver, and braſs, curiouſly wrought, and in the higheſt perfection, and commiſſioned him to congratulate David on his victory over Adrazar, and to propoſe an alliance. The king graciouſly received the embaſſador, accepted the preſents, and gave him an honourable aſſurance that he acquieſced in the propoſed alliance. Theſe gifts, and the remaining part of the ſpoil obtained from the enemies he had conquered, he gratefully dedicated to the Lord, to whom he attributed the whole honour of his victories. David's ſucceſs was not confined to thoſe undertakings wherein he was perſonally engaged; for the Almighty favoured his cauſe in the enterprizes which were attempted by the officers he deputed, as will appear in the following inſtance: Abiſhai, the brother of Joab, being commiſſioned to lead an army againſt the Idumæans, encountered and cut off eighteen thouſand of the enemy, and having ſecured the intire ſubmiſſion of the reſt by the eſtabliſhment of a number of garriſons, made them tributaries, and impoſed a tax upon the whole people by the head.

Principal officers, &c.

David was a man of ſuch ſtrict integrity in the execution of his judicial character, that in all the appeals ſubmitted to his deciſion he never pronounced a ſent that was not ſtrictly conſiſtent with the principles of juſtice. He appointed Joab, the ſon of Zeruiah, to be his general; and Joſephat, the ſon of Ahilud, keeper of the records; from the houſe of Phinehas, he ſelected his friends Abiathar and Zadok to be his prieſts; and he nominated Seraiah his ſecretary; his perſonal guard, into which his elder ſons were incorporated, was commanded by Benaiah, the ſon of Jehoiada.

David inquires after Jonathan's iſſue.

Having regulated and eſtabliſhed his domeſtic concerns, the king directed his attention towards his deceaſed friend Jonathan; inquiring what ſons, friends, and relations he had left, with a view to make them the ſubjects for the exerciſe of his gratitude; for among his virtues was that of remembering paſt benefits, which he ever made it a point of conſcience to acknowledge and requite*. A man named Ziba, who had been in the ſervice of Saul, was brought to David as the moſt likely perſon to ſatisfy his inquiries; and from this man he learnt that a ſon of Jonathan, named Mephiboſheth, was ſtill living, and that he was lame of one leg, the nurſe having let him fall from her arms upon hearing of the terrible engagement wherein his father and grandfather were ſlain. Upon further inquiry, the king was informed that the ſon of his friend had been brought up by one Machir, of the city of Lodeba, where he ſtill remained. The king immediately ſent for the young man, who being ſoon brought into his preſence, proſtrated himſelf at his feet, and ſhewed him other marks of reverence. David encouraged him with the aſſurance that he might rely upon a continuance of the favour and protection of his ſovereign. He ſoon after gave him poſſeſſion of the eſtates and other effects left by his father and grandfather; receiving him as his particular gueſt, and appointing him to eat at his own table. Mephiboſheth having made grateful acknowledgments to his benefactor, Ziba was called, whom David commiſſioned to ſuperintend the grounds; and at ſtated periods, to deliver the profits to the ſon of Jonathan, who took up his reſidence with the king, and was on all occaſions treated with the reſpect due to a child of the family. The king further ordered that Ziba, his fifteen ſons and twenty others of his family, ſhould be the attendants upon Mephiboſheth. Mephiboſheth's iſſue was a ſon called Micha.

Hanun's inſulting uſage of David's meſſengers.

Nahaſh the king of the Ammonites, the friend and ally of David, died about this time, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Hanun; to whom David diſpatched an embaſſy to offer condolements in his affliction, and aſſurances of maintaining the league of amity which had ſubſiſted between him and the deceaſed. The principal people among the Ammonites falſely inſinuated to their king, that theſe meſſengers, under the pretext of being charged with a compliment of ſtate, had been ſent by David for the purpoſe of examining into the ſtrength and defenſive ſtate of the country; and they adviſed him to act with circumſpection, leſt the opportunity ſhould eſcape of fruſtrating the treacherous deſigns which they pretended to have been meditated by the king of Iſrael. Hanun, being prevailed upon by theſe unmerited calumnies, diſmiſſed the embaſſadors with one half of their beards and one half of their veſts cut off. In this condition they returned; and having repreſented to David the ignominious treatment they had received, he became highly incenſed againſt Hanun for his contempt of the laws of nations, honour, and hoſpitality, and determined to avenge the groſs inſult which had been offered to him, in the perſons of his embaſſadors, by an immediate declaration of war. The Ammonites being convinced that their perfidious conduct would not admit of excuſe, prepared

The Ammonites prepare for war.

* David's generous diſpoſition towards the children of Jonathan, evidenced a grateful and princely ſpirit: his benevolence herein alſo implied thankfulneſs to God, for being elevated to the regal dignity in the room of Saul; who, though his inveterate enemy, is remembered with kindneſs, and whoſe poſterity, agreeable to the oath David had taken, had many favours heaped upon them.

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to defend themſelves againſt David, who they learnt had formed the reſolution of vindicating himſelf by force of arms. Hanun diſpatched embaſſadors to Syrus, king of Meſopotamia, with a preſent of a thouſand talents, in order to engage him in an alliance; Syrus conſented, and obtained the aſſiſtance of the king of Zoba, in ſupport of the cauſe of the Ammonites. The joint forces of theſe kings amounted to twenty-two thouſand foot. The aſſiſtance of the king of Maachab, and of king Iſhtob was likewiſe purchaſed, and they alſo muſtered twenty-two thouſand men equipped for war.

CHAP. VI.

JOAB obtains a Victory over HANUN and the confederate Powers. DAVID defeats the King of SYRIA, and commits a terrible Slaughter upon his Army. DAVID becomes enamoured of BATHSHEBA, and, after having gratified his Paſſion, contrives the Death of her Huſband. AMNON violates TAMAR, and her Brother ABSALOM meditates his Deſtruction.

The Syrians are defeated.

CONSCIOUS of the ſupport of God in a juſt cauſe, the courage of David ſuffered no diminution on account of the powerful confederacy which was formed againſt him. He intruſted the conduct of the army to Joab, who proceeded on his march, and encamped before the principal city of the enemy, which was called Rabbah. The troops marched out of the town, and the auxiliaries were drawn up in order of battle in the open field, while the Ammonites were ranged under the walls of the town, facing the Hebrew army. Joab made a ſimilar diſpoſition of his army, and giving the command of one body to his brother Abiſhai, with orders to attack the Ammonites, he put himſelf at the head of the other, which was compoſed of choſen men, and prepared to engage Syrus. It being agreed, that in caſe of either being hard preſſed by the enemy, the other ſhould repair to his aſſiſtance; and Joab having enjoined his brother to an honourable diſcharge of the truſt repoſed in him, they proceeded to their reſpective deſtinations. Joab gave battle to Syrus, who for ſome time maintained a courageous defence, but a conſiderable number of his men being cut off, the reſt declined the conteſt and made a retreat. This circumſtance ſtruck the Ammonites with ſuch terror, that they retired into the town before Abiſhai approached to offer them battle. Joab now led his army in triumph back to Jeruſalem.

The Ammonites and Syrians are again overcome.

Notwithſtanding this ſignal defeat, the reſtleſs ſpirit of the Ammonites ſtill remained unſubdued; and they applied to Chalama, king of the Syrians, who was ſtationed on the other ſide the Euphrates, for an auxiliary force, which he undertook to provide on condition of receiving a ſtipulated price. Chalama appointed Shobac, his lieutenant general, to lead an army of eighty thouſand foot and ten thouſand horſe to the aſſiſtance of the Ammonites. In conſequence of the formidable reinforcement which the enemy had received, David judged it to be no longer expedient to intruſt the conduct of the war to his deputies; and therefore he aſſumed the command of his whole army, and having paſſed the Jordan, proceeded to an engagement, in which he killed forty thouſand foot and ſeven thouſand horſe: Shobach, the general of Chalama, received a wound in the action which cauſed his death. The preſumption of the Meſopotamians being effectually humbled by this event, they ſent embaſſadors with preſents to David; and with acknowledgments of ſubmiſſion to his power, they were commiſſioned to intreat that he would decline a further proſecution of the war. David now returned to Jeruſalem; and Joab was again diſpatched againſt the Ammonites, whom he obliged to retire into Rabbah, to which place he a ſecond time laid ſiege, and committed great havock in that city and ſeveral other parts of the enemy's country.

Account of David's adultery with Bathſheba, and murder of Uriah.

Though David was a man of great piety and juſtice, he was not exempt from the frailties of human nature; for he was guilty of an heinous crime, whereby he incurred the diſpleaſure of the Almighty. In the cool of the evening, as he was walking on the terrace of his palace, he perceived a woman of moſt exquiſite beauty who was bathing. He inſtantly conceived a violent paſſion for her, and cauſed her to be brought to his bed. She became pregnant, and repreſenting to the king that if her fault ſhould be diſcovered, the laws of her country would condemn her to death, ſupplicated him to deviſe ſome means for keeping the affair profoundly ſecret. Uriah, Joab's armour bearer, and the huſband of this woman, who was named Bathſheba, was ordered into the preſence of the king, who queſtioned him concerning the ſtate of the army, and the progreſs of the ſiege. He replied, that things were in the moſt favourable train for ſucceſs. David invited him to ſupper, and after the repaſt, ordered him to repair to his habitation and repoſe that night with his wife. Uriah, notwithſtanding, remained among the guards in the palace; and when this was known to the king, he aſked him on what account he had neglected the opportunity of viſiting his wife, after ſo long an abſence? Uriah an-

* This is uſually ſurrounded by two walls, the outermoſt of which partly projects over the ſtreet, partly makes the partition with the contiguous houſes, and is frequently ſo low, that one may eaſily climb over it. The other, which may be named the parapet-wall, hangs immediately over the court, being always breaſt-high, and anſwers to the *battlements*, Deut. xxii. 8. Inſtead of this parapet wall, the *tops* or *terraces* of ſome houſes are guarded with baluſtrades, or latticed work, which ſeems to be the ſame with that *net* or *lattice*, 2 Kings i. 2. On theſe terraces ſeveral domeſtic offices were performed, as appears from Joſh. ii. 6.

ſwered, that he judged it not conſiſtent with the honour of a ſoldier to indulge himſelf in the embraces of his wife at a time when his general and fellow ſoldiers lay on the earth in the open country of an enemy. The king commanded him to remain another night, telling him he ſhould return to the camp on the following day. He was again called to ſupper with David, and he plied him with liquors in expectation that in the gaiety of his heart he would go to Bathſheba; but he was diſappointed, for Uriah ſpent this night alſo, as he had done the preceding one, among the guards. This proved ſo highly aggravating to the king, that he wrote to Joab, informing him, that being juſtly incenſed againſt Uriah, he was determined to puniſh him according to his demerits*: this letter further expreſſed, that to prevent any reproach falling upon David, Joab ſhould appoint Uriah to undertake ſome deſperate enterprize, and that his companions ſhould be inſtructed to deſert him to the mercy of the enemy. David having written this letter, and ſealed it with the royal ſeal, committed it to the care of Uriah, to be delivered to Joab, who having received it, obeyed the royal mandate by ordering Uriah to undertake a moſt dangerous expedition; but, to put a face of plauſibility on the matter, commiſſioned ſeveral men of acknowledged bravery to ſecond him; and told him, that if any difficulty aroſe as to his entrance into the town, he ſhould be ſupported by the whole army. Joab likewiſe recommended it to him, to ſupport the character he already held in the opinion both of the king and the army, by every poſſible exertion of his military courage. Uriah accepted the commiſſion with great readineſs; but Joab gave private orders to thoſe who attended him, to deſert him when they found that he was ſurrounded with the utmoſt difficulties. As the Hebrews preſſed hard upon the wall, the Ammonites were apprehenſive that they would enter the town by force; on which they threw open their gates, and ruſhed out in great numbers; which ſerved as a hint to thoſe who attended Uriah, that this was the preciſe moment to obey the orders of Joab, by deſerting him. Thus, then, they left him at the mercy of his enemies, againſt whom he fought with aſtoniſhing reſolution, and did wonders with his ſingle arm againſt an oppoſing multitude; but after being wounded in ſeveral places, he fell breathleſs on the ground; and with him fell a ſmall number of his friends, who had not been informed of the plot laid againſt him.

As ſoon as the conteſt was ended, Joab ſent an expreſs to David, acquainting him that, to put a ſpeedy end to the ſiege, he had made an aſſault on the town, but had been compelled to retreat to the camp, with the loſs of ſeveral of his men. Joab gave private inſtructions to the perſon who carried this expreſs, that if David appeared affected with his information, he might add, that Uriah was among the ſlain.

David having expreſſed his diſapprobation of the conduct of Joab, the meſſenger mentioned, as a caſual circumſtance, the death of Uriah; on which the king obſerved, that it was but an effect of the common chance of war, and that ſoldiers muſt be alike prepared to meet every change of circumſtances†.

The intelligence received of Uriah's death occaſioned Bathſheba to ſhut herſelf up for ſome time, while ſhe paid the tribute of mourning to his memory; but no ſooner was the ſeaſon of ſorrow at an end, than David eſpouſed her, and ſhe ſoon afterwards made him the mother of a ſon. So contrary was this match to the will of heaven, that Nathan the prophet was informed, in a dream, of the diſpleaſure of God on the occaſion, and commiſſioned to reprimand David for his crime. Nathan, who poſſeſſed great knowledge of mankind, conſidering how little regard princes paid to the admonition of reaſon, particularly while they were under the influence of their paſſions, inſtead of directly informing David of what he had learnt in the viſion, introduced his inſtructions by way of narrative, as will be ſeen in the following recital.

"Two men (ſaid he) dwelt in the ſame city, one of whom was diſtinguiſhed by his affluence, having plenty of oxen, ſheep, and all other kinds of cattle. The other was a very poor man, poſſeſſed of only one ſingle lamb, which he reared and fed with his children, and loved it as tenderly as if it had been his own child. It happened that the rich man had a viſitor came to ſee him, whom he could not do leſs than entertain in an hoſpitable manner; but rather than furniſh his table from his own abundant ſtore, he cauſed the poor man to be robbed of his only lamb, to furniſh a ſupper for the viſitor."—"Wretch that he is (cried the king) to be guilty of ſo inhoſpitable an action; he ought to make fourfold reſtitution to the injured party, and forfeit his life as a farther atonement;"—On which Nathan inſtantly ſaid, "Thou art the man, and ſtandeſt condemned from the words of thy own mouth."—After this declaration the prophet related the particulars of his viſion, ſaying how highly God was offended with the conduct of David: reminded him of his ingratitude to

* This account differs very materially, in ſeveral parts of it, from that given in holy writ; and it ſhould ſeem that Joſephus had not conſulted the ſacred writings on this ſubject, but had only regarded traditional information. Notwithſtanding the difference, this may be eſteemed as one amongſt many other proofs of the authenticity of the ſcriptures: for although other hiſtorians may differ in the relation of the ſame circumſtance, it is a corroborative evidence that ſuch circumſtance really occurred, and that there was no colluſion between them to deceive mankind.

† The meaneſt diſſimulation, and moſt atrocious hypocriſy, ſtigmatiſe the conduct of David, as well as murder and adultery.—What a train of evils neceſſarily attended the commiſſion of one heinous offence! well might the Almighty be diſpleaſed with the royal ſinner, who thus abuſed his delegated power to anſwer the infamous purpoſe of laſciviouſneſs: his conduct formed, in this inſtance, a hideous contraſt to the amiable and pious youth when perſecuted by Saul, and when he followed the ewes great with young! Lord what is man, but a monſter of iniquity, when left to himſelf!

that Providence which had advanced him to the throne, ſubjected the ſurrounding nations to his command, and repeatedly delivered him from the hands of Saul. "And now (ſaid Nathan) ſhall you, who have a number of legal wives, compel in defiance of all laws divine and human, the wife of another man to cohabit with you, and then betray the huſband to certain death from the hands of the enemy! What, after ſuch conduct, can you expect, but that the vengeance of Heaven ſhould overtake you?"—Nathan farther ſaid, that David ſhould live to know that one of his ſons had committed a rape on his women, and ſhould find that ſon brought to condign puniſhment. The prophet moreover added, that this child by Bathſheba ſhould die in a ſhort time. The terrors of theſe words affected David to ſuch a degree, that he trembled with apprehenſion, and confeſſed his ſins with tears expreſſive of his contrition. In conſideration of the good tenor of his life, and that, except in this caſe of Uriah, he had acted as a righteous man, God took compaſſion upon him, and accepted his repentance, promiſing, by his prophet, the continued poſſeſſion of his life and kingdom.

The prophecy of Nathan * having been thus delivered, he took his leave of the king; but he had not been long departed, when the child of Bathſheba, by David, was ſmote with a ſevere illneſs, which afflicted David to ſuch a degree, that he retired to his chamber, and remained there ſeven days, refuſing all kinds of food, laying on the ground wrapped in ſackcloth, and praying inceſſantly for the life of that child to whoſe mother he was ſo much attached. The child died on the ſeventh day; but ſtill the family avoided acquainting the king with it, as they conceived that he whoſe grief was ſo exceſſive, as to induce him to refuſe the common neceſſaries of life only on account of the child's illneſs, would not hear with any kind of patience the news of his death.

The looks of the domeſtics ſufficiently appriſed David that ſomething unuſual had happened, of which they were afraid to give him intelligence; and attributing the matter to its true cauſe, he acquainted one of the ſervants with his ſuſpicions, who owned that the child was dead. Hereupon David aroſe from the ground, waſhed himſelf, put on clean garments, and having ordered his ſervants to provide ſupper againſt his return, went to the tabernacle to worſhip God. A conduct ſo extraordinary and unexpected filled the relations and domeſtics of David with aſtoniſhment: they thought it ſtrange that he ſhould ſo calmly reſign to the death of the child, when his dangerous illneſs only had given riſe to ſo extravagant and ungovernable a degree of grief. Curioſity prompting them to know the real cauſe of this alteration in David's conduct, they hinted their wiſhes to him, and he replied, that "While the child was living, and there were yet hopes of his recovery, he was unwearied in prayer to God to ſpare his life; but when he was abſolutely dead, it would have been equally fooliſh and preſumptuous to weary heaven any longer with his prayers; or to grieve for an irrevocable event." Theſe ſentiments of David were generally approved by all who heard them. Some time after this Bathſheba had a ſon by David, to whom he gave the name of Solomon, in conſequence of the advice of the prophet Nathan.

The Ammonites were by this time extremely diſtreſſed by Joab, who had prevented their receiving ſupplies of proviſions, and cut off all their water except one ſmall ſpring, which they were obliged to uſe very ſparingly, leſt that alſo ſhould fail them; ſo that they were on the verge of periſhing through hunger and thirſt. At this juncture, Joab diſpatched to David a minute account of the ſituation of affairs, requeſting his perſonal attendance at the deſtruction of the city, as an event that would be worthy to be recorded among the other diſtinguiſhed actions of the king's life. No ſooner had David received Joab's diſpatches, than, convinced of his zeal and loyalty, he aſſembled his army, and marched at the head thereof to the aſſault of Rabbah, which being taken by ſtorm, the king allowed his troops all the plunder, which was of immenſe value, excepting a crown of gold, weighing a talent, on which was a ſardonyx ſtone, which was afterwards conſtantly worn by David. The inhabitants of Rabbah were put to death with circumſtances of great torture; and all the other rebellious Ammonite cities ſhared the ſame fate.

Amnon's rape and inceſt with his ſiſter Tamar.

Soon after the iſſue of this diſtinguiſhed victory, its glory was tarniſhed by a moſt unfortunate circumſtance. David had a maiden daughter, named Tamar, who was deemed, beyond all compariſon, the greateſt beauty of the age in which ſhe lived; and ſhe was born of the ſame mother as Abſalom. With this daughter, Amnon, the eldeſt ſon of David, fell violently in love; but as ſhe was ſtrictly guarded, and was poſſeſſed of an innate modeſty, he ſaw no proſpect of ſucceſs in addreſſing her, and pined away through exceſs of grief. This change in Amnon, which daily increaſed to an alarming degree, being obſerved by Jonathan, who was his friend and relation, and a perſon of uncommon ſagacity and penetration, he aſked him the cauſe of his indiſpoſition, and particularly queſtioned him if love was not at the bottom of it; which Jonathan really imagined to be the caſe. To this Amnon replied, that he was enamoured of his own ſiſter; on which, Jonathan gave him a hint how he might gratify his wiſhes. "Feign yourſelf ſick, (ſaid he) and when David pays you a viſit, tell him that you wiſh for the company of your ſiſter, whoſe kind attendance you think will tend greatly to the reſtoration

* The expreſs time when Nathan appeared as a prophet in Iſrael, is no where ſpecified, neither in the ſacred writings, nor in thoſe of any other hiſtorian. But from what is related of him he appears to have been endued with a pleaſing method of addreſs, and knew how to mitigate the ſeverity of his reproofs with a ſuitable mixture of meekneſs and wiſdom, which endowments qualified him for the converſation of monarchs and courtiers. David eſteemed him highly, as he conducted himſelf between the extremes of ſervile flattery, and inflexible auſterity.

of

of your health*." This advice was followed by Amnon; who, on ſeeing David, requeſted his ſiſter's company. This being granted, he begged her to make him ſome cakes; which ſhe made, and baked in his preſence, and preſented them to him; but he refuſed to touch them, and directed the ſervants to leave the apartment, ſaying that he wiſhed to compoſe himſelf. They were no ſooner gone than he begged his ſiſter to carry the cakes into a private room, which ſhe complied with; and he following her, made uſe of every poſſible argument to induce her to gratify his unnatural paſſion. The harmleſs maiden expoſtulated with him, called out for aſſiſtance, and intreated him not to think of ſacrificing the honour of his family for ſuch an extravagant luſt. "Let me be gone, (cried ſhe) for God's ſake, and learn to regulate your deſires by the dictates of honour, religion, and law: or think how you may obtain your father's conſent, nor ſeek to gratify your paſſion by violent means." All her intreaties, however, were in vain; his paſſion made him deaf to the voice of reaſon, and notwithſtanding all her endeavours to the contrary, he forcibly violated her perſon.

Amnon's baſe treatment of her.

The paſſion of Amnon was no ſooner gratified, than the violent love he appeared to have had for his ſiſter was changed into as violent a degree of hatred, and in a moſt imperious tone he commanded her to quit his apartments†. Shocked at this treatment, ſhe aſked if, after having been thus injured, ſhe was to be expoſed to the public, and diſmiſſed, by day-light, to tell the world how ſhe had been inſulted. "This treatment, (ſaid ſhe) even aggravates, if any thing can aggravate, the horror of the crime of which you have been guilty; for in the former inſtance at leaſt, the prevalence of an ungovernable paſſion might be pleaded." All her remonſtrances, and even her ſtruggles were fruitleſs; Amnon ordered his ſervants to turn her out of the houſe; and they complied. As ſhe went through the ſtreets with her veſt torn, and aſhes on her head, lamenting the ill uſage ſhe had received, ſhe was met by her brother Abſalom, who, ſurpriſed at the ſingularity of her appearance, demanded what had happened to her; on which ſhe related the particulars of the ſhocking ill uſage ſhe had received. By way of conſolation, Abſalom ſaid that ſhe was not ſo blameable, as the crime was perpetrated by her own brother; and Tamar becoming thereon ſomewhat pacified, went with Abſalom to his houſe, and reſided with him a conſiderable time.

When David was acquainted with this affair, he was afflicted beyond expreſſion; but as Amnon was his eldeſt and moſt beloved ſon, he declined to puniſh him as the crime deſerved. In the mean time, Abſalom waited for a proper opportunity to be revenged on Amnon‡; and after the expiration of two years from the rape of Tamar, he invited his father and brothers to attend at a ſheep-ſhearing at Baal-Hazor, a city in the tribe of Benjamin. David urged the trouble and extraordinary expence, as a reaſon for his non-attendance; on which Abſalom requeſted, that his brothers only might come; to which David conſenting, Abſalom iſſued orders to his ſervants to attack and kill Amnon when he was in liquor, on a ſignal to be given by their maſter; which they, watching the proper opportunity, executed accordingly.

CHAP. VII.

ABSALOM retreats to GESHUR. JOAB obtains Permiſſion for his Return; and, after a while, to wait on DAVID, whoſe Leave he procures to go and pay a Vow at Hebron, where he gets himſelf proclaimed King. DAVID retires from JERUSALEM. ABSALOM, by the Advice of ACHITOPHEL, is guilty of an heinous Offence.

THE outrage committed on the life of Amnon affected the reſt of the brothers to ſuch a degree, that, conceiving the plot to be intended equally againſt them all, they mounted their horſes, and haſtened away to their father. In the interim, a meſſenger arrived, and informed David that Abſalom had cauſed all his brothers to be ſlain. This afflictive news had ſuch an influence on the mind of David, that, without waiting for a confirmation of it, or reflecting on its incredibility, he abandoned himſelf to the extremity of grief, tore his garments, and, proſtrating himſelf on the ground, lamented equally the horrid crime of the murderer, and the unhappy fate of the deceaſed.

When this news arrived, Jonathan the ſon of Shimei, the brother of David, being with him, adviſed him to have patience, till he had conſidered the improbability of the circumſtance, and received farther information: "For (ſaid he) as there is not the leaſt reaſon to believe all your ſons ſhould be ſlain, I cannot give credit to the ſtory: with regard to Amnon, indeed, it is not improbable but Abſalom may have taken this opportunity to wreak his vengeance on him, for the inſult offered to his ſiſter." During their converſation they heard the feet of horſes, and the noiſe of people as juſt come off a journey; and, on inquiry, they found that the ſons of David, who had eſcaped from the houſe of Abſalom, were juſt then arrived.

* This perſon is here honoured with the name of Jonathan, the approved friend of David; but, alas! a far different ſpirit was in him! In the ſcripture account, he is called Jonadab.

† When love is unlawful, it is vexatious and tormenting in the extreme. Its enormity muſt ſtrike the ſoul with horror, and the impoſſibility of an innocent gratification muſt increaſe that horror to deſpair. A ſituation too painful for human nature to endure.

‡ Becauſe Abſalom neither threatened nor expoſtulated, nor even took the leaſt notice of what had paſſed, Amnon lulled himſelf into a belief that Abſalom would not trouble him on account of his baſe conduct towards Tamar: whereas he had greater reaſon to apprehend that Abſalom was meditating ſome terrible revenge.

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This meeting between David and his children was very affecting, and mutual tears flowed in abundance. The father wept at once with joy at the ſight of thoſe ſons whom he ſuppoſed to be no longer living, and through grief at the recollection of him whom he knew to be dead: while the ſons lamented the murder of their brother, but were conſoled at the thought of returning ſafe to their father: ſo that the whole ſcene was wonderfully pathetic. In the interim, Abſalom departed to Geſhur, where he remained about three years with his grandfather by the mother's ſide, who was a man of conſiderable rank and influence.

Joab's ſtratagem for recalling Abſalom.

By the expiration of this time, the anger of David towards his ſon Abſalom was in a great meaſure ſubſided, and he became diſpoſed to recall him to his favour and friendſhip; and this diſpoſition of the king being obſerved by Joab, the friend of Abſalom, who was continually with David, he conſidered how to improve it to the advantage of his friend. To effect his purpoſe, he had recourſe to an ancient and venerable woman, whom he cauſed to be cloathed in deep mourning, and inſtructed her to lay her caſe before the king, which ſhe repreſented, by way of petition, in the following manner, viz. That two of her ſons, who reſided in the country, having had an unfortunate quarrel, which grew to that height that they came to blows, one of them was unhappily killed in the conteſt: whereupon, ſome of the friends of the deceaſed demanded juſtice to be done on the murderer. Wherefore ſhe ſolicited the king to ſpare the life of her ſon, who, notwithſtanding his offence, was the only comfort of her old age. She added, that her ſon's enemies were ſo determined in their malice, that nothing could protect him, but the interference of the royal authority; and that ſhe had no hope of relief, but in the mercy of her ſovereign *. Having acted her part with great ſkill, the king was induced to comply with her requeſt: upon which, having made many acknowledgments of his conſiderate goodneſs to a mother who ſolicited the life of an only child, ſhe yet beſought his majeſty to grant her one further favour, as a proof that ſhe ſhould not fail to reap the benefit of the royal promiſe; and this was, that he would let the pardon of her child be preceded by that of his own ſon Abſalom: for by extending his compaſſion to him, there could remain no doubt but the intended mercy would be ratified in the caſe of her own child. She added, that as his majeſty had already the misfortune to have loſt one ſon, it would be very inhuman for himſelf to be the deſtruction of another.

David now began to conjecture, that this application of the woman was in conſequence of the advice of Joab; and interrogating her on the ſubject, he found it to be as he ſuſpected; wherefore calling Joab to him, he acquainted him, that his device had ſucceeded, that his anger againſt Abſalom had ſubſided; that he freely pardoned him; and that Joab might recall him whenever he thought proper. This was joyful news to Joab; who, having made the moſt grateful acknowledgments to his ſovereign, repaired inſtantly to Geſhur, and brought back his friend Abſalom to Jeruſalem. When the king was informed of the return of his ſon, he ſent a meſſage to him, importing, that he muſt abſtain from appearing before him for the preſent, for that he could not yet be reconciled to the ſight of him; whereupon, Abſalom remained within the walls of his own houſe, that he might by no means come into the preſence of the king. The trouble and anxiety he had for ſome time paſt encountered, together with the manner of his living, had been rather incompatible with his rank as the ſon of David; yet the ſingular manlineſs and grace of his perſon was not in the leaſt diminiſhed, ſo that he was deemed the wonder of his age. Once in eight months he uſed to cut his hair, and in that ſhort ſpace of time it would grow to the weight of two hundred ſhekels, which are equal to five pounds.

He lived in Jeruſalem, in the private manner above-mentioned, about two years, and by this time had become father of four children, viz. three ſons and a daughter; the latter of whom was remarkably diſtinguiſhed by her beauty, and was afterwards the wife of Rehoboam, the ſon of Solomon, by whom ſhe had a ſon called Abia. As Abſalom grew uneaſy from his mode of living, he ſent to his friend Joab, to obtain permiſſion for him to wait on his father, in hopes that a perfect reconciliation might be the conſequence of an interview. Having in vain expected an anſwer for ſome time, he diſpatched ſome of his ſervants into a field belong to Joab, to burn his corn on the ground, as it was growing. This coming to the knowledge of Joab, he went to Abſalom, complained of the injury, and demanded the reaſon of ſuch proceeding; to which the latter replied, that he had no other way of obtaining ſight of him; that he had written to requeſt his interceſſion with his father, but that he had done nothing in the buſineſs: and added a wiſh, that he would endeavour to pacify the king; "for (ſaid he) if he ſtill continues inflexible, baniſhment itſelf would be preferable to my preſent condition †." This addreſs affected Joab ſo much, that he made immediate application to David, and was ſo ſucceſsful in his ſuit, that the king gave orders for his ſon to be admitted

* The whole intention of this woman's ſpeech was, to frame a caſe ſimilar to that of David, in order to convince him how much more reaſonable it was to preſerve Abſalom. But there was great art in not making the ſimilitude too plain and viſible, leſt the king ſhould perceive the deſign of her petition, before ſhe had obtained a grant of pardon for her ſon, and came to make the application to the king.

† The ſeverity David thought proper to inflict upon his ſon, by not permitting him to appear in the royal preſence, was intended not only to make him ſorry for what he had done, but alſo to convince the people how deteſtable his crime was in his ſight, and how averſe he would be to pardon murderers, ſince he could not endure the ſight of a ſon whoſe hand was defiled with a brother's blood. His affection to him did not hinder him from ſeeing that it would not be for his honour to admit him to be near his perſon.

to his preſence. This favour being obtained, Abſalom threw himſelf at the feet of his father, and humbly ſued for pardon of all his paſt offences: on which David extended his right hand, raiſed him up, and gave him the moſt ſolemn aſſurance that all former crimes ſhould be buried in everlaſting oblivion.

Abſalom aſpires to the crown.

Within a ſhort time, Abſalom became ſo much ingratiated in the favour and affection of the king, that he was permitted to keep a ſplendid equipage, to retain fifty men as his body guard, and to have a great number of ſervants and dependents, beſides chariots and horſes in proportion. He was conſtantly one of the moſt officious in perſonal attendance on the king, yet at the ſame time ever ready to beſpeak, by the moſt plauſible behaviour, the affections of the people. When any perſon who had a cauſe in litigation came to ſue for juſtice, he would treat him in the moſt familiar manner, demanding his name, country, buſineſs, &c. and aſk if he could be perſonally ſerviceable. On the application of ſuch as appeared diſcontented at the paſſing of a hard ſentence, or when verdicts had gone againſt them, he uſed to obſerve, that "bad men were about the king; that his majeſty was ſometimes miſtaken as well as other people; and hinted, that if himſelf had been in the place of others, things would not have happened as they had done:" he would then wiſh the perſons who applied, great ſucceſs, and, in the moſt artful way imaginable, endeavour to ripen their ſentiments to the promotion of the ſcheme he had in view.

Abſalom, by diſſimulation, acquires popularity, and is proclaimed king.

By theſe inſidious methods, he ſoon gained over a large party to his intereſt; and, in the fourth year from the reconcilement to his father, thinking his plan then ripe for the execution, he aſked permiſſion to repair to Hebron, there to fulfil a vow which he had made during his baniſhment. David readily granting his requeſt, he invited a great number of people to attend him, and was followed by many others; among whom was Ahithophel, the Gilonite, the king's principal miniſter, who was attended by two hundred inhabitants of Jeruſalem: but neither theſe nor Ahithophel knew of the intended deſign, namely, to proclaim Abſalom king, which was ſoon afterwards done, by the common conſent of the people.

David departs from Jeruſalem.

Information of this atrocious act being brought to David, he ſtood aſtoniſhed at the inſolence and ingratitude of his ſon, who, after having obtained the royal pardon and being taken into favour, could ſo ſoon embark in ſo rebellious a plot: for it ſeems that the ſcheme was, not only to ſeize on the kingdom, which was the gift of God to David, but to attempt his life alſo. In this perplexing ſituation, the king deliberated with his friends, on the ſteps moſt proper to be taken; and it was agreed that he ſhould go over the river Jordan, to ſome place of greater ſecurity, committing to ten of his concubines the care of the royal palace. Having reſolved, then, to leave the event of this affair to the Almighty, he ſet out on his journey, attended by immenſe numbers of people, who voluntarily embarked in the cauſe of their ſovereign; particularly his ſix hundred friends, who had heretofore ſo faithfully attached themſelves to him when he was perſecuted by Saul. Abiathar and Zadock the high-prieſts, together with the Levites, would gladly have taken the ark with them, and attended David; but he adviſed them not to think of removing, and enforced his requeſt by obſerving, that the preſence of the holy ark would not be neceſſary for his protection, as he ſhould be immediately under that of heaven. His laſt advice was, that they ſhould deviſe ſome private method of informing him, from time to time, of ſuch news as it might import him to be acquainted with: and theſe inſtructions were afterwards admirably obeyed by the good conduct of Jonathan the ſon of Abiathar, and Ahimaaz the ſon of Zadock. With regard to Ittai the Gittite, though adviſed to the contrary, he inſiſted on a perſonal attendance on his ſovereign, whom he accordingly attended.

He hears of the defection of Ahithophel.

As David, ſurrounded by the weeping multitude, was walking bare-footed up mount Olivet, a perſon arrived expreſs, with information that Ahithophel had deſerted his duty, and taken part with the rebellious Abſalom: which news ſo ſhocked the king, that he beſought the Almighty to deprive him of his ſenſes*. Ahithophel was a man of ſo great penetration and ſubtilty, that there was nothing David dreaded ſo much, as the pernicious effects of his counſels.

David had no ſooner reached the ſummit of the mountain, than he caſt his eyes on the city, and wept while he lamented the loſs of his government: on this ſpot he met with the loyal and friendly Huſhai, who, with his cloaths torn and ſtrewing aſhes on his head, was regretting the uncertainty of all ſublunary enjoyments. David encouraged him to bear up under the misfortune with reſolution; and earneſtly adviſed him to return to Jeruſalem, where he might be of eſſential ſervice, by pretending to ſide with the friends of Abſalom, which would give him an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the counſels, and perplexing the ſchemes of Ahithophel. Huſhai, convinced by theſe reaſons, went back to Jeruſalem, to which place Abſalom likewiſe ſoon after repaired.

Falſehood and treachery of Ziba.

David continuing his journey, was met by Ziba, a ſervant to Mephiboſheth, to whom the king had committed the management of an eſtate which he had given to the ſon of his friend Jonathan. Ziba, who was driving a couple of aſſes, complimented David and his attendants with their choice of any part of the burden of his beaſts. Ziba

* The ſacred writer does not ſay ſo much as this; but repreſents David as praying that the counſel of Ahithophel (which was ſo ſure and ſafe, that it was generally followed without ever doubting of its ſucceſs) might be "turned into fooliſhneſs," or fruſtrated and over-ruled.

being

being asked where his master was, replied, that he was at Jerusalem, entertaining hopes that, in honour of the memory of Saul, the people might be induced to take advantage of the present disturbances, to elect him their sovereign. David was so enraged at this instance of ingratitude, that he resumed the estate above-mentioned, which he committed to the care of Ziba, who deemed himself highly gratified by the trust.

Shimei curses and insults David.

When David, in the course of his journey, arrived near Bahurim, Shimei, the son of Gera (a relation of Saul), advancing towards him, threw stones at and cursed him; and abused him the more violently, the more his friends took the part of their sovereign. Shimei attributed all the public calamities to David, whom, with most opprobrious language, he directed to quit the country; thanking God, that his own son had retaliated upon him the insults which David had heretofore offered to his father. All the company present were shocked at this behaviour, and he would certainly have fallen a sacrifice to the resentment of Abishai, but for the interposition of David, who advised him to restrain his passion, and not seek to increase the present calamities. Having given this advice, David proceeded slowly on one side of the mountain, while Shimei went on the other side, cursing him as he advanced *. At length David and his followers arrived on the bank of the river, where they halted to take refreshment after their tedious march, the troops being mustered on the occasion.

Hushai pretends to join Absalom.

About this time, Absalom and Ahithophel arrived at Jerusalem, where prodigious crowds of people received them with every demonstration of joy; nor did Hushai fail to make one of the number, to cry "God save the king," and to wish that his reign might be long and prosperous. Absalom, struck by this circumstance, demanded how it happened that the zealous Hushai should desert his king, and attach himself to the interest of another? To which Hushai artfully replied, that the will of God, and the approbation of the people were not to be resisted. This speech lulled all suspicion that Absalom might have entertained of Hushai.

Ahithophel's abominable counsel followed.

Ahithophel was now consulted what was proper to be done in the present posture of affairs; and his advice was, that Absalom should lay with all David's concubines; and he enforced his advice by saying, that when matters were thus advanced beyond a possibility of reconcilement, the people would infer that the state was more secure. "In the present state of things, (added he) they may think a reconciliation may be effected, in which case their safety would be endangered by declaring in your favour." This advice was followed; and a tent being erected in the place for the occasion, Absalom, in the view of the people, lay with the king's concubines. Thus the prophecy of Nathan, respecting what would befal David, was fulfilled †.

* Whether this man had been a personal sufferer in the fall of Saul's family, or what had exasperated him against David, no where appears; but it seems as if he had conceived some rancorous hatred to him, when neither the presence of the king, nor the terror of his guards, could restrain him from throwing stones, and venting bitter speeches against him; and it appears as if the king was fallen into the utmost contempt, when a private man could think of venting his malice at him, in so gross a manner, with impunity. Such rage was little less than madness; since he could not injure David, but might, for his insult, have suffered immediate death.

† In addition to this grievous affliction, it should seem that David's transgression, in the matter of Uriah, was, in a greater or less degree, the cause of his mourning all his days; and though God forgave the sin, he caused David to see and feel both that, and the punishment of it, in the miseries with which he was afterwards afflicted in his family.

CHAP. VIII.

AHITHOPHEL opposed, and over-ruled by HUSHAI. AHITHOPHEL hangs himself in his own House. AMASA, being created General by ABSALOM, engages DAVID in Battle, and is routed. ABSALOM found hanging on the Bough of a Tree, by the Hair of his Head. JOAB strikes ABSALOM, with his Javelin, through the Heart.

Ahithophel's further counsel to Absalom defeated by Hushai.

AHITHOPHEL's late advice had no sooner been carried into execution, than consultations were held how to prosecute the war; when he said, that if he might be intrusted with the command of ten thousand select men, he would bring the head of David, or be content to forfeit his own: adding, that the loss of David's life would secure the government to Absalom, and safety to the public. This proposal appeared highly agreeable to Absalom; but before he came to a resolution, he thought it prudent to take the advice of Hushai; whose opinion being demanded, he gave it to the following purport: "It is unnecessary for me to remind you, Sir, of the acknowledged valour of your father, and of the numbers of brave men in his service, in conjunction with whom he hath always been victorious. You are equally well acquainted with his courage and his skill. Our advances will undoubtedly be announced to him; and it is probable, that his troops will wait to engage us, in some wood, valley, or behind a rock; or should we advance to attack them, they would probably retreat by degrees till we are surrounded, and the whole body fall upon us at once. I would wish you, Sir, to consider, that in an emergency, such as I speak of, whether the encouragement given to the enemy, joined to the consternation into which we should be thrown, would not create a confusion very unfavourable to your army. You will now, Sir, please to consider, whether my advice or that of Ahithophel is most proper to be pursued. But having proceeded thus far, let me inform you what I think, in our present situation, would be the most rational

mode

mode of acting. Give orders that the whole body of the Hebrews aſſemble, at a fixed time and place, to wage war with David; and when they are come together, do you aſſume the command of them all, without delegating your authority to any other perſon. This being done, David muſt either retire to the walled towns, ſtrong holds, or other ſecure places, or take the open field: in the latter caſe, your numbers will be ſufficient to deſtroy him; and among them will be a multitude whoſe pride and ambition will ſtimulate them to appear foremoſt in the ſervice of their prince and country. Thus the ruin of David will be certain: but, if he ſhould act only the defenſive part, and ſeek ſecurity by ſecreting himſelf; there are many ways of reducing him to ſubmiſſion, ſuch as ſtarving, mining, or battering*." Huſhai had no ſooner delivered his opinion, than it was determined to follow his advice, in preference to that of Ahithophel; and even Abſalom voted in favour of this reſolution; but it ought to be remembered, that the hand of Providence guided this event.

Huſhai informs David of what paſſed.

This determination was no ſooner made, than Huſhai haſtened to Abiathar and Zadok, the prieſts, with an account of the reſult of the conference; intreating them to ſend away inſtantly an expreſs to David, conjuring him to paſs over the river Jordan that night; for that his enemies might attack him in his preſent ſituation, if they ſhould learn where he was, or if any alteration ſhould happen in their ſentiments. To forward any intelligence of this kind, the high-prieſts had procured lodgings for their ſons without the city, and had a truſty maid-ſervant to carry the diſpatches to them; and no ſooner was the information received, than the young men haſtened to obey their orders: but they had not proceeded a quarter of a mile on their journey before they were diſcovered by ſome horſemen; and Abſalom, being ſoon appriſed of the circumſtance, gave orders for apprehending them. The young men, having learnt the danger they were in, quitted the high-road, and went towards Bahurim, a little village not far from Jeruſalem, where a woman undertook to hide them; which ſhe effected, by putting them down into a well, over which ſhe threw the ſkins of ſome beaſts. They were but juſt got ſafe into this retreat, when ſome men came after them, and inquired if ſhe had not ſeen ſuch people. She confeſſed, that two men anſwering the deſcription had drunk at her gate, and were gone forward; nor could there be any doubt of overtaking them in a ſhort time. This did not ſatisfy the purſuers, who ſought for them a long time in vain, and then returned to Jeruſalem. When the woman was certain they were at a proper diſtance, ſhe releaſed the young men from the well, who immediately purſued their journey, and informed David of the proceedings of Abſalom. Though their arrival was late, David managed ſo as to get his people acroſs the river before morning.

Ahithophel, on his advice being rejected, hangs himſelf.

Ahithophel was ſo much chagrined that Huſhai's advice had been preferred to his, that he got upon his aſs, and retired to his houſe at Galmon, and, aſſembling his family, acquainted them what counſel he had given to Abſalom, who had rejected it; adding, that the rejection of this advice would ſoon prove ruinous to him, for that David would conquer his ſon, and recover the ſovereign authority: "And now (ſaid he) it is leſs diſgraceful for me to meet death while I can boaſt my freedom, than to wait the re-eſtabliſhment of the king, when I ſhall be ſacrificed by the father for the ſervices I have done the ſon." He had no ſooner thus expreſſed himſelf, than he retired to a private room, and hanged himſelf†, from a conſciouſneſs of his own demerits; and he was buried by his relations.

Barzillai, &c. meet David, with a ſupply of proviſions.

David had now paſſed the river Jordan, and arrived at Mahanaim, one of the principal cities in that part of the country; when Siphar, a prince of Ammon, Barzillai and Machir, two of the chief inhabitants of Gilead, treated him with the utmoſt liberality and affection, as did alſo all the principal perſons of that diſtrict; not only in his preſent diſtreſſed circumſtances, but from the recollection of his former rank and dignity. Such was the kind affection of theſe people, that David and his retinue were amply ſupplied with meat, bread, wine, lodging, and every other article that could contribute either to their ſupport or accommodation. During theſe tranſactions, Abſalom having aſſembled a large army to oppoſe David, croſſed the river Jordan, and encamped near Mahanaim, a town of Gilead. Of this army Amaſa was appointed general, in the room of Joab: now Zeruiah the mother of Joab and Abigail the mother of Amaſa, were both the ſiſters of David.

Diſpoſition of David's ſmall army for attacking that of Abſalom.

On the review of the army, David found himſelf able to muſter only four thouſand men; yet with this ſmall number he determined rather to act offenſively, than to wait till he ſhould be attacked by Abſalom: he therefore ſeparated his army into three diviſions, and appointed proper officers to each; giving the firſt diviſion to Joab, the ſecond to Abiſhai, and the third to Ittai, the Gittite. The king would willingly have been preſent with the army; but in this he was oppoſed by his adherents, urging, that if they ſhould be vanquiſhed while he was in the field, their whole plan would be fruſtrated, and the conteſt at an end; whereas, on the contrary, if one of the diviſions ſhould be routed, the reſt might retreat to him, and ſome mode might be adopted to recruit the army: and, excluſive of this conſideration, the king's ab-

* Since the laws of nature and arms have made no difference with reſpect to the way of conqueſt; and thoſe of mercy and humanity ſeem to incline to that ſide where the leaſt blood is likely to be ſhed; Huſhai may be ſaid to have acted herein the worthy patriot, as well as the faithful ſubject.

† He was convinced, from the methods Abſalom was going to purſue, that David would get the better of him; and, in that caſe, he well knew he ſhould be put to death for his treaſon, and therefore choſe to be his own executioner.

ſence from the field might induce the enemy to think that he had another army which had not made its appearance. By theſe arguments David was influenced to remain at Mahanaim: but he bound his adherents, by every ſacred tie, to diſcharge their duty manfully; requeſting, that if Providence ſhould decree the victory in their favour, they would ſpare the life of his ſon Abſalom; for, in caſe of his death, his own life would become of no value. Having expreſſed himſelf to this purpoſe, he diſmiſſed his friends, with all good wiſhes and prayers for their ſucceſs*.

The two armies join, and engage.

Abſalom no ſooner remarked the diſpoſition of Joab's diviſion, which was on a plain, with a wood behind them, than he oppoſed his own troops to them in a ſimilar ſituation. As ſoon as the two armies engaged, equal valour appeared to inſpire either party; the one anxious to recover David's loſs, the other no leſs ſo to ſupport Abſalom in his uſurped authority: the adherents of David were determined to do and ſuffer every thing, to puniſh the guilty ſon for his rebellion againſt his father. For a conſiderable time Abſalom's people fought moſt courageouſly, aſhamed of being vanquiſhed by the few forces of David; while, on the other hand, the royal party had in view the honour of putting ſo many ſuperior thouſands to the rout. At length, however, the veterans of David, with a bravery that diſdained all oppoſition, broke the enemy's ranks, totally routed them, and purſued the flying diviſions through woods, over mountains and precipices, or wherever they ſought for ſafety. Great numbers were loſt in the purſuit, many taken priſoners; and the number killed on the field of battle was eſtimated at twenty thouſand.

Abſalom, in his flight, is entangled by his hair among the boughs, and ſlain by Joab.

The perſon of Abſalom was ſo diſtinguiſhable, both for his height and comelineſs, that he was the univerſal mark at which they wiſhed to aim: in order therefore to avoid being taken priſoner, he mounted his ſwifteſt mule, and rode off at the full ſpeed; but the wind blowing his long hair above his head, it catched hold of a bough of a tree, and the mule continuing her ſpeed, left Abſalom hanging in this ſituation. This being obſerved by one of David's troops, he informed Joab of the circumſtance, who ordered him to go and ſtab Abſalom, and his reward ſhould be fifty ſhekels of ſilver. This the ſoldier refuſed, ſaying, that two thouſand ſhould not bribe him to ſuch an act, eſpecially as David had given orders that the young man's life ſhould be ſpared. Joab now inquired where Abſalom was hanging, and having at length found him, ſtruck his javelin through his heart. Joab's armour-bearers being preſent at this ſcene, lifted the body from the tree, and buried it in a pit, over which they erected a kind of rude ſepulchre, by piling a number of ſtones upon it. This ceremony being ended, Joab ordered a retreat to be ſounded, to ſtop the purſuit, and ſave the unneceſſary effuſion of blood. Some time before this, in a place denominated the king's valley, adjacent to Jeruſalem, Abſalom had cauſed a marble column to be erected, to which he gave the name of the "Hand of Abſalom," and intended it as a laſting memorial of himſelf, in caſe (as he himſelf expreſſed it) he ſhould die childleſs.

CHAP. IX.

JOAB's Remonſtrances on occaſion of the Death of ABSALOM. SHIMEI ſolicits and obtains Pardon. The Tribe of JUDAH adhere to DAVID: and SHEBA's revolt. AMASA diſpatched by DAVID after SHEBA. JOAB meets AMASA, and ſtabs him. SHEBA's Head brought to DAVID by JOAB. A Famine among the ISRAELITES, in conſequence of SAUL's breach of Faith with the GIBEONITES. DAVID numbers the People, and a Peſtilence enſues.

Ahimaaz and Cuſhi diſpatched to carry intelligence of the event to David.

THE immediate diſperſion of Abſalom's troops was the conſequence of his death: and now a kind of conteſt aroſe who ſhould carry the news of the victory to David. Ahimaaz, the ſon of Zadock the high-prieſt, beſought Joab that he might be the meſſenger, as the victory appeared to be the immediate conſequence of an interfering providence; but Joab replied, that as he had hitherto carried the king only good news, he would be an improper meſſenger of the death of his ſon; he therefore ordered Cuſhi to be the bearer of this intelligence, as he had been witneſs to the event: but Ahimaaz again applied, urging, that David's concern for the loſs of his ſon, would yield to his joy on the general import of the meſſage. Hereupon Joab permitted him to go; and as he was acquainted with the neareſt road, he arrived before Cuſhi.

While David was ſitting at the gate of his palace, auxious to learn the event of the conteſt, a ſervant brought him intelligence that he could diſcern a perſon advancing haſtily toward them, but that he was not near enough to aſcertain his perſon. David began to conſole himſelf with the hope of good news, when the ſervant told him that he ſaw a ſecond perſon running, which ſtill increaſed his expectations. By this time the firſt meſſenger was come very near, and proved to be Ahimaaz, the ſon of the high prieſt Zadock, who travelled in a chariot. "This man (ſaid David) certainly brings me acceptable intelligence;" and ſcarcely had he pronounced theſe words,

* The ſtrength of paternal affection was fully exemplified in king David, and ſhone conſpicuouſly amongſt many of his ſplendid virtues. The king's anxious concern for the life of a rebellious ungrateful ſon, who was ſeeking the deſtruction of his indulgent father, merely to gratify his own ambition, and the lamentations he made at his death, are ſcarcely to be parralleled in hiſtory.

when Ahimaaz proſtrated himſelf before the king, who inſtantly demanded what news from the army. To this Ahimaaz replied, "Succeſs and victory." The king then eagerly inquired the fate of Abſalom, to which the meſſenger anſwered, that he had no ſooner been a witneſs of the victory by the routing of the enemy, than he hurried away with the news; that his orders from Joab were given in haſte, and related ſolely to the advantage gained over the enemy, without regard to Abſalom, of whom, however, he knew the troops were in purſuit, from the noiſe and clamour that he had heard. He had ſcarcely done ſpeaking, when Cuſhi arrived with intelligence of the victory, and throwing himſelf at David's feet, was interrogated with regard to the fate of Abſalom: to which he replied, "May all the enemies of my lord the king be no more ſucceſsful than Abſalom has been!" Intelligence thus fatal to the hopes of David, turned a day of joy into ſorrow and lamentation. The king was inconſolable for the loſs of his ſon; and the people were equally aſtoniſhed and grieved, that their ſovereign could thus afflict himſelf for the death of a rebel, by which his life and crown were ſecured. David, however, withdrew himſelf from public buſineſs, and, on the top of one of the higheſt towers of the city, lamented his fate with many tears: and, while he ſmote his breaſt, and tore his hair, exclaimed, "Oh Abſalom, my ſon, my ſon! Ah! that I could have died with thee, my ſon Abſalom*! By this time Joab and the army were entering the city in triumph; and were not a little ſhocked, that the grief to which the king had abandoned himſelf, ſpread an air of gloom over the joyous ſolemnity, and made them appear rather as the vanquiſhed than the conquerors.

David laments the death of Abſalom.

On this occaſion David gave himſelf up ſo intirely to [illegible], that Joab thought it requiſite to throw off all reſtraint, and ſpeak his ſentiments with freedom, which he did as follows: "Conſider, Sire, (ſaid he) the tendency of your conduct: conſider how inglorious it is for you thus to waſte your time in fruitleſs repinings: this behaviour carries with it the appearance of deſpiſing the good offices of thoſe friends, who have riſked their own lives to preſerve your's; nay, it looks like a degree of contempt for yourſelf and your own family, and a partiality for thoſe enemies which the juſt vengeance of heaven hath doomed to deſtruction, as an inſtance of mercy to you.

Joab reprehends David, and inſtructs him what ſteps to take.

Arouſe then, I beſeech you; appear before your ſubjects, and acknowledge that, next to the immediate interference of Providence, you owe the victory you have obtained to their courage and fidelity: for if you continue in this deſponding way, your army will deſert you, your kingdom will be loſt, and then you will find real and ſubſtantial cauſe for lamentation." Such was the effect of this honeſt addreſs to David, that he began to recollect himſelf, and reſolved to pay more attention to the intereſts of his people, and the dignity of his government; and therefore appeared at the gate of his palace, with unuſual complacency in his look and behaviour. This alteration in his conduct had ſuch an influence on the people, that they crouded in from all parts, to make ſubmiſſion to their ſovereign.

The inſurgents recant, and are diſpoſed to ſubmit to David, and implore pardon.

During this ſituation of affairs, the late adherents of Abſalom, who had fled on the day of battle, and were now got to their own habitations, diſpatched expreſſes acroſs the country, deſiring their friends to recollect what a variety of obligations they lay under to David, for the numerous hazards and toils he had undergone in aſſerting their common rights and liberties; how ungenerous they had all behaved in rebelling againſt him: and recommending an immediate ſubmiſſion to him, when they ſhould intreat his forgiveneſs, and ſolicit him once more to take them under his royal protection; and theſe arguments were enforced by the conſideration, that the uſurper they had ſet up in the place of David was no more.

By means of the high prieſts, the people and Amaſa are brought over to David.

In conſequence hereof David received addreſſes in great number, which he regularly diſpatched to Zadok and Abiathar, the high-prieſts, inſtructing them how to treat with the heads of the tribe of Judah, to confirm his reſtoration. Hereupon the high-prieſts repreſented to them how ſcandalous it would be for them to remain indifferent, while others were taking the lead in an act of common juſtice to ſo benevolent a prince, who was, moreover, of their own tribe. This mode of addreſs inſpired a ſpirit of emulation who ſhould be moſt zealous in the ſervice of the king. The high-prieſts were alſo inſtructed to inquire of Amaſa how it happened that he, the king's nephew by his own ſiſter, had failed to model the army to a diſpoſition fit for the reſtoration of the true government: and it was hinted to Amaſa, that David would give him the ſame poſt he held under Abſalom, and likewiſe grant him his free pardon. In this mode the high-prieſts treated with the heads of the tribe; and with Amaſa, who, by the promiſe above-mentioned, was eaſily reconciled to the king's intereſt.

The tribe of Judah alſo invite the king to re-aſſume his authority.

The firſt tribe that ſent deputies to David, to invite him to re-aſſume the regal government, was that of Judah; and partly by the influence of this example,

* Nothing can certainly be more moving and pathetic, than the words uttered by David on this ſolemn occaſion: but whether it was David's deliberate wiſh, that he had died in Abſalom's ſtead; or only the effect of his exceſſive love and and grief for him, is not ſo eaſy to determine. St. Auguſtine ſeems to be on the affirmative ſide. Whether David's wiſh was deliberate or not, his grief was doubtleſs increaſed by reflecting that himſelf, by his own ſin in the caſe of Uriah, had been the unhappy inſtrument and occaſion of his ſon's death, what was moſt lamentable of all, in a ſtate of ſinful rebellion againſt a kind and indulgent parent.

ample, and partly through that of Amaſa, all the tribes agreed to receive the king at Jeruſalem. Among the very foremoſt to pay the tribute of ſubmiſſion was the ſaid tribe of Judah, who advanced to meet him even to the banks of Jordan. There likewiſe went Ziba, a freed-man of Saul's, with fifteen children, and twenty ſervants; and a thouſand Benjamites, preceded by Shimei the ſon of Gera. Theſe all combined with the tribe of Judah, to throw a bridge acroſs the river, that David and his troops might paſs with greater convenience.

Shimei humbles himſelf, and obtains favour.

When the king had reached the river ſide, the tribe of Judah firſt paid their obedience: then Shimei, approaching to the bridge, humbled himſelf at the feet of David, implored his pardon for all that was paſſed, and hoped it would not be remembered to his diſadvantage when David ſhould be reinſtated in his government: requeſting farther, that his ready ſubmiſſion, and unfeigned repentance, might be accepted in extenuation of his former crimes. In anſwer to this, Abiſhai, the brother to Joab, exclaimed, "Think you thus eaſily to compenſate for the inſults that you have offered to the king whom God hath appointed to rule over you?" David, in reply, ſaid, "Be at peace, no farther try to foment old diviſions, by ſeeking out new cauſe of diſquietude. Conſider this as the firſt day on which I begin to reign, and obſerve what I moſt ſolemnly ſwear. Every one is now abſolutely forgiven by me; and I hereby engage, that not any perſon, of what rank or condition ſoever, ſhall ſuffer on account of any inſult offered to myſelf, or on any other account: and you, Shimei, may now reſt at eaſe, for your life ſhall not be endangered." Hereupon Shimei aroſe from his ſuppliant poſture, paid his humble reſpects, and retired.

Mephiboſheth alſo waits on the king, and apologizes for his neglect.

Mephiboſheth, the grandſon of Saul, now approached the king, in a diſguiſe which was the conſequence of a vow by which he had bound himſelf when David was expelled, that he would neither cut off his hair, nor change his clothes, till his ſovereign ſhould be reſtored. Ziba had endeavoured to traduce Mephiboſheth to David; for on the latter inquiring how he could deſert him in the day of diſtreſs, he attributed the fault to Ziba, who had diſobeyed his commands, and treated him with the utmoſt inſolence, notwithſtanding he had given expreſs directions to have every thing prepared for his journey. This was heard by David, who neither made any comment on it, nor hinted the leaſt diſcredit of what Ziba had heretofore ſaid; but told Mephiboſheth, that he would order Ziba to reſtore half the eſtate that had been intruſted to his care*: to which Mephiboſheth anſwered, that Ziba was welcome to the whole, ſince he had the happineſs of ſeeing his ſovereign reſtored to his throne and kingdom.

Barzillai is kindly received by David.

Barzillai, the Gileadite, a man renowned for acts of honour and virtue, had been long the ſteady friend of David, whom he had aſſiſted in deeds of heroiſm; nor, on this occaſion, could Barzillai deny himſelf the pleaſure of attending the king on his way to the river Jordan. David intreated him to accompany him to Jeruſalem, aſſuring him, that he would treat him with the tenderneſs of a parent, and that every convenience ſhould be ſupplied to render his old age comfortable to him. To this invitation Barzillai replied, that a retired and private life was now more eligible to him, than all the gaiety and ſplendor of a palace: for that he was eighty years of age, and had outlived all taſte for the pleaſures of a court; his chief care now being to give directions for his funeral, and prepare for another world. For theſe reaſons he requeſted his majeſty's permiſſion to return and dwell at his own houſe, where he might live in the way moſt agreeable to himſelf: he ſaid farther, that he could no longer receive pleaſure from luxurious living; and with regard to dancing, ſinging, and the concert ariſing from the accordance of voice and inſtrument, he had no longer any pleaſure in them, for that he was almoſt deprived of his hearing. In conſideration of theſe reaſons, David was induced to part with Barzillai, on condition that his ſon Chimham ſhould go with him, and accept of ſuch favours as his majeſty could with propriety beſtow on him. Barzillai committed his ſon to the king's care, with every acknowledgment of the honour done them, and retired to his own houſe, after offering up his warmeſt wiſhes and prayers for the long and proſperous reign of David.

On David's arrival at Gilgal, he found that his followers conſiſted of the whole tribe of Judah, and one half of the whole nation. At this time there came to David many of the chief men of the country (followed by vaſt multitudes of people), who reflected on the tribe of Judah, for their preſumption in waiting up-

* David firſt gave the whole in property to Mephiboſheth, and afterwards to Ziba: and yet, *I have ſaid, Thou and Ziba divide the land*, muſt refer to ſome former determination of David with reſpect to the eſtate. But no ſuch determination is to be found but in that original one, chap. ix. 10. in which the eſtate was divided between Mephiboſheth and Ziba; the whole to Mephiboſheth in property, and to Ziba ſufficient to maintain himſelf and family, for taking care of it, out of the profits it produced: ſo that this was, in reality, confirming the original grant, and reſtoring him to the poſſeſſion of the whole upon the ſame terms on which the poſſeſſion was at firſt granted him. It was certainly a revocation of the grant to Ziba, who therefore could claim no part of the eſtate by that grant, nor by any other; for there was no other but that by which he was allowed a proper maintenance out of it: ſo that if David was too haſty in giving Mephiboſheth's eſtate to Ziba, he was, upon being undeceived, as haſty in reſtoring it to him, and thereby diſcovered his great regard to truth and equity, and the firmneſs of his affection and friendſhip to Jonathan and his family. And though he confirmed the original grant, thereby leaving to Ziba and his family a maintenance out of the eſtate, it was out of reſpect even to Saul, of whoſe houſe Ziba was, and as a recompence for that ſeaſonable and noble ſupply that he brought him when he was forced to abandon the capital, by the unnatural rebellion of Abſalom his ſon; 2 Sam. xvi. 2.

on

on the king without the concurrence of their brethren, as in reaſon they ought to have gone all in a body. To this the tribe of Judah replied, that they hoped their brethren would not be offended that they had made the firſt offer of their ſervices, as they conſidered it as a duty to which they were bound by their affinity to the king, which had made them more zealous on the occaſion than otherwiſe they ſhould have been: they averred, that they had not a view to any private advantage in what they had done, and thought that, in reaſon, this teſtimony of their zeal ought not to give any offence to thoſe who were later in their profeſſions of loyalty and attachment.

Rebellion of Sheba.

During this debate among the principal men, Sheba the ſon of Bichri, of the tribe o Benjamin (a man of a violent and litigious diſpoſition), ſtanding up in the midſt of the aſſembly, exclaimed in a loud voice, "Wherefore do they talk to us of a part in David? What connexions can we have with the ſon of Jeſſe?" Hereupon he ordered a trumpet to be ſounded, and proclamation to be made, that "the people might depart to their tents;" from which moment it was conſidered that a war was declared againſt David: the majority appearing to adhere to the party of Sheba; but the tribe of Judah ſtill held their allegiance to David, whom they eſcorted to Jeruſalem.

As ſoon as the king arrived at the city, his firſt care was to remove from his palace all his concubines, whom Abſalom had heretofore publicly violated: but he gave orders for their being properly attended and accommodated, in lodgings prepared for them, though from this time he never held any correſpondence with them. His next ſtep was, to promote Amaſa to the rank of general, in the room of Joab, and to him he gave orders to aſſemble all the troops he could of the tribe of Judah, and prepare to march, within three [illegible], againſt Sheba, the ſon of Bichri. This commi[illegible] Amaſa endeavoured to execute with all poſſible expedition; but not being able to aſſemble them ſo ſoon as he wiſhed, David grew impatient, and on the third day, ſpoke to Joab to the following purport: "There is no time to be loſt in counteracting the deſigns of Sheba; do you, therefore, inſtantly aſſemble ſuch troops as are in readineſs, together with the ſix hundred veterans; and, taking your brother Abiſhai as your aſſiſtant, proceed directly in ſearch of him, and the moment you get ſight of him encounter him, before he has a poſſibility of arranging his forces; for, if there be any delay on our part, his numbers will increaſe like the gathering of a ſnow-ball; and, when he is ſufficiently ſtrong, he may ſecure himſelf in ſome fortified town, and it may be a work of more time and labour to diſlodge him, than it was to conquer Abſalom."

Amaſa treacherouſly murdered by Joab.

No ſooner had Joab received his orders, than he and his brother collected their troops, and marched in purſuit of Sheba. When Joab came to Gibeon, a village about five miles from Jeruſalem, Amaſa met him at the head of a numerous army. While Amaſa was approaching to ſalute him, Joab, who wore a breaſt-plate, and had his ſword by his ſide, let fall the ſword from the ſcabbard, but immediately took it up again; and advancing towards Amaſa, took him by the beard, under pretence of ſaluting him, but inſtantly ran him through the body, ſo that he died on the ſpot*.

Amaſa was no ſooner dead, than Joab and his brother Abiſhai proceeded on their march in ſearch of Sheba, leaving a perſon in care of Amaſa's body, with orders to proclaim that he was a bad man, and had only been puniſhed according to his demerits: proclamation was alſo made, that the friends of David ſhould follow Joab and his brother. During the time the body lay expoſed, great numbers aſſembled to view it; on which the perſon in whoſe care it was, removed it to a neighbouring village, where he put it in a houſe, and covered it with a coat, and the ſoldiers now followed their leaders. Joab and his army had nearly traverſed the whole country, before they knew that Sheba had taken refuge in a fortified town named Abel-Maacha. The gates of this place being ſhut againſt Joab and his troops, he was reſolved to beſiege it; and accordingly gave orders for throwing up a trench round it, and that the walls ſhould be undermined, and the place attacked by means of batteries.

A woman procures the death of Sheba, which reſtores the public tranquillity.

While the neceſſary ſteps were taking for the attack of the city, a public-ſpirited woman, zealous for the ſervice of her country, aſcended the battlements of the wall, whence ſhe called aloud to Joab, deſiring to ſpeak to him apart from his troops. Joab complying with her requeſt, ſhe addreſſed him in the following manner: "Although Providence hath appointed kings and governors to rule over us, to induce us to live at peace one among another, and to defend us from the aſſaults of our foes, yet have you advanced againſt us, to deſtroy one of the moſt capital cities in all the land of Iſrael; and this without any provocation or inſult on our parts." To this Joab replied, that ſhe was miſtaken in her judgment; for that he had no wiſh either to deſtroy the city, or to injure any one of its

* This action was attended with the higheſt perfidy and inſolence. Many reaſons concurred to prevent David's calling Joab to an account now, particularly his power, authority, and intereſt with the army: but it is plain he never forgot, nor forgave him. That he highly reſented it, we find in his laſt charge to Solomon, where he nobly recommends, and gives it in charge to his ſon, to do juſtice on that bloody aſſaſſin. He was not now in a capacity to do it. Joab was too powerful a ſubject to be brought to account. After Abſalom's death, he had the inſolence to tell the king with an oath, that he would make every one of his ſubjects deſert him; and after this aſſaſſination of Amaſa, he reſumed, contrary to his maſter's will, the command of all the forces; who had an affection for him as their own general, and becauſe he had reſtored the quiet of the land by quelling the inſurrection of Sheba. Joab's being continued captain-general of all the forces was not from David's inclination, but contrary to it, and by force.



Joab takes Amasa by the beard, under pretence of saluting him, but instantly ran him through the body, so that he died upon the spot.

inhabitants: all he wiſhed and demanded was, that the rebel Sheba the ſon of Bichri ſhould be delivered up as a victim to public juſtice, and his army ſhould be immediately withdrawn from before the walls. The woman having heard this declaration of Joab, requeſted him to ſuſpend his operations but for a ſhort time, and the head of Sheba ſhould be thrown over the wall to him. Joab conſenting to this, ſhe deſcended from the wall, and addreſſed the citizens in the following manner: "Can you, O fellow-citizens, be ſo abandoned, as for the ſake of affording protection to one bad man, who is moreover a ſtranger among you, to conſent to the loſs of your wives and children, and to be driven from your habitations in ſo diſgraceful a manner? What obligations have you to Sheba, to counterbalence thoſe you owe to David? Or if this was not the caſe, is it poſſible to hold the city in deſpite of the beſiegers?" This ſhort addreſs had the intended effect: it was agreed to purchaſe peace at the expence of Sheba, whoſe head was immediately cut off, and thrown over the wall; on which the troops returned to Jeruſalem, where Joab was appointed general: the command of the guards, and the ſix hundred veterans, was given to Benaiah; Adoram was appointed treaſurer; the recorders were Achilaus and Sabathes; Suſa was made ſecretary; while the office of high-prieſt remained with Abiathar and Zadock.

A famine ſent; and removed by the execution of Saul's ſeven ſons.

Matters had not long been thus adjuſted, when a famine raged ſo violently, that David intreated God to acquaint him with the cauſe and cure of the calamity. To this the prophet returned an anſwer, intimating, that Saul having treacherouſly ſhed the blood of the Gibeonites, it appealed to heaven for vengeance; for that this blood had been ſhed, not only in oppoſition to the rights of natural equity, but to Joſhua's promiſe and oath, which the elders had ratified. The prophets therefore inſtructed the king to redreſs the injury ſuſtained by the Gibeonites, in the murder of their citizens, in ſuch manner as they ſhould require, on which the Almighty would avert the preſent judgment. As ſoon as David heard this, he ſent for the Gibeonites, and demanded what recompence they would wiſh: to which they anſwered, "Let ſeven of the ſons or relations of Saul be given up to our diſpoſal." Hereupon David gave orders that ſeven of them ſhould be ſought for; but with an exception in favour of Mephibоſheth, on account of his father Jonathan. Theſe being given to the Gibeonites, they were appeaſed, and inflicted ſuch puniſhments on them as they thought proper: immediately after which, rain fell in great abundance, the earth recovered its former verdure, and produced the accuſtomed plenty.

Soon after this event, David marched his forces againſt the Philiſtines, whom he attacked and routed; but being too eager in the purſuit, he was obſerved, when alone and fatigued, by Achmon, the ſon of Araph, a man of the gigantic race (armed with a ſword, a coat of mail, and a lance which weighed three hundred ſhekels), who, turning quick on the king, beat him down, and would infallibly have killed him, but that at the inſtant came up Abiſhai, the brother of Joab, who ſtanding acroſs the king, attacked and ſlew Achmon. The great danger David had been in, and his providential deliverance, ſo much affected the army, that the officers inſiſted on his ſwearing never again perſonally to engage in war; for that the bleſſings derived to the nation by his government, were in the utmoſt danger of being loſt, from that natural bravery which led him to expoſe himſelf in ſituations of the moſt imminent danger *.

David narrowly eſcapes being ſlain by a Philiſtine giant.

Not long after this battle, the Philiſtines re-aſſembled their troops at Gaza; on which David ſent an army to attack them. Sobach, the Hittite, obtained a great character on this occaſion, by killing, with his own hands, ſeveral of the race of the giants, who were equally remarkable for ſtrength and ſize. In a word, the victory was principally owing to his courage. The Philiſtines once more took the field, againſt whom the king ſent freſh detachments; and in this attack, Nathan, a relation of David, performed miracles of valour: among the reſt, killing one of the braveſt of the Philiſtines in ſingle combat; whereon the remainder fled, with the loſs of great numbers of their troops.

The Philiſtines worſted, and ſeveral of their gigantic heroes ſlain.

The Philiſtines took poſſeſſion of a town near where the Hebrews lay; and among them was a man deſcended from the race of the giants, whoſe height was ſix cubits, and who had on each foot ſix toes, and on each hand ſix fingers. This enormous giant, while fighting at the head of his ſoldiers, was attacked by Jonathan, the ſon of Shimei, and ſlain, fighting hand to hand; which circumſtance went far in the deciſion of the victory, and eſtabliſhed Jonathan's character as a man of great courage. This might be called a deciſive victory; for the Philiſtines wanting courage to engage the Iſraelites any more, the war was at an end.

The fatigues and hazards of war being now over, and the bleſſings of peace reſtored, David devoted almoſt all his time to the compoſition of pſalms and hymns to the honour of God. Theſe being in various meaſures, and adapted to different tunes, he gave orders that the Levites ſhould ſing them on the ſabbath, and other ſolemn feſtivals. This ſinging was accompanied by muſical inſtruments; among which were the pſaltery, which had twelve ſtrings, on which the fingers of the muſician moved; an inſtrument of ten ſtrings, which was ſounded by touching it with a quill; and cymbals of a great ſize, made of braſs.

* This deſire of the people is beautifully expreſſed in 2 Sam. xxi. 17. "Thou ſhalt go no more out with us to battle, that thou quench not the light of Iſrael." David, in 2 Sam. xxii. 66. "Thou haſt given me the ſhield of thy ſalvation," celebrates the eſcape he experienced, when on the point of being ſlain by the giant abovementioned.

David was now ſurrounded by many men of diſtinguiſhed courage and honour, among whom were thirty-eight who had become ſuper-eminently remarkable for their valour: theſe men ſeemed born for glorious atchievements, and adapted to give laws to empires.

David orders the people to be numbered.

The king had now come to a reſolution to number the people of Iſrael, to ſee what forces could be raiſed on an emergency: but he did not recollect an ordinance of Moſes, which decreed, that, on every ſuch occaſion, half a ſhekel for each man ſhould be offered to God, by way of oblation. David diſpatched orders to Joab to take the account, which he declined as an unneceſſary buſineſs: but the king would not be refuſed, ſaying, that he would have it done immediately. Hereupon Joab took the advice of the Scribes, and the heads of the tribes, and a computation was immediately made through the whole country. Joab went, at the end of nine months and twenty days, to the king at Jeruſalem, and informed him that the number of Iſraelites fit to engage in war, was nine hundred thouſand, excluſive of the tribes of Benjamin and Levi, an account of whom had not as yet been taken. Four hundred thouſand men, he ſaid, might be muſtered in the tribe of Judah only.

During the progreſs of the above buſineſs, David regretted the orders he had given; and was told, by the prophet, of the anger of God: on hearing which, he humbled himſelf in unfeigned repentance, and obtained his pardon in conſequence of his prayers. Soon afterwards, the prophet Gad came to him, and ſaid, that God gave him his choice of the three following things, viz. "A famine for ſeven years; a flight of three months before his enemies; or a peſtilence of three days." To chooſe either of theſe, David thought very diſtreſsful: "If (ſaid he) I fix on famine, I ſhall ſeem to r d my people's intereſt leſs than my own; for it is not likely that I can be deprived of bread: If my choice be to fly before the enemy, the appearance will be the ſame, as my perſonal ſafety may be provided for in caſtles and ſtrong fortreſſes; but the third calamity is equally threatening to ſubjects, and to their rulers." While he was thus deliberating on the matter, the prophet urged a ſpeedy anſwer; on which the king ſaid, "he ſhould expect greater mercy from the hands of God than man, and therefore choſe rather to ſubmit to the peſtilence, if agreeable to the divine will." This anſwer being given to the prophet, he made a report of it; ſoon after which, the Iſraelites were attacked with diſorders equally new and violent, which were attended with almoſt ſudden death, and bid defiance to all the ſkill of the phyſicians. Some were afflicted with ſuffocations, ſome with ſwimmings in the head, others with dimneſs of ſight; others again either with violent gripes, languors, or faintings, and various diſeaſes, ſo that they expired at an amazing rate; ſome even died in lamenting the death of others: in a word, the diſeaſe ſpread ſo faſt, that ſeventy thouſand perſons fell a ſacrifice to it, between day-break and dinner-time. The diſorder was now making haſty ſtrides towards Jeruſalem, when David cloathed himſelf in ſackcloth, and deprecated the vengeance of heaven by prayers, and tears of unfeigned humiliation. While he was thus engaged, he looked upwards, and beheld an angel advancing to Jeruſalem, with a drawn ſword in his hand. Struck with this appearance, he exclaimed, "Let thy puniſhments, O Lord, fall on the ſhepherd; but in what hath the flock offended? On me, and on my family, be thy wrath poured forth*; but have mercy, I beſeech thee, on my people!"

His crime puniſhed by a peſtilence.

The plague removed.

It pleaſed the Almighty to put an end to the raging of the peſtilence, on the interceſſion of David, who was directed by the prophet Gad to repair inſtantly to the threſhing-floor of Araunah, and there to offer ſacrifice, on an altar to be erected on the occaſion. David repaired thither, when Araunah, who was threſhing his corn, obſerving the king and his ſons advancing, went out to pay his obedience. Araunah was a Jebuſite, and ſo warm an adherent to David, that he had preſerved him at the time of taking the city, as before mentioned.

Araunah now inquired, if he could any way ſerve David; to which the king replied, "I come to purchaſe your threſhing-floor, on which to build an altar, and ſacrifice to God." "Not the threſhing-floor only, (ſaid Araunah) but my ploughs, my oxen, and my burnt offerings, are all at the ſervice of my king, without expence; and I pray that your ſacrifice might be acceptable to God." This behaviour charmed David, who ſaid it would be wrong to offer a ſacrifice which coſt him nothing; wherefore he muſt purchaſe the floor, for which he gave fifty ſhekels of ſilver. This being done, David was reſtored to the favour of the Almighty, after ſacrificing burnt offerings, and peace-offerings on the place. This was the very ſpot on which Abraham would have offered up his ſon Iſaac, but for the intervention of the angel, and the appearance of the ram in his place; of which we have already written.

David ſacrifices.

The prayers of David being heard, and his ſacrifice become acceptable, he determined to give the name of "The Altar of the People," or "The Iſraelites' Altar," to the whole place, and thereon to cauſe a temple to be erected: and this reſolution was ſtrengthened by one of God's prophets, who predicted to David that the temple ſhould be built by his ſucceſſor. Hereupon David gave orders for numbering the ſtrangers in his dominions; who appeared to be about one hundred and eighty thouſand, of whom one hundred thouſand were employed to carry materials for building, and eighty

* With reſpect to this crime of numbering the people, it is the opinion of ſome, that God, for wiſe ends and purpoſes, known only to himſelf, permitted David to be influenced and perſuaded by ſome evil counſellor; ſince, from Joab's words on this occaſion, 2 Sam. xxiv. 3. it ſeems plain, that the matter had been previouſly debated in the council, and that though Joab oppoſed the act, yet David was ſtirred up to perform it, by the perſuaſion of ſome other perſon.

thouſand to do the ſtone-work: beſides which, thirty-five thouſand were directed to act as overſeers of the workmen. Vaſt numbers of cedar trees, the largeſt and beſt that could be got, were procured from Tyre and Sidon, and an immenſe quantity of iron and braſs was brought together on the occaſion. To his particular friends David uſed to ſay, that theſe things were only procured in readineſs, againſt the time his ſon might want them, which would forward the work, and ſave much time and labour: but that his ſon was not yet of an age to engage in ſuch an arduous taſk.

CHAP. X.

SOLOMON receives Directions from his Father concerning the building of a Temple. ADONIJAH, DAVID's fourth Son, uſurps the Government. DAVID nominates SOLOMON his Succeſſor.

David gives directions for building the temple.

MATTERS were thus ſituated, when David commanding the preſence of his ſon Solomon, enjoined him ſtrictly, on his advancement to the throne, inſtantly to ſet about the building of a temple for the adoration of the Divine Being. "This (ſaid David) I would myſelf have done, but that my frequent wars having marked me as a man of blood, the particular command of God prevented my proceeding in it, and deſtined it for you." Now of Solomon it was foretold, that he ſhould be a prince of peace; that he ſhould be taken under the peculiar protection of the Almighty; that under his government the ſubjects ſhould not only be free from foreign wars, but live without private quarrels and animoſities. Then David, addreſſing his ſon, ſpoke to the following purport: "As it was predicted before your birth, that you ſhould wear a crown, act worthy of that diſtinction: let piety, fortitude, and juſtice, govern your actions; let the laws, traditions, and commandments of Moſes be revered by you: neither violate them yourſelf, nor permit others to do ſo. With regard to the building God's temple, let no difficulties prevent your proceeding in it. I will take care, that at the time you aſcend the throne, all the materials ſhall be ready for the beginning of it. Ten thouſand talents of gold, one hundred thouſand of ſilver, beſides an incredible quantity of iron, timber, and ſtone, are already provided. You will find no want in ſupplies, and thouſands of maſons and carpenters ſhall wait your commands. Let the whole work be conducted with care and expedition; for, on its being completed, you need not doubt but God will continue to you his protection and bleſſing."

Having thus ſpoken, the king gave it in charge to the princes, to aid Solomon in the advancement of this work; and, in preference to every other concern, to attend the duties of religion, ſince that would infallibly ſecure peace and proſperity to the community. David likewiſe ordered, that when the temple was completed, the ark, with all the holy veſſels and utenſils thereunto belonging, ſhould be placed therein; which, agreeable to the commands of God delivered to their forefathers, ought to be done, ſince they had been enjoined to raiſe a temple immediately on their arriving in the Land of Promiſe. David laid theſe injunctions equally on his ſon, and on the princes who attended him.

The king had now juſt completed his ſeventieth year, but was ſo debilitated by a complication of diſorders, that his blood was almoſt ſtagnated, ſo that he could not get any warmth from all the clothes that could be lain upon his bed. On this occaſion, a conſultation of phyſicians was held, who were unanimouſly of opinion, that nothing was ſo proper in his diſorder, as the ſleeping with a healthy young perſon, the genial heat of whoſe body being communicated to the king, might relieve nature, without doing it any violence. Hereupon a maiden, named Abiſhag, famed for her health and delicacy, was put to-bed to David, to lie by him, and keep him warm*; which ſhe might do with perfect innocence, as the king was paſt the age of temptation.

Adonijah aſpires to the ſovereignty.

The next ſon that David had, after Abſalom, was Adonijah, whoſe mother was named Haggith. This youth was not much unlike Abſalom, either in height, comelineſs, or ambition. Soon after the death of Abſalom, Adonijah ſeemed to have an eye to the ſucceſſion, and took great pains, by himſelf and friends, to make a popular intereſt. He furniſhed himſelf with horſes, chariots, and guards, keeping a ſuperb equipage; nor did his father reſtrain him in this mode of proceeding, or even inquire the reaſon why he lived in ſuch pomp. Joab the general, and Abiathar the high-prieſt, were the principal adherents to Adonijah; while Nathan the prophet, Benaiah the captain of the guards, Zadock the high-prieſt, Shimei, and the officers in general, took the part of the king.

In the ſuburbs of Jeruſalem, not far from the fountain in the royal gardens, Adonijah prepared a ſumptuous entertainment, which he invited all his brothers to partake of, except Solomon. Joab, Abiathar, and the principal men of the tribe of Judah, were alſo preſent; but neither Zadock, Nathan, Benaiah, nor a man of their party, had any invitation given them. This affair being reflected on by Nathan, he ſaid to Bathſheba, Solomon's mother, "Obſerve how Adonijah is already aſſuming the ſtate of royalty, while David is ignorant of his proceedings: it becomes you, therefore, equally for your own ſake and your ſon's, to intereſt yourſelf in this buſineſs. Go then to David, and, when alone, remind him that he has ſworn that Solomon ſhall be his ſucceſſor; adding, that Adonijah behaves as if he

* Galen obſerves, that the application of any young, wholeſome animal to the ſtomach, is the moſt effectual method of procuring heat and health. The advice of David's phyſicians, therefore, was ſalutary.

was

was already king. During this diſcourſe, I will come into the room, and confirm what you ſay." This advice pleaſed Bathſheba, who ſought the king, paid her reſpects, and obtaining permiſſion to deliver her buſineſs, did it as Nathan had directed; recounting the ſtory of the entertainment, who were invited, and who were admitted; adding, that the public were anxious to know whom he would appoint to ſucceed him; and that the life of herſelf and ſon reſted on the event. At this moment Nathan's attendance was announced to David, and orders being given for his immediate admiſſion, he ſaid to the king, with an air of aſtoniſhment, "Have you this day transferred the ſovereign rule to Adonijah, and appointed him to ſucceed you?" The prophet then told him of the feaſt, who were invited, and who left unaſked: "And there are they (ſaid he) feaſting and carouſing, and drinking healths to Adonijah, their new ſovereign; but for me, and the high-prieſt Zadock, and your captain of the guards, Benaiah, we were utterly unacquainted with the affair. Now I would adviſe your majeſty to ſignify to the public, whether theſe proceedings have the ſanction of your approbation." When the prophet came in, Bathſheba had retired, and being now ſummoned to appear, the king ſaid, "The oath I formerly made to you, Bathſheba, I now repeat, in the preſence of Almighty God. Solomon, your ſon, ſhall ſucceed to the government, and this day ſhall the buſineſs be accompliſhed." Hereupon, Bathſheba wiſhed the king long life, and departed.

David appoints Solomon for his ſucceſſor.

The king inſtantly ſending for Zadock and Benaiah, deſired them to accompany Nathan, and, being conducted by the guards, place Solomon on the king's mule, and attending him to the fountain, called Gihon, without the city, anoint him with holy oil, and proclaim him king. David likewiſe farther ordered, that he ſhould be carried ...ugh the city, eſcorted by troops, and attended by crowds, crying, "Long live king Solomon!" that his having been appointed to ſucceed to the throne, might become a matter of the moſt public notoriety. Finally, David commanded Solomon to rule over all his people with the utmoſt regard to the principles of equity and religion. A prayer to God, for a bleſſing on Solomon, being now pronounced by Benaiah, they all departed to execute the king's commands.

Solomon being placed on the king's mule, was attended to the fountain, anointed, and accompanied back again, amidſt the ſhouts of the people, who prayed that his reign might be long and proſperous. He was now conducted to the palace, and ſeated on the throne of David; which being done, the whole city joined in feſtivity, and nothing was to be ſeen or heard but feaſting, dancing, and muſic, and every poſſible demonſtration of joy. At this time Adonijah, with Joab and his other gueſts, who were at their feaſting, were ſo alarmed at the ſound of the trumpets, and the acclamations of the people, that they quitted their dinner; and while they were wondering what had happened, Jonathan, the ſon of Abiathar the high-prieſt, came in, whom Adonijah rejoiced to ſee, on the preſumption that he was the meſſenger of good news; but Jonathan had no ſooner acquainted them with the orders iſſued by the king, and what honour had been done to Solomon, than the company left the entertainment, and privately retreated to their own houſes. Adonijah alone, conſcious that the nature of his crime ſcarcely left hope for mercy, fled to the horns of the altar for ſanctuary *, and there ſolicited forgiveneſs. As ſoon as Solomon was told how Adonijah had diſpoſed of himſelf, and that he expected ſome ſecurity that his pardon ſhould be granted, he, with an equal degree of mercy and prudence, ſent him a pardon for all paſt tranſgreſſions, attended with a hint to him, to be extremely cautious in his future conduct; for that in caſe of a ſimilar behaviour hereafter, he muſt certainly abide the fatal conſequence. Adonijah being brought from the place of his retreat to the palace, made his ſubmiſſion to the new king, who told him to return in peace to his own habitation, and hereafter to behave like a good ſubject, which he would find greatly to his advantage.

Adonijah ſubmits to Solomon, and is pardoned.

CHAP. XI.

The dying Counſel, Prayer, Farewell, Death, and Funeral of DAVID. The Siege of JERUSALEM by ANTIOCHUS.

AFTER having given ample directions for building the temple, and commanding the great men of Iſrael to aſſiſt his ſon Solomon in a work which lay ſo near his heart, David, being heavily oppreſſed by the infirmities of age, judged himſelf on the point of diſſolution; and having called Solomon into his preſence, he addreſſed him to the following effect: "I am now preparing to depart to a world, whither, in due time, you muſt follow. To die, is to pay the common debt of nature; and that debt once paid, puts a final period to all our concerns with this life. While I have power, I muſt not omit to remind you of the doctrines which I have ſo frequently inculcated: in the government of the people, fail not to obſerve a ſtrict regard to the adminiſtration of pub-

* Though no precept in the law makes the altar a privileged place, the Jews, in conformity to the cuſtom of other nations, ſeem to have conſidered it as ſuch. But the queſtion is, to what altar Adonijah fled; whether to the braſen one which Moſes made, and which was now at Gibeon, or to that which his father had lately erected in the threſhing-floor of Araunah? It is expreſsly ſaid, that he "caught hold on the horns of the altar;" but it is hardly to be ſuppoſed, that the altar in the threſhing-floor, erected in ſuch haſte with ſtones and turf, was made in this form. We may ſuppoſe, that as David had built a place for the reception of the ark of the covenant on Mount Zion, he had alſo built there an altar, for the oblation of the daily ſacrifices, in the exact form of the original one which was then at Gibeon; and that it was to this altar that Adonijah fled for refuge.

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lic juſtice; zealouſly adore that Eternal Being to whom you are indebted for the regal dignity, as well as for your exiſtence; pay a rigid regard to his commands, as they are tranſmitted to us by Moſes; for, if through fear, vanity, intereſt, or any other human infirmity, you ſhall violate his laws, you muſt no longer expect a continuance of the protection of divine Providence. But if you religiouſly conform yourſelf to the pleaſure of the Lord, the government will be eſtabliſhed to yourſelf and your ſucceſſors in perpetuity. I muſt now mention the iniquity of Joab, in the aſſaſſinations of thoſe brave warriors, and dutiful ſubjects, Abner the ſon of Ner, and Amaſa the ſon of Ithra, whom he cruelly maſſacred, from motives of malevolence and envy. * I had myſelf inflicted upon him the puniſhment due to his crimes, but was reſtrained by a conſideration of his popularity; yet you may act towards him as your judgment ſhall direct. It is my requeſt, that you will exert yourſelf in offices of friendſhip towards the ſons of Barzillai, the Gileadite; and this I mean you ſhould do, as a requital of the obligations I received from Barzillai, during the period of my baniſhment; and theſe ſervices I conſider as a debt which my whole family are bound to acknowledge. With Shimei, the Benjamite, the ſon of Gera, you may find ſome proper occaſion to account for thoſe opprobrious and unmerited cenſures, during my perſecution at Bahurim*. On our interview at the river Jordan, he obtained my pardon; but in caſe of future tranſgreſſions, you will determine as to the propriety of puniſhing theſe injuries."

Having concluded this diſcourſe, David expired, in the ſeventieth year of his age, after a reign of ſeven years and ſix months over the tribe of Judah, at Hebron, and thirty-three years over the whole people of Iſrael at Jeruſalem. David was a man poſſeſſed of every qualification neceſſary to the exalted ſtation which he filled. No man was more remarkable for bravery and fortitude; and he took the lead in all dangerous expeditions, either for the defence or protection of his people. The valour of his ſoldiers was more animated by his example than by the authority of his command. He was judicious in the appointment of his council; and poſſeſſed a ſingular degree of penetration, whereby he was enabled to improve preſent advantages, and obviate future difficulties. He was of a temperate, humane, and affable diſpoſition; an impartial judge, and a righteous man. His life was irreproachable, excepting in the caſe of Bathſheba, and her huſband Uriah. The wealth he left greatly exceeded the poſſeſſions of any former prince. His remains were interred at Jeruſalem, with a magnificence of pomp exceeding the powers of deſcription. Solomon, his ſon and ſucceſſor, depoſited an immenſe treaſure in his ſepulchre; concerning which it muſt be obſerved, that about thirteen hundred years after this period, in the time of Hyrcanus the high-prieſt, Jeruſalem being beſieged by Antiochus, the ſon of Demetrius, he made an offer to abandon the place, in conſideration of being paid three thouſand talents. Hyrcanus had no reſource but in David's tomb, which he broke open, and thence took the ſum demanded for the compoſition. Many years afterwards, king Herod diſcovered a cell, from which he took riches to an immenſe amount; but ſo deeply ſunk in the earth, and ſo ingeniouſly concealed was the place where the remains of David were depoſited, that both Hyrcanus and Herod were unable to effect a diſcovery. In the tenth chapter of the ſixteenth book, the reader will find a particular account of Herod's rifling this tomb, where he found much valuable treaſure.

* This is certainly a blot in the laſt hour of this good man. He had ſworn to Shimei and pardoned him; and he now in a manner deſires Solomon to find an occaſion of revenge. Alas, how frail, how imperfect the beſt of men are! What eminent virtues are diſcernible in David! how contraſted with deteſtable vices!

BOOK VIII.

TRANSACTIONS from the YEAR of the WORLD 2931, to 3048.

CHAP. I.

SOLOMON ſucceeds to the Throne, and cauſes ADONIJAH, JOAB, and SHIMEI to be put to Death. He tranſfers the Sacerdotal Dignity from the Houſe of ITHAMAR to that of PHINEHAS.

SOLOMON, the ſon of David, ſucceeded to the government at an early period of life, being inveſted with the regal authority by the appointment of the Almighty, and the avowed conſent of his father. Upon his advancement to the throne, he was congratulated by the people, who expreſſed the moſt ſanguine wiſhes that he might enjoy a long life, and a reign of uninterrupted felicity.

Adonijah, who, during the life of David, had made an attempt to poſſeſs himſelf of the government, adopted an inſinuating addreſs, in order to obtain an intereſt with Bathſheba, the king's mother, through whoſe mediation he had conceived a deſign of pro-

moting his own intereſt. She aſſured him, that ſhe would exert her utmoſt power to render him ſervice. Bathſheba alſo told him, that ſhe was diſpoſed to promote his ſuit, and encouraged him to hope that the king would not reject the joint intereſt of his mother and brother, even on a ſubject of greater conſequence than that in queſtion.

Solomon not only refuſed the requeſt of his mother, but cauſed Adonijah, Joab, and Shimei to be put to death; and baniſhed Abiathar the high-prieſt*, for attaching himſelf to the cauſe of Adonijah and Joab. Thus, according to the prediction of God to Eli the grandfather of Abiathar, the pontifical dignity was transferred from the houſe of Ithamar to Zadock, of the family of Phinehas. Eli was the firſt of the houſe of Ithamar inveſted with the ſacerdotal function: and from his time, the following perſons of the family of Phinehas led private lives; Boccias, ſon of Joſeph; Jonathan, of Boccias; Maræoth, of Jonathan; Arapha, of Maræoth; Architob, of Arapha; and Zadock, of Architob.

CHAP. II.

SOLOMON marries the Daughter of the King of EGYPT. The Gift of Wiſdom beſtowed upon him by the Almighty. Wonderful Structure of the Temple. He builds a ſuperb Palace; and erects Fortifications of great Strength for the Defence of JERUSALEM. He vanquiſhes the CANAANITES. His immenſe Riches. He degenerates into Idolatry. Evil Conſequences of his Miſconduct.

Various tranſactions of Solomon.

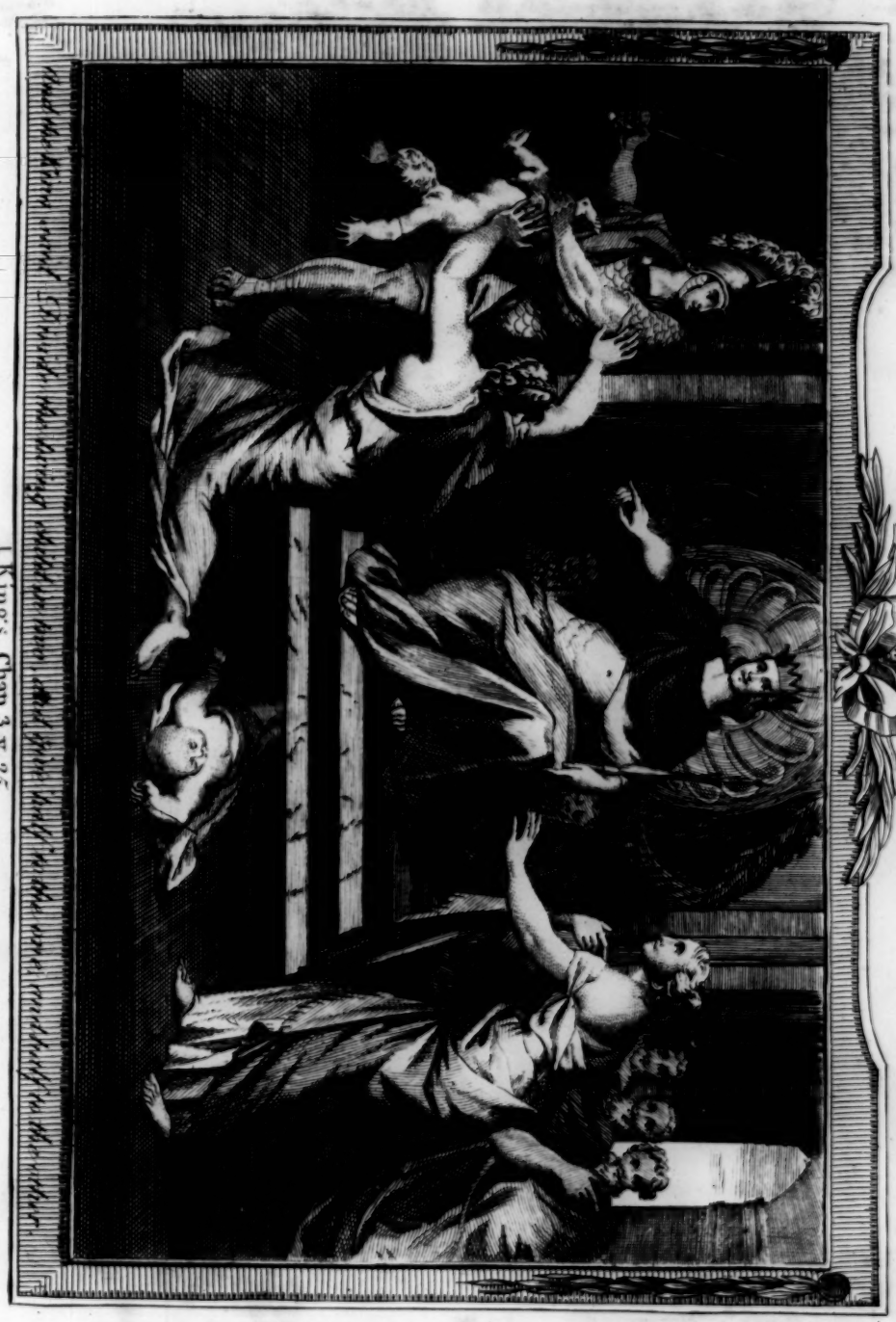
THE regal authority of Solomon was at this time perfectly eſtabliſhed; his people were reconciled to the government; and his enemies acknowledged the ſuperiority of his power. During this ſtate of uninterrupted tranquillity, Solomon contracted a marriage with the daughter of the king of Egypt, enlarged and conſiderably ſtrengthened the walls of Jeruſalem, and applied himſelf to the diſtribution of public juſtice. His early time of life was no obſtruction to an unremitting obſervance of the duties of his exalted ſtation, and a religious conformity to the inſtructions of his dying father. In ſhort, his judgment and penetration were arrived to ſuch a ſtate of maturity at this early period, that they would have done honour to the gravity of age and extenſive experience.

Solomon now determined to humble himſelf in prayer, and perform ſacrifice to the Lord, in gratitude for the bleſſings he enjoyed; and having repaired to Hebron, he made an oblation, conſiſting of a thouſand victims, upon the braſen altar erected by Moſes. This inſtance of piety proved ſo agreeable to the Almighty, that on the following night he viſited Solomon in a dream, and aſſured him that he would grant whatever he ſhould requeſt. He determined that the object of his choice ſhould be what the bountiful Donor would beſtow with the greateſt ſatisfaction; and, at the ſame time, an acquiſition of ſingular advantage to himſelf; and he petitioned the Lord to the following effect: "Grant me, O God! a juſt comprehenſion of things and a perfect judgment, that in the government of the people I may invariably regulate my conduct by the rules of truth and juſtice!" This proved ſo agreeable to the Almighty, that, in addition to the bleſſing of greater wiſdom than ever man poſſeſſed, he promiſed wealth and glory to Solomon; and, on condition of his conforming in all things to the divine will, and following the virtuous example of his father, the ſovereignty ſhould be continued in his family for many generations. Solomon awaked upon hearing theſe aſſurances, and having worſhipped the Lord, and offered thankſgivings, he returned to Jeruſalem, where he performed ſacrifice, and gave a general feaſt to his people.

Two harlots appealed to the king on the following occaſion: The complainant related, that ſhe had dwelt in the ſame lodging with the other woman; that while ſhe was aſleep, the defendant took her infant from her arms, and in the place ſubſtituted the body of her own child which ſhe had overlaid and ſmothered; that early in the morning ſhe diſcovered the fraud, and earneſtly pleaded to have her child returned, which ſhe infallibly knew to be her own from certain marks, but that her opponent perſiſted in a refuſal. She ſaid ſhe had no witneſs to ſupport her cauſe, but ſupplicated the king for juſtice. Solomon aſked the defendant what plea ſhe had to offer in extenuation of the charge. She reſted her defence on the aſſertion that the complaint was groundleſs, and that the living child was the iſſue of her body. The firmneſs with which each party ſupported her depoſition induced the auditors to ſuſpend their judgment on the iſſue of the cauſe, which at length was determined by the following happy expedient. Solomon commanded the living and the dead child to be produced, and that with his ſword one of his guards ſhould cut the bodies exactly in halves, one half of each to be given to each woman. Hereupon, the mother of the living child wept moſt bitterly, earneſtly ſupplicating that this ſentence might be reverſed, and declaring, that rather than the infant's life ſhould be ſacrificed, ſhe would relinquiſh all claim in favour of the other woman. The pretended mother appeared to be ſatisfied with the judgment, and even to enjoy a cruel pleaſure in the diſtreſs of her adverſary. On this evidence of maternal affection and natural tenderneſs, Solomon aſſigned the child to the real mother; and he ſeverely reproved the iniquity of the other woman in having endeavoured, after the loſs of her own child, to

* The chief prieſts were appointed by the kings, and were removed or put to death by them on account of any enormous crime, and, in order to ſhew their inferiority, always appeared ſtanding in the royal preſence.

effect



1 Kings. Chap 3. v. 25

effect the deſtruction of that of her friend. The conduct of Solomon on this occaſion was conſidered as ſo ſingular an inſtance of his ſagacity and penetration, that from this time he was honoured as a king acting under the immediate direction of the ſupreme Being*.

Upon the acceſſion of Solomon to the throne, Hiram, the king of Tyre, ſent an embaſſy to congratulate him on the occaſion, and to expreſs the ſatisfaction he enjoyed upon the government being continued in the family of David, for whom he had entertained a great friendſhip. Solomon ſent the following letter by theſe embaſſadors.

"King SOLOMON to King HIRAM, greeting."

Solomon's meſſage to Hiram, king of Tyre.

"MY father David, be it known to thee, O king, long entertained the deſign of conſtructing a temple, and dedicating the ſame to the honour of God: but the wars of his time compelled him to decline this holy work, which he left to be compleated by me, during a ſtate of peace, according to the prediction of the Lord. Praiſed and bleſſed be his holy name for the preſent tranquillity of my reign. By the divine aſſiſtance, I ſhall avail myſelf of the opportunity that is afforded to proſecute this important work. I therefore requeſt that you will permit ſome of your people to accompany my ſervants to mount Libanus, and there aſſiſt in cutting down materials for the intended ſtructure; the Sidonians having more judgment in that buſineſs than we have. Such rewards as you may judge to be reaſonable ſhall be given to the workmen."

Solomon's letter proved highly ſatisfactory to Hiram, who ſent the following reply.

"King HIRAM to King SOLOMON."

Hiram's letter, in anſwer.

"NO circumſtance could have afforded me greater pleaſure, than that I experience in conſequence of the government of your bleſſed father being transferred to a ſucceſſor of ſuch eminent virtue and wiſdom. Praiſed be the name of the Almighty, for the gracious providence manifeſted in this happy event. Your requeſt ſhall be chearfully granted. Such numbers of the fineſt cedar and cypreſs-trees as you may have occaſion for, I will order to be cut down; and they ſhall be tranſported to ſuch ports as you may appoint, whence they may be conveyed to Jeruſalem by your own people. In exchange for this, if you will ſupply us with ſuch a proportion of corn as may be convenient, it will be conſidered as a particular obligation; that being an article moſt wanted in this iſland."

Hiram's letter proved ſo agreeable to Solomon, that he ordered him an annual preſent, conſiſting of two thouſand meaſures of wheat, two thouſand veſſels of oil, and two thouſand veſſels of wine, each veſſel containing ſeventy-two quarts. The friendſhip thus commenced between the kings, daily increaſed, and was manifeſted by a conſtant interchange of offices of kindneſs.

Solomon commanded thirty thouſand workmen to be ſelected, ten thouſand of whom he ordered to cut wood upon mount Libanus for the ſpace of one month, at the expiration of which time they were to be relieved by a ſecond ten thouſand, who were to do duty for a like period, and then to be ſucceeded by the third ten thouſand. Thus they were at liberty to remain at their reſpective habitations for two months, and, according to the rotation, every fourth month they were to return to labour. Adoniram was appointed ſuperintendent or inſpector-general of theſe workmen. There were beſides, ſeventy thouſand foreigners, whom David had intended for conveying ſtones and other materials, eighty thouſand maſons and ſtone-hewers, and thirty-two thouſand overſeers. They were ordered to ſearch for the largeſt ſtones for the foundation, and to prepare them for uſe on the mountains where they were procured, and then to convey them to Jeruſalem; and in this part of the buſineſs, Hiram's men were commanded to aſſiſt.

Solomon begins to build the temple.

Solomon began this important undertaking in the fourth year of his reign†, and in that month which is called Artemiſius by the Macedonians, and Jar by the Hebrews; five hundred ninety-two years after the Iſraelites had come out of Egypt; one thouſand and twenty years from the period when Abraham removed from Meſopotamia into the land of Canaan; fourteen hundred and forty years after the flood; and three thouſand one hundred and two years from the creation of the world. It was two hundred years after building the city of Tyre, and in the eleventh year of the reign of king Hiram.

Its dimenſions.

The foundation was ſunk to an aſtoniſhing depth, and compoſed of ſtones of ſingular magnitude, and ſo hard a quality, as to reſiſt the worm and the inclemency of the weather: and being cloſely mortiſed into the rock with great ingenuity, they formed a baſis adequate to the ſupport of the intended ſtructure. The temple was ſixty cubits high, and ſixty cubits alſo in length, and the breadth

* The wiſdom of this king, in determining the caſe between the harlots, is ſcarcely to be paralleled. He diſcovered a great penetration into the hidden receſſes of the heart, and the diſcovery made in conſequence proved it to be genuine.

† If it ſhould be aſked, why Solomon did not begin the building of the temple ſooner? it may be anſwered, that the materials his father had provided lay rude and unfaſhioned, and at a conſiderable diſtance: this time was therefore requiſite to form them into exact ſymmetry and order; eſpecially as the very ſtones, which made the foundation, were probably vaſt blocks of marble or porphyry, and all poliſhed in the moſt exquiſite manner. Abarbinel tells us, that Solomon would not make uſe of what his father had prepared; and therefore four years cannot be reckoned an unreaſonable time, to gather gold and ſilver ſufficient to defray ſo vaſt an expence.

was

was twenty cubits; above this, was another ſtage, of equal dimenſions, ſo that the height of the whole ſtructure was one hundred and twenty cubits. The walls were compoſed entirely of white ſtone: and the front of the building was towards the eaſt. The porch was twenty cubits in length, ten in breadth, and one hundred and twenty in height. Round the outward walls were erected thirty cells, or ſmall houſes, communicating with each other, and forming galleries, and at the ſame time anſwering the purpoſes of buttreſſes, by ſupporting the walls. Theſe cells were each five cubits broad, and of the ſame length, and twenty cubits high. Over theſe were two other floors of the ſame proportion, and the uppermoſt of the cells were on a level with the lower ſtory of the fabric. They were faſtened together by large beams, ſo diſpoſed as to make them appear of one piece, and as if they gave additional ſtrength to the walls. Under the beams was a variety of carving, gilding, fret-work, and other curious ornaments. The walls and cielings were lined with cedar, and the wainſcots were embelliſhed with a profuſion of ſplendid ornaments of the pureſt gold. The fabric was compoſed of ſtones poliſhed to the utmoſt degree of excellence, and put together with ſuch ingenuity, that the ſmalleſt crevice was not to be perceived. The whole, in ſhort, was ſo wonderfully executed, that it appeared to be the effect of divine providence, rather than of human art.

The ſecond ſtory had not, like the lower part, a large door towards the eaſt, but ſeveral ſmall doors were made to enter from the ſides. The king cauſed winding ſtairs to be cut in the wall, which ſtairs led to the upper part. The temple was intirely lined with cedar, and the timbers were joined by iron cramps, whereby great ſtrength and ſolidity were given to the building. Solomon cauſed the temple to be divided into two parts, the more inward of which was a ſpace of twenty cubits ſquare, called the holy of holies, and declared to be inacceſſible, being particularly conſecrated to the Almighty. The other ſpace of forty cubits was called the holy temple, and deſtined to the uſe of the prieſts. In the wall dividing the temple a large cedar door was made, and it was richly gilt and carved, and before it hung a veil of the fineſt ſilk and linen, curiouſly embroidered with hiſtorical and other repreſentations in purple, ſcarlet, and a variety of other colours, in the higheſt perfection.

The cherubims. The king cauſed two golden cherubims to be made, and he placed them in the holy of holies, and dedicated them to the Lord. They were each five cubits in height, and their wings, which were five cubits long, being ſtretched out, touched the walls on the north and ſouth ſides; and the other wings, joining each other, formed a covering for the holy ark. The ſuperb and curious workmanſhip of theſe cherubims, is beyond the power of deſcription. The doors were twenty cubits broad, and of a proportionable height, and overlaid with beaten gold; with which precious metal even the floor of the temple was entirely covered. Before the entrance of this place was hung a rich curtain. In ſhort, nothing was omitted which could add ſplendor and magnificence to this aſtoniſhing ſtructure.

Solomon being informed that a man in Tyre, named Chyram, was highly celebrated for his ſkill in the manufacture of metals, ſent thither to engage him. This man was alſo an ingenious architect. The father of Chiram was an Iſraelite by extraction, and his mother was of the tribe of Naphtali. The moſt difficult and curious work was aſſigned to this artificer, who caſt two hollow pillars, the braſs of which was four fingers thick; they were eighteen cubits high, and twelve in circumference. Upon the top of each of theſe pillars was formed a chapiter of braſs, five cubits high. Theſe were overſpread with a kind of braſs net-work; below them were lilies of the ſame device, and under theſe, two rows of pomegranates depended, an hundred in each row. The pillars were fixed in the entrance of the porch of the temple, and that on the right hand ſide was called Jachin, and the other Boaz.

Chiram made a veſſel of molten braſs, bearing ſome reſemblance to a globe ſevered in the middle, and from its extraordinary magnitude it was called the ſea. It meaſured ten cubits from ſide to ſide, and the metal was four fingers thick. It was ſupported by a twiſted pillar, meaſuring one cubit in circumference. At the baſe of this pillar were placed the figures of twelve bulls and oxen, ſo diſpoſed, that three faced the eaſt, three the weſt, three north, and three ſouth. The veſſel called the ſea*, would contain three thouſand baths; and each bath is eſtimated to be nearly equal to ten Engliſh pottles. He made ten braſen baſes, of equal dimenſions, with ſquare ſides: the length of them was five cubits each, the breadth four, and the height ſix. To each baſe were made four pillars or ſupporters, and the parts which were ſeparately caſt, were ſo nicely compacted and incorporated, that each baſe and its pillars appeared to be one entire piece of work. The figures of a bull, a lion, an eagle, and other repreſentations, were wrought upon the baſes; the pillars, and the plates of the borders were adorned with correſponding images. The whole was mounted on a carriage of four wheels, each a cubit and a half over; the wheels, ſpokes, nave, and every other part being caſt, and put together with ſurpriſing ingenuity. Emboſſed work was introduced, in repreſentation of hands, ſhoulders, the paws of lions, talons of eagles, and branches of palm-

The braſen ſea.

* In Hebrew, the word *baijom* is uſed to ſignify any great collection of waters; and in this place the word *baijom* [ſea] ſignifies a large veſſel containing a great quantity of water. In 1 Kings vii. 26. we read, that this ſea contained *two* thouſand baths: now a bath was the ſame with the ephah, and contained eight gallons; ſo that, according to this computation, the ſea here mentioned held ſixteen thouſand gallons.

trees,

trees, for the purpoſe of making good the angles; and reſts were formed for receiving the lavers. To each of theſe baſes was made a laver of the ſame metal, being four cubits high, and of an equal meaſure in diameter. The lavers, each of which would contain forty baths, being placed on the baſes, were depoſited in the temple; five being diſpoſed on the north, and five on the ſouth ſide, facing the eaſt. The braſen ſea was alſo depoſited in the building; and it was aſſigned to the uſe of the prieſts, who were to waſh their hands and feet therein, previous to their approaching the altar. The lavers were made uſe of for cleanſing the entrails and other parts of the victims deſtined for the holocauſts.

The altar of braſs. He conſtructed a braſen altar, meaſuring twenty cubits long, twenty broad, and ten in depth, on which the burnt-offerings were made, and provided water-pots, fleſh-hooks, and boilers, of the ſame metal; and, in ſhort, all the utenſils appertaining to the religious ceremony. Solomon cauſed an immenſe number of tables to be made of various forms and ſizes, and of ineſtimable value; and one, which was larger than the reſt, was entirely compoſed of pure gold, and on this was placed the ſhew-bread; on the other tables were placed twenty thouſand veſſels and cups of gold, and forty thouſand of ſilver.

The candleſticks. In conformity to the injunction given by Moſes, Solomon provided twelve thouſand candleſticks, one of them, according to the direction of the law, held lights, which were kept conſtantly burning. This candleſtick was placed on the ſouth ſide, oppoſite the table for the ſhew-bread, which was on the north, and in the middle was the golden altar. The ark of the covenant was kept in the holy of holies, which was divided from the fore-part of the temple.

Cups, &c. Solomon alſo cauſed eighty thouſand wine cups, ten thouſand goblets, and other veſſels of various forms, to be made in gold, and twenty thouſand in ſilver. He alſo provided twenty thouſand of the golden meaſures, called the Moſaical Hin and Aſſaran, and forty thouſand of the ſame in ſilver; eighty thouſand golden diſhes and plates for ſteeping flour in upon the altar, and double that number in ſilver; twenty thouſand golden cenſers for incenſe, and fifty thouſand other cenſers for conveying fire from the great to the ſmaller altar.

Robes and muſical inſtruments. This great king further provided one thouſand ſacerdotal robes, with ephods, ſuits of precious ſtones and other appendages; but there was no crown except that on which Moſes had inſcribed the name of the Almighty: ten thouſand ſilken veſts, and a like number of purple girdles for the prieſts; two hundred thouſand trumpets, agreeable to the directions of Moſes, and the ſame number of ſilver ſtoles, for the uſe of the Levites, whoſe office was to chant hymns ſacred to the praiſe of God; and four hundred thouſand harps, pſalteries, and other muſical inſtruments for accompanying the voice, which were formed of a compoſition of gold and ſilver: in ſhort, nothing was omitted which wealth and induſtry could add to this glorious work, to manifeſt the zeal of the founder towards the Almighty, and inſpire others with correſpondent affections. That part of the temple wherein the prieſts only were to be admitted, was guarded by a fence three feet high: the ſpace which was for the reception of ſuch of the public as came with the purity and qualification required by the law, was a quadrangular court, with ſpacious galleries, and four ſuperb gates opening to the eaſt, weſt, north, and ſouth; and theſe gates were plated with gold.

For the purpoſe of erecting this temple, the moſt aſtoniſhing hollows were filled up; for the earth was raiſed four hundred cubits, in order to form it on a level with the ſurface of the rock on which the building was raiſed. The edifice was environed with a double cloiſter, ſupported by two ranges of pillars, each of which was hewn, in an intire piece, from the rock. Theſe cloiſters were wainſcotted with cedar, the doors were compoſed of ſilver, and the roof was fret-work. This ſtupendous undertaking was completed in ſeven years; and, conſidering the magnificence and ingenuity ſo aſtoniſhingly diſplayed, it may juſtly be ſaid to have been the work of ages compriſed within that period.

A general ſummons of the people to Jeruſalem. The temple being brought to a ſtate of perfection, Solomon diſpatched letters to the elders of Iſrael, and the principals of the different tribes, requeſting them to ſummon the people to Jeruſalem, in order to view the temple, and to aſſiſt in removing the Ark of Alliance thither. In the ſeventh month, which the Hebrews call Thuri, and the Macedonians Hyperberetæus, the populace aſſembled; and this was the time for celebrating the feaſt of the tabernacles, which was the moſt ſolemn feſtival obſerved by the Iſraelites. The holy ark, the tabernacle of Moſes* and the ſacred veſſels belonging to the altar, were conveyed into the temple by the prieſts, preceded by the king, the people, and the Levites, who ſprinkled the way with the blood of the victims for ſacrifice, and perfumed the air with incenſe, the fragancy of which extended to a great diſtance; and it was of ſo grateful and reviving a quality, that though the populace had danced and ſung all the way, they reached the temple without any ſenſation of fatigue; and they concluded that the Almighty had deſcended to conſecrate the temple, which was dedicated to his worſhip.

The ark, &c. conveyed to Jeruſalem. Having reached the holy of holies, the place deſtined for the reception of the ark, the people drew back, and left the prieſts to convey it into the oracle, where they fixed it under the two cherubims, which had been made with the points of their wings extending each to the other; ſo that the ark, which ſtood juſt beneath, appeared to be covered and protected thereby. In

* Called alſo "The Tabernacle of the Congregation," which, for the prevention of ſchiſm, and to make the temple the centre of devotion, was now taken down, and depoſited in the treaſury, where it continued till the taking of Jeruſalem by the Chaldeans.

the ark were depoſited the two ſtone tables, which had the ten commandments engraven on them, as they had been delivered by God on mount Sinai. In the ſanctuary were alſo placed the candleſticks, table, and golden altar, diſpoſed in the ſame manner as they heretofore had been in the tabernacle, when daily ſacrifices were offered up. Directly oppoſite to the door was placed the braſen altar, that the grandeur of the worſhip on the other ſide might be the better ſeen. In the temple were likewiſe depoſited, all together, the remainder of the holy utenſils and veſſels.

The moſt reſpectful care having been taken to place the ark in a proper manner, and the prieſts being retired, a cloud deſcended, which ſo obſcured the view, that they ſcarcely ſaw each other: but its effects were ſo benign, that they appeared as not proceeding from a common cauſe, but an intimation of the divine pleaſure, and of the deſcent of God to dwell in the temple.

Prayer of Solomon.

As the people were deliberating on this event, Solomon aroſe, and with equal dignity and devotion, prayed as follows: "O God, who dwelleſt in eternity, thou who haſt created this world, the heavens, earth, air, and the ſea, from nothing; who filleſt all nature with thine unbounded and incomprehenſible greatneſs; look with compaſſion on us who have built a temple to the glory of thy name. May our prayers be heard, O God, and our ſacrifices accepted: though thou art omnipreſent, be particularly with thy ſervants. Nothing is hid from thee: from thine heavens, then, attend to our petitions. Have mercy upon us, O God, who heareſt thoſe that conſtantly worſhip thee, and reverently love and ſerve thee."

His addreſs to the people.

This prayer being ended, Solomon addreſſed the people on the providence and power of the Almighty, informing them how, in viſions and dreams, ſtrange things had been made known to David his father, reſpecting things paſt and to come, regarding himſelf, the name given him, his ſucceeding to the government, the raiſing the temple, his family being eſtabliſhed, and the welfare of the people at large: "And now, (ſaid he) as many of the prophecies are fulfilled, be you thankful to the Lord, not only for preſent enjoyments, but for future promiſes; and conſider the bleſſings beſtowed, as a prelude to greater yet to come."

Solomon's humble invocation and prayer to God.

Thus ſaying, Solomon lifted up his hand, and looking towards the temple, exclaimed, "What, O God! are the moſt ſplendid works of man, compared with the leaſt of thy bounties! How ſhalt thou, who wanteſt not our ſervices, be requited by thoſe who have nothing to beſtow! All we can offer is the tribute of our thanks and gratitude, a diſtinction by which men are honoured above thy other creatures; which thanks I now render, for myſelf, my family, and my people, for thy bleſſings heaped upon us. Accept, then, the words of our mouths, as the only preſent method of expreſſing our duty, for thy mercy to my late father, who was raiſed by thee from the ſheepfold to the throne, and for thy bounty to myſelf, in the ratification of thy moſt gracious promiſes and predictions. Continue to us, as to a choſen race, thy bleſſing; may the government remain uninterrupted in our family, for a ſucceſſion of ages, agreeable to thy promiſe to my father David. Grant this, O God; and may my people poſſeſs thoſe virtues that may make them acceptable to thee. Condeſcend, O God, to make this temple the place of thy peculiar reſidence. I am ſenſible that the heavens and earth are too confined for thy majeſty; much leſs can a building of wood and ſtone, the work of mortal hands, be worthy of it: yet I cannot refrain from imploring thy protection of it. Preſerve it, O God, from the attacks of our enemies, and let thy poſſeſſion of it be its peculiar defence *: and if, in future time, the ſins of this people ſhall call aloud for thy judgments, let their humble ſupplications, and unfeigned repentance, in this thy houſe, be accepted as an atonement for their crimes. And I implore this mercy, O God, not only for the Hebrews, but for all people who ſhall worſhip thee in this place. Thus ſhall the world know that we are thy choſen people, and that this is thine habitation; and it will be ſeen that the Hebrews are devoutly anxious for a general diſtribution of thy mercies."

Teſtimony of God's approbation of Solomon's prayer, worſhip, and ſacrifices.

Solomon having ſaid this, bowed to the ground, and having worſhipped God, aroſe and offered a variety of ſacrifices, of the acceptance of which proof was given, by a flaſh of fire which deſcended to the altar, and conſumed the ſacrifices. The multitudes who ſaw this, conſidered it as a token that God acknowledged the temple, and approved the worſhip;

* God is repreſented in the ſacred writings both as the tutelary deity and the ſupreme magiſtrate of the Jews; in conſequence of which he governed them by an equal, or rather an extraordinary providence. This extraordinary providence is repreſented as adminiſtered, 1. Over the ſtate in general: 2. Over private men in particular. And ſuch a repreſentation we ſhould expect to find from the nature of the republic; becauſe as an extraordinary providence over the ſtate neceſſarily follows God's being their tutelary deity, an extraordinary providence to particulars follows as neceſſarily from his being their ſupreme magiſtrate. As to this providence over the ſtate, it would be abſurd to quote particular texts, when the whole Bible is one continued hiſtory of it. In this dedication of the firſt temple Solomon addreſſes a prayer to God, that the covenant between him and the people might remain firm and inviolate, and the old œconomy be ſtill continued. Solomon in this petition, which with reſpect to the given covenant we might properly call a petition of rights, ſpeaks the language of one who extended the temporal ſanction of the law to particulars and individuals: for he deſires God, according to the terms of the covenant, "To render unto every man according to all his ways." But when is it that he prays for the exertion of this extraordinary providence to particulars? At the very time when it is adminiſtering to the ſtate in general: "If there be in the land famine," &c. The neceſſary conſequence is, that as ſure as Solomon believed an extraordinary providence exerciſed to the ſtate in general, ſo ſurely did he believe it exerciſed to individuals in particular.

which so transported them, that they joined in one general adoration of the Deity. Solomon now returned thanks for so perfect a testimony of God's favour, in which he intreated the people to join him. He then recommended constant prayer to God, that they might still experience his grace, by living righteous and holy lives, according to the laws of Moses; which would certainly render them the most happy of all people. He reminded them, that their happiness could be only secured by what had acquired it, the practice of justice and religion. He farther said, it was not so easy to keep what they had obtained, as to procure what they wanted; and urged them not to forfeit, by misconduct, what their virtue had acquired.

Offerings. Solomon having finished his exhortations, dismissed the people, after an offering of twelve thousand calves, and 120 thousand lambs; on which all the Israelites, with their wives and children, were entertained, being the first blood shed in the temple. Exclusive hereof, the The feast of tabernacles. feast of tabernacles was celebrated, at Solomon's expence, before the temple; which was very splendid and magnificent, and continued for a fortnight.

The hurry of public business being ended, every one thought of returning home, after acknowledging the benevolence, good conduct, and wisdom of the king, and offering prayers for his continued life, and the happiness of his people. They returned rejoicing, singing, and praising God: and the tediousness of their journey was alleviated by the joy of their hearts, and the mutual good humour of the company.

God appears to Solomon in a vision. Soon after this, God appeared again to Solomon in his sleep, when he heard a voice intimating, that his prayers and sacrifices were accepted; and that God would preserve him, and dwell in his temple, while himself, his subjects, and their posterity, continued faithful in worship, as his father David had done. On this condition it was promised, that he should reach the utmost sublunary happiness; that the possession of the throne should remain in his family; and that the sceptre should for ever be swayed by a prince of the tribe of Judah: on the contrary, that if they should depart from their present worship, and seek strange gods, they should be cut off from the face of the earth, and be no more a distinct people; but being harrassed by war, and other calamities, should wander as exiles and vagabonds through the world. Solomon learnt from the voice of God, that, if his people apostatised, the new building should be destroyed, and burnt by barbarians, and Jerusalem laid in ashes by an unrelenting foe; so that amazement should arise from the extremity of the distress, that a people lately so favoured of heaven, and so distinguished by their riches and splendor, should at once sink to such utter contempt: to which themselves would answer, that the forsaking their God, and abandoning the religion of their forefathers, and their country, had brought that judgment upon them.

The royal palace. The temple being completed, Solomon began to build a royal palace, which was thirteen years in completing. He was not so anxious respecting the latter, as the former, which (as we have heretofore said) was finished in seven years, owing to the particular aid and blessing of God. The court of Solomon was greatly inferior to the temple, as the latter was designed for the immediate worship of God, the other for the residence of an earthly monarch: but it was adapted to its design, and a credit to the prince and people who built it.

Repair of the walls of Jerusalem. Solomon now repaired the walls of Jerusalem, to which he added towers and other securities. He likewise built, in the land of the Philistines, the cities of Asar, Magedon, and Gazara. This last city, Pharaoh, king of Egypt, had heretofore taken, razed it to the ground, and destroyed all the inhabitants; but afterwards gave it to his daughter, on her marriage with Solomon, who caused it to be rebuilt as a city of strength. He also built Betachora, Baleth, and other places of pleasing retirement, distinguished for good water, and pure air. Having taken possession of the entrance of the desert towards Syria, he there erected the fortified city of Thamadora, by which name the Syrians still call it; but the Greeks call it Palmyra. The city having several springs and fountains, was intended for a watering place to those who passed through the desert. It was six days journey from Babylon, two from Upper Syria, and one from the Euphrates.

The Canaanites made tributary. Between mount Libanus and the city of Amathe, there yet dwelt a number of Canaanites, who refused submission to the king of Israel; but at length, Solomon compelled them to pay an annual tribute of a fixed number of slaves, who were to till the land, and to do other laborious exercise; for the Hebrews engaged in no servile offices, it being thought dishonourable for those who had subdued so many nations, to do the work of captives. The disposition of the Israelites was turned to arms, military exercises, the use of horses, chariots, &c. The Canaanites were kept to constant work, and six hundred persons were appointed to superintend them, and to see they did their duty.

The king's navy. At Ezion-Geber, a bay of Egypt on the Red Sea, the king constructed a number of ships. This port is now named Berenice, and is near the city of Elan, formerly deemed to be in the Hebrew jurisdiction. King Hiram greatly assisted king Solomon in preparing his navy, sending him mariners and pilots, who conducted Solomon's officers to Ophir, called the Land of Gold, where they collected four hundred talents of gold, which they carried to Solomon.

The queen of Ethiopia visits Solomon. So great a character had Solomon now obtained for his virtue and knowledge, that Nicaulis, queen of Egypt and Ethiopia, who was also distinguished for her wisdom, was desirous of visiting him, doubtful if the reports concerning him had not exceeded the fact. When she had deliberated

deliberated ſome time on the matter, ſhe came to a reſolution, and deſpiſed the inconvenience and danger of a long voyage, that her judgment might be convinced of the truth of what ſhe had heard. Thus reſolved, ſhe proceeded towards Jeruſalem with a moſt ſumptuous equipage, having in her train many camels laden with precious ſtones, gold, and perfumes. When ſhe arrived, Solomon received her with all the diſtinction due to her high rank; and ſo eaſily reſolved the difficult queſtions ſhe put to him, that ſhe was loſt in wonder to find the reality ſo much exceed the report. The ſplendor of the royal palace, the order and regularity of the edifice, and the king's ſagacious management of the building of it, were all matter of aſtoniſhment to her. The grove of Lebanon, which was deemed the maſter-piece of the building, charmed her highly; nor was ſhe leſs pleaſed with the œconomy of the houſehold, the regularity of the entertainments, and the ſingular grace which accompanied all that Solomon did. The ſight of the daily ſacrifices, and the devotion with which the prieſts and Levites performed their worſhip, afforded her great pleaſure. This matter was conſtantly in her thoughts; and when ſhe had pondered on the ſubject a long time, ſhe addreſſed the king to the following purport:

"Illuſtrious ſovereign! There is ſo much of doubt and uncertainty in common report, that when this report verges on the extreme of good or evil, we are conſtrained to with-hold our aſſent to it; but in reſpect to your intellectual faculties and diſtinguiſhed glory, common fame, ſo far from having exceeded the fact, hath fallen far ſhort of it; and I am this day a witneſs of that real dignity, which I thought had been heretofore exceeded in deſcription. The Hebrews are bleſſed, the friends and ſubjects of Solomon are bleſſed, who are continual witneſſes of his wiſdom; and all praiſe be rendered to God, for ordaining ſo worthy a prince to rule over this nation*."

This ſpeech being delivered, the queen preſented to Solomon twenty talents of gold, beſides precious ſtones, ſpices and perfumes, to a great amount. Tradition likewiſe reports, that ſhe gave him a root of balſam, the firſt of the kind that had ever been brought into Judea, where it has ſo greatly thrived ſince that time. Solomon was not deficient in making proper returns to the queen of ſuch preſents as he thought might pleaſe her, and he even prevented her wiſhes in every thing that he conceived would yield her ſatisfaction. The queen returned to her own country, ſoon after this mutual exchange of preſents.

Gold brought by ſea from Ophir.

At this period, Solomon's ſhips arrived from Ophir (named the Land of Gold), bringing rich ſtones, and great quantities of pine-wood; which laſt was uſed, partly to ſupport the palace and temple, and partly in the conſtruction of pſalteries, harps, and cymbals, on which the Levites ſung and played to the glory of God. For ſize and beauty, Solomon had never ſeen ſuch wood before; but it ſhould be remembered, that this is not what is uſually called pine, being more gloſſy and white, and having ſome reſemblance in the grain to that of a fig-tree.

Solomon received by this fleet, ſix hundred and ſixty-ſix talents of gold, excluſive of preſents from the kings and governors of Arabia; and the merchants had their uſual adventures. The king ordered two hundred targets to be caſt of this gold, which weighed each ſix hundred ſhekels, and were hung up in the principal hall in the grove of Lebanon. Even the cups that Solomon drank out of were made of beaten gold, adorned with ſtones of value; and of this rich metal, his common utenſils were made. In the above traffic, no money paſſed; Solomon ſending his own ſhips from the ſea of Tarſus, and receiving in exchange negroes, gold, ſilver, ivory, apes, &c. This voyage, the going and returning, uſually took up three years.

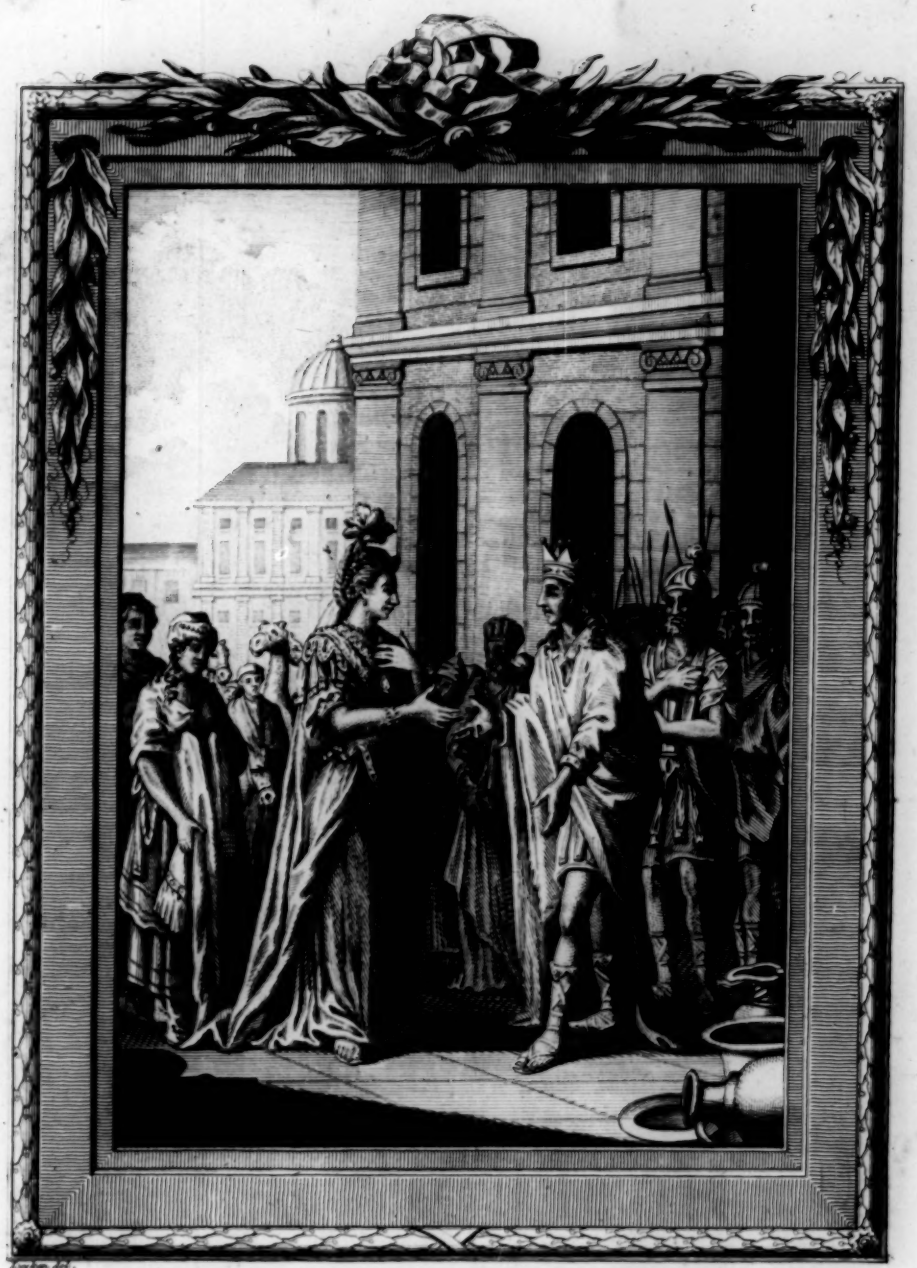
Solomon's magnificence, and preſents from foreign potentates.

The fame of Solomon's wiſdom and grandeur was now ſo extended, that the ſovereigns of many kingdoms wiſhed to ſee him; and loſt no opportunity of teſtifying their regard by the preſents they ſent him, which conſiſted of gold, ſilver, purple robes, perfumes, and ſpices, with chariots, horſes, and mules, the laſt of uncommon ſtrength and beauty. The king had now a thouſand chariots, and twelve thouſand horſes, which were rode by young men admirably ſkilled to manage them. Theſe youths were all dreſſed in purple, and when the ſun ſhone on their hair, which was intermixed with threads of gold, it had a moſt beautiful effect. Solomon uſed to ride, dreſſed in white, in a chariot, attended by theſe men, having arms and quivers, to a pleaſant houſe he had near the city, in which he much delighted, for the beauty of its gardens, walks, and fountains.

Solomon was of ſo quick a penetration, that it may be ſaid he ſcarcely ſuffered the moſt minute improvement, either for uſe or ornament, to eſcape him. He cauſed all the public roads leading to the palace at Jeruſalem, to be regularly paved with a black ſtone; and to this he was induced by the double conſideration of diſplaying his own magnificence, and contributing to the convenience of the public. He kept but few chariots at Jeruſalem, but diſperſed great numbers at different towns, which were called the Chariot-towns, and at theſe places they were kept free of expence. The profuſion of ſilver which was at Jeruſalem is not to be deſcribed; and cedars, which had before been known only in Judea, were

* That the government of the Jews was only a vice-royalty, may be inferred from this circumſtance: The throne and kingdom of Judea is all along expreſsly declared to be "God's throne" and "God's kingdom." Thus the queen of Sheba, who viſited Solomon to be inſtructed in his wiſdom, and doubtleſs had been informed by him of the true nature of his kingdom, compliments him in theſe words: "Bleſſed be the Lord thy God, which delighted in thee to ſet thee "on his throne," to be king "for the Lord thy God;" as it is read, 2 Chron. ix. 8.

now



The first interview of Solomon, and Nicaulis queen of Sheba, who came to satisfy herself concerning the reputation he had gain'd.

now to be met with as frequently as mulberry trees. He commiſſioned certain Egyptian merchants to purchaſe a number of chariots, with two horſes to each, at the rate of ſixty ſilver drachmas for every carriage and pair of horſes: and theſe he ſent as preſents to the king of Syria, and other ſovereigns beyond the Euphrates.

His diſobedience to the divine commands.

It is indiſputable that Solomon was greatly ſuperior to any monarch who had graced a throne, in piety, wiſdom, juſtice, power, and other eminent qualities: but it is equally certain, that by acting contrary to the law of Moſes, and the religious and legal inſtitutions of his anceſtors, he blaſted the hopes which his exemplary conduct in the early part of life had inſpired. His ungovernable attachment to women was ſuch, that, not contented with thoſe of his own country, he took the Tyrians, Sidonians, Ammonites, and others, in direct violation of the law of Moſes. The prohibition of the Hebrews intermarrying with foreign women, was made on the wiſe conſideration that women profeſſing an idolatrous religion might ſeduce men from the true God. Solomon contracted marriage with no leſs than ſeven hundred women, who were deſcended of the moſt exalted families, and one of them was daughter to the king of Egypt; and he had three hundred concubines. So infatuated was he by theſe women, that, to prove his tenderneſs and affection, he yielded to their impious examples.

He lapſes into idolatry.

As his age increaſed, the powers of his mind were impaired in proportion to thoſe of his body; and as he became indifferent in his duty to Almighty God, he was induced with the leſs difficulty to adopt the abominable mode of worſhip, which was exerciſed and recommended by his women *.

His conduct, in regard to the other ſex, was not his firſt breach of duty, for he tranſgreſſed the law by cauſing the figures of the twelve bulls to be placed round the pedeſtal of the braſen ſea, and afterwards cauſing the lions to be fixed on the ſteps of the throne. In his own family he had an an inſtance of the moſt eminent piety, honour, and virtue, in the perſon of his father, whoſe diſtinguiſhed qualities were recommended as an example, by a divine viſitation during his ſleep, to which he was inſtructed to adhere, on the penalty of incurring the divine vengeance. He diſregarded theſe inſtructions, and the conſequence was an ignominious death.

Prophecy of the revolt of the ten tribes.

After this, the Almighty, by the agency of a prophet, communicated to Solomon that he ſhould meet a retribution for his iniquities: but that, in conſideration of the promiſe given to his father, by the Almighty, he ſhould not be deprived of the government, which ſhould be tranſmitted to his ſon, who ſhould, however, be puniſhed for the crimes of his father: the prophet farther ſaid, that ten of the tribes ſhould revolt from his ſucceſſor, but that from a regard to his grandfather, and the temple at Jeruſalem, the other two ſhould preſerve their allegiance. The king became exceedingly diſtreſſed, in the idea of being removed from the eminence of temporal grandeur and felicity, to the extremity of miſery.

Adad becomes an enemy to Solomon.

Not long after this meſſage had been pronounced by the prophet, the Almighty was pleaſed to create a powerful and vindictive enemy to Solomon, in the perſon of Adad, who was a native of Idumæa, and a deſcendant of the royal line. When the Iſraelites conquered Idumæa, Joab, whom David had appointed to the command of the army, cauſed all the males capable of bearing arms, who could be found within the ſpace of ſix months, to be put to death. Adad, who was at this time very young, eſcaped to the dominions of Pharaoh, king of Egypt, who gave him a gracious reception, and, beſides houſes and lands, appointed him a revenue: and he conceived ſo high an eſteem for him, that, in proceſs of time, he gave him in marriage to his ſiſter Taphines, who bore to him a ſon, whom Pharaoh cauſed to be brought up with his own children. Upon intelligence being brought into Egypt that David and Joab were deceaſed, Adad requeſted the permiſſion of the king to return to his native country; where he intended to foment an inſurrection, in revenge for the cruel maſſacres perpetrated in the early part of his life. Pharaoh repeatedly urged him to relate the motive of his deſire to relinquiſh the protection of his beſt friend, but was not able to obtain a ſatisfactory reply.

The iniquities of Solomon now calling aloud for vengeance, the Almighty inclined Pharaoh to yield to the ſolicitation of Adad; who repaired to Idumæa with a reſolution to raiſe a rebellion againſt Solomon: but, obſerving the garriſons to be exceedingly ſtrong, and the whole country in an excellent ſtate of defence, he judged that he could not effect his purpoſe by ſurpriſe; and adjourned to Syria, where he united with a man named Rezon, the leader of a deſperate banditti, who was a fugitive from his maſter, Adadezer, king of Zobah. In conjunction with this man, he ſubdued that part of Syria, and having cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed king, he committed great ſlaughter upon the Iſraelites, and obtained immenſe booty, during the reign of Solomon.

Ahijah predicts Jeroboam's reign over the ten tribes.

Jeroboam, the ſon of Nebat, was left at an early age to the direction of his mother: and as he advanced towards manhood, being obſerved by Solomon as a

* Had we not the authority of the ſacred hiſtorian, as well as others, it would hardly be credible that Solomon, who built the temple, and conſecrated it by the fineſt prayer that ever came from the mouth of a mere man; who had ſuch frequent viſions of the Almighty, and was favoured with ſuch inconteſtable evidence of the nature of the divine Being; we ſay, after ſuch favours and qualifications beſtowed on this man, it almoſt exceeds belief that he ſhould fall into idolatry through any ſnare or temptation. Surely, all his recollection muſt have failed him, and his memory muſt have totally deſerted him, before he could be guilty of ſuch monſtrous ingratitude and wickedneſs! Hence we may ſee, how frail, how impotent, the brighteſt and wiſeſt of men are, when left to themſelves!

youth of a generous diſpoſition, he appointed him ſuperintendent of the improvements making to the walls of Jeruſalem; and as a reward for the punctual diſcharge of his duty in this office, the king inveſted him with the military command of the tribe of Joſeph. As he was departing on ſome occaſion from the city, he was met by the prophet Ahijah, the Shilonite, who having called him to a retired ſpot, took hold of his garment, and rent it in twelve parts: he ordered him to take ten of the pieces, according to the will of the Lord, who, as a puniſhment for having attached himſelf to prohibited women and ideal gods, had determined to take the government from Solomon; adding, that in conſideration of the promiſe to David, two of the tribes would continue their allegiance to the ſon of Solomon. The prophet exhorted Jeroboam to the rigid obſervance of the laws, and the pious example of David, and carefully to avoid thoſe iniquities which had produced the reprobation of Solomon, as the certain means of eſcaping a ſimilar fate.

This prediction of the prophet much elated the ſpirits of Jeroboam, who being naturally of a turbulent and ambitious temper, immediately declared his intentions, and endeavoured to ſpirit up the army to an inſurrection; but Solomon being early appriſed of theſe practices, gave orders for apprehending him; whereupon Jeroboam judged it prudent to decamp, and he took refuge in the dominions of Shiſhack, king of Egypt.

It is indiſputable that Solomon was the richeſt, and, if we except the crimes he was led into, in the decline of life, by his violent paſſion for women, the wiſeſt ſovereign upon earth. Having reigned eighty years, he expired at the age of ninety-four, and was interred at Jeruſalem *.

CHAP. III.

SOLOMON is ſucceeded in the Government by his Son REHOBOAM. Ten Tribes eſpouſe the Cauſe of JEROBOAM, by whom they are ſeduced to the Worſhip of Idols. REHOBOAM alſo becomes an Apoſtate from the ALMIGHTY.

Rehoboam ſucceeds Solomon as king.

REHOBOAM, the ſon of Solomon, by Naama, an Ammoniti ſh woman, ſucceeded to the throne. Upon the deceaſe of the king, ſome of the principal people ſtrongly urged the return of Jeroboam, who ſpeedily repaired to Sichem; to which place Rehoboam had alſo adjourned for the purpoſe of declaring himſelf the ſucceſſor to the throne, under the ſanction of the unanimous ſuffrages of the people. Jeroboam joined divers of the princes and leading people in an application to Rehoboam, whom they adviſed to adopt a mild government; obſerving that, in ſome inſtances, Solomon had been rather oppreſſive; and that inſtead of rendering himſelf an object of terror to his ſubjects, his ſafety and happineſs required him to regulate his conduct in ſuch a manner as to obtain an acquieſcence to the meaſures of his government, from an unfeigned affection to his perſon, rather than a dread of his power. Rehoboam delayed making a reply for three days: and this circumſtance was the foundation of a jealouſy among the people, who conſidered that an immediate compliance with ſo reaſonable a requeſt, would not have been refuſed by a prince diſpoſed to promote the happineſs of his ſubjects. They reflected, however, that the ſuſpenſion did not imply an abſolute denial, and waited the event with favourable expectations.

He commits a fatal error by preferring the counſel of young men.

Rehoboam ſummoned the counſellors and friends of his late father, and requeſted their advice as to the reply he ſhould make. They recommended him to behave with a gracious humility on this occaſion; obſerving, that ſuch conduct would have a more favourable influence than a rigid obſervance of the formalities of ſtate. But ſo infatuated was this young prince by the charms of his new ſtation, that, rejecting the wholeſome counſel he had received, he applied for the ſentiments of ſome perſons of his own age and diſpoſition. They adviſed him to anſwer, "That they ſhould feel more weight from his little finger, than they had done from the loins of his father; that if they had been oppreſſed before, the oppreſſion ſhould be increaſed; and that if whips were the inſtruments of chaſtiſement made uſe of by his predeceſſor, he would himſelf inflict a more painful diſcipline by chaſtiſing them with ſcorpions †. In the utmoſt anxiety of hope and fear, the people aſſembled on the third day: when the king delivered the anſwer, preciſely in the words which the young men had recommended. Thus, by the providence of the Lord, was the prediction of the prophet Ahijah fulfilled. The people unanimouſly cried out, "We renounce all allegiance to the houſe of David. If it is his deſire, let the king poſſeſs the temple which was conſtructed by his father, but we are no longer the ſubjects of Rehoboam."

Revolt of the ten tribes.

This was the prelude of a general ſedition, which became ſo violent, that upon an officer of the king's treaſury being ſent forth to appeaſe the multitude, by attributing the cauſe of the revolt to the raſh advice of ſome inconſiderate young men, without permitting him to urge any exculpatory arguments, they ſtoned him to death. The king apprehending that

* Our author's account differs widely from that given in ſcripture of the reign and age of Solomon: the ſacred hiſtorian informs us, that he reigned forty years; which, added to nineteen, the time when he ſucceeded to the throne, makes his age to be no more than fifty-nine. 2 Kings xii. 42.

† They adviſe him to acknowledge that his father had greatly oppreſſed them, and at the ſame time to declare that he would act in a far more tyrannical and oppreſſive manner. But it was ſtill worſe, to acknowledge that his father had treated the Iſraelites like beaſts of burden, but he would uſe them in a far more cruel manner; and inſtead of common whips, uſe thoſe full of thorns or pieces of iron, which would tear their very fleſh in pieces.

his life was in danger, mounted his chariot, and made all poſſible expedition to Jeruſalem. The tribes of Judah and Benjamin continued in allegiance to him, but the others revolted to Jeroboam, and declared that they would never again acknowledge the ſovereignty of a deſcendent of David. Rehoboam muſtered one hundred and eighty thouſand men, and with this force he propoſed to proſecute a war againſt the ten tribes who had deſerted his cauſe, till he ſhould compel them to obedience. During the preparations for this intended enterprize, a prophet of God exhorted him not to engage in a civil war, urging, that the defection of the tribes was an event, which for juſt ends had been produced by the providence of the Almighty.

Jeroboam eſtabliſhes idolatry at Dan and Bethel.

Jeroboam conſtructed a palace at Sachem, where he eſtabliſhed his reſidence, and he afterwards built another at Penuel. On the approach of the feaſt of the tabernacles, he reflected, that if his people ſhould repair to Jeruſalem to celebrate that feſtival, the ceremonies of religion might ſo far operate on their minds, as to induce them to acknowledge allegiance to their late ſovereign, whereby both his life and government would be in imminent danger. On theſe conſiderations he determined to erect two temples, one at Bethel, and the other at Dan, which is ſituated near the head of the Leſſer Jordan. Having conſecrated the golden image of a calf in each of theſe buildings, he aſſembled the ten tribes under his command, ſeduced them into their idolatrous worſhip, and, by this act of diſobedience to the commands and laws of God, Jeroboam was the primary cauſe of the civil wars, bondage and other calamities, which they experienced, and alſo of the deſtruction of his own family.

Acts of Rehoboam.

The cities of Bethlehem, Etan, Tekoa, Bethzar, Shoca, Adullam, Ipa, Mareſha, Ziph, Adoraim, Lachiſh, Azekah, Zorah, Ajalon, and Hebron, were built in the tribe of Judah by Rehoboam, beſides many other towns of equal conſideration within the tribe of Benjamin. He appointed governors and eſtabliſhed garriſons in theſe places, which he amply ſupplied with corn, wine, oil, and every other neceſſary for defence and maintenance. The intolerable oppreſſion of Jeroboam occaſioned great numbers of the prieſts, Levites, and the laity, to repair to Jeruſalem, for the advantage of paying adoration to the true God, inſtead of the golden calves which their king had compelled them to worſhip: and in the courſe of three years, the power of Rehoboam was augmented in a very conſiderable degree. The firſt wife of Rehoboam was his kinſwoman, and by her he had three children. He married another relation named Maachab, who was daughter to Thamar, the daughter of Abſalom; ſhe bore to him Abijah. He had eighteen wives, and thirty concubines; and theſe women bore to him twenty-eight ſons and ſixty daughters. He intended that Abijah ſhould ſucceed him in the government; and to his care he entruſted his treaſure, and appointed him to ſuperintend his ſeveral places of ſtrength. It generally happens, that proſperity produces a corruption of manners; and this was the caſe with Rehoboam: for as his power increaſed, he gave additional latitude to the practice of vice. As it is uſual for the multitude to be influenced by the conduct of their ſuperiors, the licentious example of Rehoboam ſeduced his ſubjects into a profanation of the commandments of God.

CHAP. IV.

JERUSALEM is beſieged and taken by SHISHAK King of EGYPT. The Temple plundered. The Death of REHOBOAM, after whom his Son ABIJAH aſcends the Throne. Terrible denunciation of the Prophet AHIJAH againſt JEROBOAM, and his Houſe.

Shiſhak invades Judea, takes Jeruſalem, and ſpoils the temple.

SHISHAK, king of Egypt, was choſen by the Almighty as an inſtrument of vengeance upon Rehoboam; and not Seſoſtris, as Herodotus aſſerts. When Rehoboam was in the fifth year of his reign, Shiſhak marched againſt him with a numerous army, chiefly compoſed of Ethiopians and Africans, and ſuppoſed to contain twelve hundred chariots, ſix thouſand horſe, and forty thouſand foot, with which he attacked and ſubdued the Iſraelites; and having eſtabliſhed garriſons in ſeveral fortified towns, which had ſurrendered to him, he laid ſiege to Jeruſalem, where Rehoboam and his people were blocked up.

In this exigency Rehoboam earneſtly ſupplicated the Almighty to grant him victory over his enemies, but his prayers were rejected: and to increaſe his terror, the prophet Sameas informed him, that the Lord had determined to withdraw his protection from ſuch as were degenerated into a ſtate of apoſtaſy. The prophet's words had ſuch an effect on the king and the people, that they acknowledged their ſins, and that their puniſhment was juſtly inflicted. Thus reduced to the moſt deſponding ſituation, the king was aſſured by the prophet that their penitence would be ſo far regarded by God, that he would not ſuffer them to be totally ruined, but that the Egyptians ſhould hold them in bondage, in order that they might be convinced whether ſerving God or man was attended with the greater advantage. Terrified by this declaration, Rehoboam ſurrendered the city upon certain conditions: but, diſregarding the articles of the ſtipulation, Shiſhak plundered the temple, and made prize of all the plate and other treaſure which was dedicated to God, as well as that which belonged to the king: he likewiſe ſeized the golden ſhields and bucklers of Solomon: the golden quivers which had been taken from the king of Sophena by David,

David, beſides gold and ſilver to an immenſe value*.

When Shiſhak had returned into the land of Egypt, Rehoboam cauſed a number of ſhields and bucklers to be made in braſs, and ſubſtituted them in the place of the golden ones which had been taken away. The ſucceeding part of the reign of Rehoboam was not interrupted by any remarkable event: and he died at the age of fifty-ſeven years, ſeventeen of which he held the ſovereign rule. He was a man of weak intellects and haughty diſpoſition, and ſuffered his kingdom and himſelf to be ruined by not following the good advice given him. He was interred among the kings at Jeruſalem, and ſucceeded by his ſon Abijah, in the eighteenth year after the ten tribes had ſubmitted to his government.

Death of Jeroboam's child foretold by the prophet.

Let us return to Jeroboam, whoſe wickedneſs exceeded all bounds. He daily fixed up altars in the high places, and from the loweſt claſſes of the people cauſed prieſts to be ordained; for which inſults, God cauſed a merited judgment to fall heavily upon him and his family. At this period his ſon Obimes was afflicted with ſickneſs, and he ordered his wife to dreſs herſelf as a perſon in a private ſtation, and go to the prophet Ahijah, who had formerly predicted that he ſhould himſelf obtain the royal dignity. Go to the prophet (ſaid he) and enquire whether the boy will be freed from his illneſs. She followed her huſband's directions, and departed for Shilo, where the prophet then dwelt. During the time ſhe was upon her journey, Ahijah, whoſe ſight was much impaired by age, was addreſſed by a voice from heaven, informing him that the woman was coming to his houſe, and upon what occaſion; what queſtions ſhe would put to him, and what anſwers he ſhould return. When ſhe approached the door, he ſpoke to her as the wife of Jeroboam, and told her not to attempt to conceal who ſhe was, for that the power who had given him previous information of her arrival, and inſpired him with what he was about to ſay, could not be deceived. Return (ſaid he) to your huſband, and aſſure him that the Almighty hath thus ſpoken: "As I deprived the houſe of David of the regal authority, and from a mean ſtation in life exalted thee to the dignity of a throne; and as thou haſt, with the greateſt ingratitude, deſerted me, and impiouſly put up gods of thy own invention, made by the hands of men, and preferred them before the Creator of the univerſe, I will, therefore, immediately extirpate thee and thy houſe from the face of the earth, and give your carcaſes to be eaten by the dogs, and the birds of the air; and another king ſhall be in thy ſtead, who ſhall not ſuffer one man of thy family to remain alive; nor ſhall the people themſelves avoid puniſhment, for they ſhall be driven out of the happy land they inhabit, and be ſcattered beyond the Euphrates, for imitating thy wickedneſs, and worſhipping thy gods in ſcorn of me and what I have commanded. Haſten to your huſband, and inform him what I have now related: and as to the child, it ſhall expire the inſtant you enter the city. He ſhall be interred with a public ſolemnity, and lamented as the only part of Jeroboam's family who had not merited reprobation."

Terrified at what Ahijah had ſaid, ſhe departed with the utmoſt ſpeed, and on her arrival, ſhe was exceedingly afflicted to find the words of the prophet verified in regard to the child. She related to her huſband a circumſtantial account of what Ahijah had communicated†.

CHAP. V.

JEROBOAM King of ISRAEL, is ſubdued by ABIJAH King of JUDAH. The Death of ABIJAH, who is ſucceeded by ASA. JEROBOAM dies; and after him his Son NADAB reigns. NADAB is killed by BAASHA, who exterminates the Family of JEROBOAM.

NOTWITHSTANDING all theſe puniſhments, Jeroboam ſtill continued to raiſe great forces, and offered battle to Abijah, who, in his father's right, then reigned over the two tribes. As this prince was but little practiſed either in civil or military affairs, Jeroboam entertained the utmoſt confidence of victory. But far from being diſmayed, Abijah manifeſted a conduct which ſcarcely could be expected at his early time of life, and immediately

* Theſe prodigious treaſures, which David and Solomon had amaſſed, were a great incitement to Shiſhak to undertake this expedition; and in five years after Solomon's death, they were all carried into Egypt. Hence we may learn what little dependence can be laid on riches, when the poſſeſſors of them turn their backs upon God the giver of them, and reject his worſhip and ſervice.

† The reaſon why Jeroboam ſent his own wife to conſult the prophet at Shiloh, was to keep the whole tranſaction an inviolable ſecret; for had it been divulged, his whole government might have been in danger: becauſe, if his ſubjects came to underſtand that he put no confidence in the golden calves, but had recourſe to the worſhippnig of Jehovah, they would forſake theſe ſenſeleſs idols, and return to the true worſhip of the God of Iſrael, whom they had ſo imprudently forſaken. The queen then was the only perſon he could place this confidence in. As a mother, he knew ſhe would be diligent in her inquiry; and, as a wife, faithful in her report. But there were many reaſons why he might deſire her to diſguiſe herſelf: for though Shiloh lay within the confines of Ephraim, yet there is ſufficient reaſon to think it was ſubject to the houſe of David. It was certainly nearer Jeruſalem than Shechem, and therefore Jeroboam thought it not ſafe to venture his queen in a place under his rival's government, without her putting on ſome diſguiſe. He knew alſo, that the prophet Ahijah was offended at the groſs idolatry he had introduced; and therefore he thought that her being diſguiſed would be the only means of making the prophet ſpeak without the leaſt reſerve. He thought, indeed, that ſhe might paſs upon him, when diſguiſed, for another perſon. But how groſsly was he miſtaken! It is ſurpriſing he could be ſo far infatuated as to think that the perſon who was capable of foretelling the fate of his ſon, ſhould not at the ſame time be able to ſee through this fraud and diſguiſe.

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collected a body of soldiers from the two tribes, and marched towards mount Samaron, where he established his quarters, and prepared for battle. His army contained four hundred thousand men; and double that force formed the army of Jeroboam.

Jeroboam's army defeated with great slaughter.

A detachment from the army of Jeroboam privately marched in the rear of Abijah's troops, who were greatly alarmed by the event: but their leader encouraged them to preserve their fortitude, exhorting them to depend on the protection of the Almighty, who would render abortive the most consummate treachery levelled against the righteous cause which they were engaged to support. This revived their courage, and they addressed themselves to prayer, till the signal was given; when with loud shouts they attacked the enemy, whom they totally defeated, committing a more dreadful carnage than is recorded either in the Greek or Barbarian annals. Five hundred thousand soldiers fell upon the field of battle. Bethel and Ithen, and all their best fortified towns, were conquered and pillaged. This stroke so weakened Jeroboam, that he was not in condition to renew his attempts during the life of Abijah, who not long afterwards died, after having reigned three years; and he was interred in the sepulchre of his forefathers at Jerusalem. He had, by fourteen women, two and twenty sons, and sixteen daughters, all of whom survived him.

Death of Jeroboam.

Jeroboam died in the twenty-second year, after being invested with the sovereignty of the ten tribes, and in the second year of the reign of Asa. He was succeeded by his son Nadab, who possessed the kingdom for two years only, during which time he endeavoured to exceed his father in every kind of wickedness. He levied forces, and marched against Gabathon, a city belonging to the Philistines, imagining that he could conquer the place by siege. While this intended enterprize was in agitation, he was treacherously murdered by Baasha, the son of Machel. Baasha assumed the government, and extirpated the whole house of Nadab, agreeable to the prediction of the prophet, that such of the race of Jeroboam as should die in the city the dogs should devour, and the fowls of the air those who should perish in the fields*. These punishments justly fell upon Jeroboam and his house, for deserting the Lord, and for their other impieties.

CHAP. VI.

Amiable Character of ASA, King of JUDEA. He gains a complete Victory over ZARÆUS, King of ÆTHIOPIA. The King of DAMASCUS enters into a Confederacy against BAASHA, King of ISRAEL, whom CREON kills, and ZIMRI murders his Son and Successor ELAH.

ASA, son of Abijah, and now king of Judea, pursued a conduct very different from that of Jeroboam king of Israel, and his immediate successors; inasmuch as he paid the most rigid observance to every institution both divine and moral. He introduced the most wholesome laws for the better regulating his government, and directed his attention towards correcting the abominable vices which had been introduced among the people. He had three hundred thousand chosen men of the tribe of Judah, whose arms were lances and shields; and from the tribe of Benjamin, two hundred and fifty thousand, provided with bows and bucklers.

In the tenth year of the government of Asa, Zaræus, king of Æthiopia, led against him a body of forces, consisting of one hundred thousand horse, nine hundred thousand foot, and three hundred chariots. On his arrival at Maresa, a city of Judah, Asa encamped his army in the valley of Saphatha, at a small distance from the city, and prepared for battle.

Observing the formidable power of the enemy, Asa invoked the aid of the Almighty, declaring, that he had taken up arms only through the confidence he reposed in him, and that his assistance would more than compensate for the inferiority of numbers, and every disadvantage. God attended to the intreaties of Asa, and, by a sign, gave him to understand that he should prove victorious With this assurance, he proceeded to the encounter, gained an absolute victory, and pursued the enemy with great slaughter to the plain of Gera.

Asa defeats the Ethiopian army.

Having obtained immense booty from the plunder of the town of Gerar, and the camp of his adversary, Asa directed his march towards Jerusalem, near which place, the prophet Azariah, having ordered him to halt, spoke to the following effect: "It hath pleased the Almighty, on account of your virtues, to give you this signal victory; and if you proceed in a similar discharge of your duty, you may be assured that success will attend all your future undertakings; but if otherwise, you will suffer the most dreadful calamities; and a period will arrive, when there will not be a priest qualified for the holy office, or a true prophet to be found amongst you. Your cities will be razed, and your people dispersed through the earth, without any fixed place of residence. Exercise yourselves, therefore, in acts of piety, before it is too late, and unanimously offer up your thanks to God for the happiness you at present enjoy." Asa, and all his army, received great comfort from these words; and they continued particularly careful in paying the strictest attention to their religion and laws. To enforce the latter

* There is a remarkable similarity between Jeroboam and Baasha in their lives and in their deaths, in their sons and in their family: for as Nadab the son of Jeroboam reigned only two years, so Elah the son of Baasha reigned no more; and as Nadab was killed with the sword, so also was Elah.

Aſa appointed proper officers throughout the kingdom.

Baaſha uſurps the kingdom of Iſrael.

Baaſha, who murdered Jeroboam's ſon, and uſurped the kingdom, reigned four years. His palace was at Tarſhiſh, and he far exceeded both Jeroboam and his ſon in every kind of wickedneſs. He was guilty of the greateſt tyranny and oppreſſion, and ſet even the Almighty at defiance. Jehu, the prophet, therefore, by the command of God, informed him, that he was reſolved to extirpate him and his whole race, as he had the family of Jeroboam; for as he followed the wicked example of Jeroboam, it was proper he ſhould equal him in his ſufferings. Notwithſtanding theſe threats, Baaſha ſtill perſiſted in his iniquitous courſes, as if he had expected a reward for his ſins, rather than a puniſhment: at length he advanced with ſome forces to Ramath*, which is about forty furlongs diſtant from Jeruſalem, and a place of ſome conſequence. This city he fortified, conſidering it as an advantageous ſituation for making incurſions into the kingdom of Aſa; who, being rather apprehenſive of his intentions, and reflecting on what ill conſequences might attend his people, by ſuffering ſo numerous an army near them, immediately ſent an embaſſy, with large gifts to the king of Damaſcus, intreating him to become his ally, from a regard to that affection which their families had always entertained for each other. The preſents of Aſa, and the requeſted alliance, were accepted by the king of Damaſcus, who detached himſelf from Baaſha, attacked his towns, and burnt and plundered ſeveral of them, among which were Achion, Dan, and Abelmaen. As ſoon as Baaſha was informed of theſe proceedings, he left Ramath, and returned to the care of affairs in his own kingdom. From the materials left at the departure of Baaſha, two ſtrong towns were built by Aſa, who called one of them Gaba, and the other Maſpha. After this, Baaſha never more entered the field, for he was murdered by Creon, and interred in the city of Arſanes. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Elah, who after he had reigned two years, was, while he was drinking with Oſa, his houſhold ſteward, killed by Zimri, one of his maſters of horſe, during the abſence of his guards, who were then laying ſiege to Gabatha, a city belonging to the Philiſtines.

His towns attacked and burnt, and himſef afterwards murdered.

CHAP. VII.

ELAH, King of ISRAEL, being murdered by ZIMRI, OMRI is choſen King by the Army. ZIMRI deſtroys himſelf and the Palace by Fire. OMRI is ſucceeded by AHAB, whoſe Ruin is predicted by ELIAS. JEHU aſcends the Throne of ISRAEL, and HAZAEL becomes King of ASSYRIA. JEZEBEL cauſes NABOTH to be ſtoned.

Elah, Zimri, and Omri, reign ſucceſſively.

AFTER the murder of Ela, Zimri became king of Iſrael, and totally exterminated the family of Baaſha, according to Jehu's prophecy. As ſoon as the king's death was known to the army, which was then before Gabathon, and that Zimri had uſurped the kingdom, they immediately elected Omri, the captain of the guards, to reign over them. After raiſing the ſiege, he marched directly to Tirzah, which he took by ſtorm. Zimri perceiving there was no guard in the city, retired into one of the apartments of the palace, to which he ſet fire, and conſumed the whole building, himſelf periſhing in the flames, after a reign of only ſeven days. Every thing was now in the moſt embarraſſed ſtate; and the nation formed itſelf into two parties, the one faction ſupporting the intereſt of Omri, and the other that of Thaman: but the former ſucceeded, for Thaman was killed, and Omri enjoyed the whole kingdom. Aſa had now reigned thirty years, Omri filled the throne twelve years, half of which time he reigned at Tirzah, and the remainder at Mareon, which is called Samaria by the Greeks. The mountain on which it was erected, was purchaſed of a man whoſe name was Samar, from whom Omri called it Samareon. He excelled all his predeceſſors in wickedneſs; and, like them, by daily acts of impiety, turned the affections of his ſubjects from the duty they owed their Creator. God therefore made all theſe kings the inſtruments of deſtroying each other, till at length they were totally extirpated. Omri died at Samaria, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Ahab. We have here an excellent proof of God's goodneſs, in directing the affairs of men, of his making the good happy, and totally deſtroying thoſe who diſobey him; for Aſa, who reigned over Jeruſalem, and the two tribes, was the only one who enjoyed felicity: and in conſequence of his uniform integrity, he poſſeſſed the favour of his Creator to a very advanced time of life. He died after he had reigned forty-one years, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Jehoſhaphat, whom he begat upon Abidah, and who inherited his father's virtues, and regulated his conduct by the example of David, his intrepid and pious anceſtor.

Ahab reigns wickedly, and promotes idol worſhip.

Twenty-two years did Ahab, king of the Iſraelites, reſide in Samaria, where every alteration he made in the government was an injury thereto. He copied the vices of predeceſſors, particularly thoſe of Jeroboam, whoſe golden calves he worſhipped, beſides committing other enormities. Having married Jezebel, daughter of Eth-baal, king of Tyre and Sidon, ſhe ſeduced him to worſhip the gods of her country.

* This city was in the tribe of Benjamin, ſouth of Jeruſalem. It was fortified and garriſoned to prevent the Iſraelites from going to worſhip at Jeruſalem, as they had been permitted in the former reign; and thereby this politic king thought he ſhould guard againſt any inſurrection or revolt of his own ſubjects.

This woman was raſh, violent, and ungovernable. She cauſed a temple to be built, in honour of Baal; and had groves of trees planted, in which prieſts and falſe prophets performed ſervices of idolatry. Theſe proceedings gratified Ahab, who took delight in the prieſts, and their extravagant worſhip.

Elias foretells a drought of three years duration.

At this time a prophet, named Elias, a native of Gilead, waited on the king, and ſaid, that "on his leaving him, neither rain nor dew ſhould fall in the province, till his return." Having thus ſaid, he departed, and travelled towards the ſouth, till arriving at a river, he there remained for the convenience of the water, and was ſupplied with meat by ravens. The drought increaſed till the river was dried up, when Elias was directed by the Almighty to go to a town between Tyre and Sidon, called Sarepta, where he would meet with a widow woman who would ſupply his neceſſities.

The widow's meal and oil miraculouſly increaſed.

Hereupon he ſet forward, and when near the place, beheld the woman picking up ſticks, whom he aſked for water; and, as ſhe was going for it, bid her bring bread alſo. She ſaid, a handful of meal, and a little oil, was all ſhe had to keep herſelf and ſon from ſtarving, and ſhe was now gathering ſticks to bake it into a cake. The prophet encouraged her to let him partake of it, on the aſſurance that, when they were all ſatisfied, her barrel ſhould be conſtantly ſupplied with meal, and her cruiſe with oil, till the earth ſhould be repleniſhed with rain by the goodneſs of God. She obeyed the prophet; and, though they conſtantly fed, found her ſtock as conſtantly repleniſhed, till the dry ſeaſon ended.

Elias reſtores to life his hoſteſs's child.

The ſon of the woman who had entertained Elias, falling very ill, ſhe attributed the misfortune to him; ſaying, "This man whom I have fed has brought this judgment upon me, on a diſcovery of my ſins." At length, when the child was thought to be dead, the prophet ſaid, "Give him to me, and I will recover him to life;" and taking him to his chamber, he placed him on the bed, and prayed that God would reſtore him; for that the death of the ſon, while he remained in the family, would appear to be a ſevere requital of the mother's goodneſs to him. The prayers of Elias were heard; God reſtored the child; and the mother was all gratitude, and confeſſed that the Spirit of God directed the actions of the prophet *.

Rain is promiſed.

Soon after this, Elias was commiſſioned to acquaint Ahab, that rain would ſpeedily fall. By this time the famine raged to ſuch a degree, that the people were on the point of ſtarving; nor was there food for the cattle. Obadiah, who ſuperintended the royal ſtables and fields, was now ſent for by the king, who ordered him to ſeek near the rivers and ditches, for graſs for the horſes and other cattle, and alſo to find the prophet, who had been long ſought for in vain. Now Obadiah was a righteous man, who had heretofore hid in caves and ſupported one hundred prophets, during Jezebel's perſecution of them.

Obadiah meets Elias.

Obadiah had no ſooner left the king, than he met Elias, who bid him tell his maſter that he was coming to him. "Wherefore (ſaid Obadiah) ſhould you diſpatch me with ſuch a meſſage, who am ſent in ſearch of you, that the king may inflict a tormenting death on me? When I am gone, the ſpirit by which you are governed may lead you another way, and then my life will pay the forfeit. Have more concern for my ſafety. You know my zeal for your fraternity, by my preſervation of the hundred prophets, whom I ſtill ſupport in the caves." The prophet, however, inſiſted on his going, and ſolemnly ſwore to attend Ahab. When the king found he was coming, he haſtened to meet him, and in a rage exclaimed, "Is it not you that are the plague of the Iſraelites? Is it not you to whom this drought and famine are owing?" The prophet replied, that Ahab and his houſhold occaſioned their own diſtreſſes, by the introduction of falſe gods, and departing from the true religion. Elias now demanded an aſſembly of the people on mount Carmel, and that Jezebel's prophets, and the prophets of the groves, might be preſent. Ahab aſſembled them; and Elias ſtanding in the midſt, ſaid, "Wherefore heſitate you betwixt two opinions? If you think ours the true God, worſhip him, and keep his commands: or if you prefer the worſhip of falſe gods, the choice is your's." No reply being made, Elias proceeded thus: "Here am I, a ſingle prophet, againſt three hundred: if you would aſcertain which is the true religion, I will place an ox on a pile of wood, but not ſet it on fire: let the other prophets do the ſame, and implore their gods to inflame the pile; by which the true worſhip will be diſtinguiſhed from the falſe." This mode of determination being acceptable to the multitude, Ahab's prophets laid their ox on the pile; and when they had offered their incantations a long while, Elias ridiculed them, bidding them ſpeak louder, for their gods might be aſleep, or on a journey. From morning till noon they continued their exorciſms, cutting and flaſhing their bodies; but the effect was not produced. Elias being now to ſacrifice, bid the people draw near, and obſerve that no fire was ſecretly conveyed to his pile. Having taken twelve ſtones †, that is one for each tribe, he made an altar of them, round which a deep ditch was cut: then placed his wood on the altar, and on it the ſacrifice, throwing four veſſels of clear water on the altar, which filled the ſurround-

* Though the woman had before ſufficient reaſon to believe that Elijah was a prophet, yet upon his not curing her ſon when he lay ſick, her faith began to fail. But upon ſeeing him raiſed from the dead, her faith revived with her ſon; and, through the joy of having him reſtored, ſhe conſidered this laſt miracle as much greater than the former.

† This, as obſerved above, being in alluſion to the number of tribes, was probably intended alſo to ſhew, that all the Iſraelites, though now divided into two nations, ought to be united by the ſame band of love and unity, and to adopt one and the ſame mode of worſhip; namely, that of the true and living God, whoſe temple was at Jeruſalem.

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ing ditch. All being prepared, the prophet called on God to convince the unbelievers; and, while he was yet ſpeaking, fire deſcended from heaven, burnt up the ſacrifice, and dried the water. This miracle aſtoniſhed the Iſraelites, who bowed to the ground in adoration of the only living and true God. Elias then ordered all the falſe prophets to be put to death, which being done, the people departed.

The prophet foretells a great fall of rain.

The prophet now aſcended mount Carmel, and, ſitting on the ground, with his head on his knees, commanded his ſervant to climb a rock near the ſea, and look out for a cloud. After ſix fruitleſs attempts, he ſaid he ſaw ſomething about the ſize of a man's hand in the air, of a blackiſh colour. Elias hearing this, ſent to bid Ahab haſten to the city, or a violent ſtorm of rain would overtake him; and indeed a great rain fell, and the whole atmoſphere was clouded, by the time that he had reached Jezreel, to which city Elias, by God's immediate ſupport, ran before his chariot.

Elias, on Jezebel's menaces, flees to Beerſheba.

Jezebel hearing of the deeds of Elias, and how he had cauſed the death of her prophets, ſent and threatened his deſtruction. Hereupon, he fled to Beerſheba, where leaving his ſervant, he departed into the wilderneſs, and laying down on the ground, wiſhed for death. "I am no more worthy, O God (ſaid he), than thoſe who have preceded me; nor have I any deſire to live." Having ſlept under a tree, he found himſelf awakened by an inviſible agent; when riſing and looking round him, he ſaw meat and drink, with which he refreſhed himſelf, and then repaired to mount Sinai, where he found a cave, into which he went, with an intention of reſiding in it. In this place he heard a voice, demanding why he left the city, and wandered thus in the deſert; to which he replied, that the queen had threatened his life, for having occaſioned the death of the falſe prophets, and declared the only true God to whom worſhip was due. The voice now inſtructed him to leave the cave on the following day, and act as he ſhould be directed. On his quitting the place next day, there was an earthquake, and then a blazing fire in the air, which was ſucceeded by a ſhort ſilence, and that by a ſtill voice, which bade him be of good courage, for his enemies ſhould not triumph over him: it likewiſe directed him to return by the way of Damaſcus, where Hazael ſhould be anointed king of Aram, and Jehu, the ſon of Nimſhi, king over Iſrael, by his hands; he was alſo to anoint Eliſha, of Abel, prophet in his ſtead; for the divine wrath would cut off the wicked from the land, and Hazael ſhould deſtroy thoſe that eſcaped the ſword of Jehu. Hereupon the prophet departed; and finding Eliſha, the ſon of Shaphat, with other people, plowing with twelve yoke of oxen, he threw his cloak over him: on which Eliſha immediately propheſied, and prepared to follow Elias, but firſt requeſted permiſſion to bid farewell to his parents, which being done, he attached himſelf to Elias, as his diſciple and companion.

He anoints Hazael king of Aram, and Jehu king over Iſrael.

Adjacent to the gardens of Ahab, king of Samaria, lay a vineyard, belonging to Naboth, of Jezreel, which vineyard Ahab wiſhing to add to his gardens, frequently aſked Naboth to ſell him, or accept other land in exchange for it; but this Naboth refuſed, as it was a poſſeſſion which had been the particular gift of providence. Ahab was ſo chagrin'd at the refuſal, that he became melancholy, abſtained from his food, and neglected to bathe according to cuſtom, and fell ſick. On this alteration, Jezebel became anxious to know the cauſe of it; and, on her repeated urgency, Ahab recited the ſtory of Naboth, and expatiated on the rudeneſs of his behaviour. "I intreated him (ſaid he) with fair words; and deſcended below the dignity of a king in my addreſs to him; and all I could gain by this conduct, was an abſolute refuſal." The queen gave him all poſſible encouragement to recover his ſpirits, and to be no longer anxious on the ſubject, for ſhe would take care that Naboth ſhould be puniſhed for the inſult. Having ſaid this, ſhe wrote letters to the elders and principal men of Jezreel, in the name of Ahab, importing that a faſt ſhould be proclaimed and an aſſembly convened, in which a place among the chiefs of the people ſhould be given to Naboth. That three witneſſes ſhould be provided, who ſhould ſwear that he had blaſphemed God, and ſpoken evil of the king: and that on this evidence, Naboth ſhould be convicted, and his ſentence be, that the people ſhould ſtone him to death.

Ahab covets Naboth's vineyard.

The queen's orders were obeyed in every particular: Naboth was convicted, and received ſentence, which was ſpeedily executed on him. Intelligence of theſe tranſactions being carried to Jezebel, ſhe repaired to the king, and informing him that Naboth was diſpatched, ſaid he might take poſſeſſion of the vineyard without farther ceremony. This news gave Ahab ſo much ſatisfaction, that he immediately ſet forward on a journey towards the ſpot thus dearly purchaſed: but the prophet Elias was ſent by God, to repreſent the ſin of his taking poſſeſſion of the vineyard, which was acquired by the murder of the right owner. Ahab ſeeing the prophet advancing, went to him, confeſſed what had been done, and offered to make reparation. By the order, and in the name of the Almighty, Elias acquainted him, that "where the blood of Naboth had been licked by the dogs, they ſhould likewiſe lick the blood of Ahab and Jezebel; and that the crime of taking away the life of an innocent man, by perjury, ſhould be puniſhed by the extirpation of their whole race." Ahab was ſo affected by the denunciation of this judgment, that he became deeply penitent for his ſins; cloathed himſelf in ſackcloth, faſted, went barefoot, and gave every other teſtimony of unfeigned ſorrow. Hereupon the prophet was commiſſioned by God to acquaint him, that, in conſideration of his contrition, the judgment which had been threatened ſhould be poſtponed during his life, though it ſhould certainly take place in that of his ſon: and hereupon the prophet departed.

Naboth murdered at the inſtance of Jezebel, who, with Ahab, are threatened with the divine vengeance.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

AHAB being beſieged in SAMARIA by ADAD, or BENHADAD, the latter is repulſed. In the following Year, ADAD is conquered in Battle, and applies for Mercy to AHAB, who grants it, and diſmiſſes him in a friendly Manner, for which he is reproved by the Prophet.

Adad, king of Syria, invades Ahab's dominions, and lays ſiege to Samaria:

THUS ſituated were the affairs of Ahab, when Adad, king of Syria and Damaſcus, raiſing a large army, and thirty-two kings from beyond the river Euphrates uniting with him, they jointly marched againſt Ahab; who, fearing to encounter ſo immenſe a multitude in the plains, retired to fortified places, to defend himſelf. Samaria, a place ſtrong by nature, and being defended by a garriſon, walls, and other works, was the particular retreat of Ahab. Againſt this place Adad brought his army, and made preparations for the attack; but firſt ſent a herald to Ahab, to require leave to ſend embaſſadors with his demands. This being agreed to, the embaſſadors repreſented, that the wives, children, and riches of Ahab were at the diſpoſal of his enemy, who, however, would raiſe the ſiege, and withdraw his army, if Ahab would acknowledge his power, and give him leave to take what he thought proper. To this Ahab replied, that himſelf and his poſſeſſions were all at the ſervice of Adad *: but the latter ſent other embaſſadors, demanding, that his ſervants and officers might, on the following day, ſearch the houſes, lodgings, &c. of the king and his domeſtics, and carry off whatever they thought proper.

On this, Ahab determined to call a council of his friends, whom he thus addreſſed: "Adad has ſent me two propoſals, by the firſt of which he agreed to raiſe the ſiege, on my acknowledging myſelf, my wives, and my children, to be at his diſpoſal; which I conſented to, becauſe I would not let any intereſt of my own ſuperſede the public good: but his ſecond propoſal is, that they be permitted to make a general ſearch, and carry off what they pleaſe, which is only a pretence to widen the breach between us. They thought, doubtleſs, that I ſhould remain firm to the firſt contract: but now they demand a delivery of my people and country, which they may be aſſured I ſhall not comply with; and that a war will be the conſequence: but I am determined to abide by your advice." On this all the council reprobated the inſolence of Adad, and voted for war. The anſwer then given the embaſſadors was, "That the firſt demand would yet be complied with by the king; but that the honour and ſafety of the citizens required that he ſhould refuſe the ſecond." This anſwer ſo mortified Adad, that he ſent a third meſſage, importing that Ahab ſhould not truſt in the ſtrength of his fortreſs, for he would raiſe works above his walls, which he could do by each of his ſoldiers contributing a handful of earth. To this Ahab ſent anſwer, "That not with their tongues, but with their ſwords, men of courage ſhould debate." When this meſſage arrived, Adad was at ſupper with the thirty-two kings, and he gave inſtant orders to prepare for the ſiege. In the interim, Ahab and his people were in the utmoſt deſpondency; but a prophet going to him, aſſured him, that God would grant his people a victory over their numerous enemies. Ahab was anxious to know the immediate inſtruments of the victory; when the prophet ſaid, he ſhould himſelf be at the head of the ſons of the nobles. Theſe being ſummoned, and Ahab having learnt that his enemy was indulging in the height of luxurious revelry, the city gates were thrown open, and they ſallied out. Adad hearing hereof, ſent a party, with directions to conduct them, bound, into his preſence. At this time the army of Ahab was ready within the walls, to iſſue forth when neceſſary. The valiant young nobles having attacked the guards, many of whom they killed, and purſued the reſt to their tents; Ahab and his army ruſhed out, attacked and routed the enemy, who were moſt of them drunk and unarmed. Thoſe who could, eſcaped by flight; among them was Adad, who was ſaved by the ſpeed of his horſe. The Syrians being purſued, ſuch as were overtaken were killed. The plunder, in gold, ſilver, equipages, and Adad's own chariot and horſes, was very great, and was conducted to the city by the conquerors.

His terms rejected.

Defeat of the Syrian army.

Notwithſtanding this victory, the prophet told Ahab that his enemy would be ready to attack him in the ſpring, and bid him prepare for it; which he did with vigour. Adad having collected his ſhattered army, his friends adviſed him not to engage again in the mountains; ſaying, that the god of the Iſraelites was the god of the mountains; but they would have loſt the battle in the plains. They alſo adviſed the diſmiſſing of the thirty-two kings, but to keep their troops, over whom experienced officers might be appointed, and that recruits of horſe and foot ſhould ſupply the place of the ſlain. This advice pleaſed the king, who complied with it; and on the approach of ſpring, encamped in a large plain near the city of Apheca. Ahab advanced with his forces, and pitched oppoſite the Syrians, though greatly inferior in number. During this poſture of affairs, the prophet, in the name of God, aſſured the Iſraelites of victory, for the God of the mountains was likewiſe God of the vallies. During ſix days the armies lay thus encamped, and on the ſeventh advanced to battle. The conteſt was at firſt obſtinate: but the Syrians unable to ſtand the ſhock, turned, and fled, the enemy purſuing them

Adad makes a ſecond expedition againſt Ahab, and is again overcome.

* Ahab ſeems not only to have complied with the inſolent demand of Benhadad, but likewiſe to have made a greater ſubmiſſion than he could expect; which ſhewed ſo much abjectneſs, that Benhadad increaſed his demands, and augmented his inſolence in proportion to the puſillanimity of Ahab.

cloſely. Many were ſlain in the purſuit; ſome killed in the flight by their own chariots and fellow-ſoldiers; ſome trod to death, and ſome torn to pieces. A few only, their numbers conſidered, reached Apheca, their only place of refuge. Under the walls of that city, it was calculated that twenty-ſeven thouſand were buried; and thoſe killed in battle were eſtimated at one hundred thouſand.

He applies for mercy to Ahab, who ſpares his life.

Adad having ſecreted himſelf in a cave, with ſeveral of his faithful adherents, ſome of them extolled the natural generoſity of the Iſraelites, and adviſed the king to ſubmit to the mercy of Ahab, which they were confident would be extended to him. Adad agreeing hereto, a number of people were choſen to ſupplicate mercy; for which purpoſe they were dreſſed in ſackcloth, with halters round their necks; and in this guiſe they went to Ahab, to ſolicit the life of Adad, who acknowledged himſelf his priſoner, engaging that he would always think himſelf ſuch. To this Ahab ſaid, "I rejoice at his ſafety; and you may aſſure him, in my name, that my own brother could not be more welcome to me than he ſhall be."

An oath being ſworn that the perſon of Adad ſhould be ſafe, the ſupplicants departed to the cave, and brought him to Ahab, who was ſitting in his carriage. When he ſaw the royal captive, he extended his right hand, ſaluted him, ſeated him by his ſide, and pledged his honour for his ſafety *. Adad acknowledged this goodneſs, which he ſaid ſhould be gratefully remembered: that the lands which had been taken from the Iſraelites ſhould be reſtored; and that Ahab ſhould be as welcome a gueſt at Damaſcus, as the father of Adad had been at Samaria. A league was now made betwixt the parties, and Adad being loaded with preſents, took his leave.

Ahab's ill-timed clemency reprehended by the prophet.

Soon after this event, a prophet named Micaiah requeſted an Hebrew to ſtrike him on the head, as an act of obedience to the will of God. The party refuſed; on which the prophet ſaid he ſhould be torn by a lion; which happened accordingly: and the prophet applied to another man, who ſtruck him ſo that his head ſtreamed with blood. Micaiah, binding up the wound, repaired to the king, and told him that he was a ſoldier, to whom an officer had committed the care of a priſoner, who having eſcaped, he himſelf was obliged to fly for fear of puniſhment. Ahab approving the ſaid officer's ſeverity, the prophet uncovered his head, and made himſelf known. This device was intended to impreſs on the mind of Ahab the impropriety of letting ſo vile a wretch as Adad go at large: "And (added the prophet) the time advances when yourſelf and your army ſhall be deſtroyed by this Adad whom you have permitted to eſcape." The prophet's freedom ſo affronted Ahab, that he ordered him into priſon; but the reflection on the prophecy ſat heavy on his mind.

CHAP. IX.

JEHOSHAPHAT's great Power, exemplary Virtues, and Happineſs. JEHORAM eſpouſes the Daughter of AHAB, King of Iſrael, whom JEHOSHAPHAT ſupports in the War againſt ADAD.

Eminent qualities of Jehoſhaphat.

JEHOSHAPHAT greatly extended his territories, and eſtabliſhed garriſons and governors in the ſeveral cities within his dominions, as well as thoſe which had been obtained from Jeroboam by his grandfather Abijah. His life was a continued ſeries of piety and juſtice, and he was rewarded by the bleſſing and protection of the Almighty. His riches and fame were conſiderably augmented by the gifts of neighbouring monarchs, whoſe munificence bore teſtimony to their approbation of the irreproachable integrity of his life.

He ſets about a reformation in religion.

Jehoſhaphat aſſembled the prieſts and elders, in the third year of his ſovereignty, and directed them to nominate commiſſioners for the purpoſe of preſerving a ſtrict adherence to the duties of religion, and the legal inſtitutions delivered by Moſes. This attention to the important articles of religion and law proved ſo ſatisfactory to the people, that they became emulous to exceed each other in executing the king's commands. Beſides the advantage of a perfect ſtate of domeſtic tranquillity, he enjoyed the ſatisfaction of living upon terms of amity with the neighbouring princes. The uſual tribute was regularly paid by the Philiſtines, as was the annual ſtipend of ſix hundred and thirty lambs, and an equal number of kids by the Arabians. As a ſecurity againſt invaſions, he kept his places of ſtrength in a ſtate of defence, and a well-diſciplined body of troops in conſtant pay. Edra was appointed to the command of three hundred thouſand ſhield-bearers, ſelected from the tribe of Judah: and Johannon had the command of two hundred thouſand. The ſame officers alſo commanded two hundred thouſand archers belonging to the tribe of Benjamin. Under another leader named Ochobat, were one hundred and eighty thouſand men, armed with bucklers.

Marriage of Jehoram to Ahab's daughter.

A marriage was celebrated between Jehoram, the ſon of Jehoſhaphat, and Gotholia, daughter of Ahab, who reigned over the ten tribes. Ahab provided a magnificent entertainment at Samaria for Jehoſhaphat

* The lenity of Ahab on this occaſion was very remarkable: to call a perſon brother (ſee 1 Kings xx. 32.) who had determined his deſtruction, was a great pitch of humanity; and to forgive one, who had been guilty of the moſt atrocious blaſphemy againſt God, ſhewed in it an indolence of mind which was unworthy of pity, and a diſregard for the ſafety of his nation, which would naturally cauſe its ſubverſion. This ill-timed humanity, ſo inconſiſtent with his character as the father of his people, the ſervant of the true God, and his vicegerent in the throne, juſtly deſerved the ſentence denounced againſt him by the prophet.

and the troops by whom he was attended. Having meditated the recovery of Ramoth-Gilead, which had been conquered by the king of Syria, Ahab requeſted the aſſiſtance of Jehoſhaphat, who conſented to unite his endeavours towards effecting the intended enterpriſe, and ſummoned his troops from Jeruſalem to Samaria. Theſe kings proceeded to a certain diſtance from the town, and, each being ſeated on a throne, they reviewed and paid their forces. A peace having ſubſiſted for the ſpace of three years between Ahab king of Iſrael, and Adad king of Syria, Jehoſhaphat recommended that, if any prophets could be found, their advice ſhould be taken as to the expediency of commencing hoſtilities.

The falſe prophetsdeclaring in favour of Ahab, Micaiah is ſent for by Jehoſhaphat.

The king of Iſrael called an aſſembly of his falſe prophets, the number of whom amounted to about four hundred, and he directed them to make enquiry whether an attempt to recover the city of Ramoth would be attended with ſucceſs. They unanimouſly perſuaded him to proſecute the war, ſaying, Adad would be vanquiſhed, and a ſecond time made priſoner. A ſuſpicion being conceived by Jehoſhaphat that theſe men were not favoured of God, he inquired of Ahab, whether he had not other prophets to whom he could apply. He was anſwered by Ahab, that there was one other, named Micaiah, who was the ſon of Imla, but that he deteſted the man for having predicted only unhappy events, and had ordered him to priſon for having attempted to perſuade him that he would forfeit his life in the approaching war. Jehoſhaphat adviſed that Micaiah might be called into the preſence of Ahab; and an eunuch, who was an attendant of the bed-chamber, was diſpatched to conduct him from the gaol. During the progreſs of their journey, the meſſenger related, that the prophets had declared the event of the war would prove favourable to Ahab. Micaiah ſaid, that whatever the inſpiration of the Almighty ſhould dictate, he would, without prevarication or reſerve, report to Ahab. The king put the queſtion to him, enjoining him neither to extenuate or aggravate the truth. He ſaid that he had ſeen the people of Iſrael, like ſheep without a ſhepherd, diſperſed and purſued by the Syrians; and that by this repreſentation the Lord had intimated, that only the king ſhould fall in the engagement. Ahab, having heard this prophecy, aſked Jehoſhaphat, whether he was not now convinced that he had not wrongfully accuſed the man. Upon which Micaiah ſaid, "I have no enmity towards you: the prediction was the effect of an inſpiration from the Almighty, by whoſe expreſs command it was faithfully delivered to you: but by the flattering impoſitions of the falſe prophets, you are perſuaded to engage in a war which will prove your deſtruction."

He predicts Ahab's defeat and death in the expedition.

The king became much diſturbed by the firmneſs with which Micaiah perſiſted to ſupport this prediction.

Zedekiah diſſuaded the king from paying the leaſt regard to what Micaiah had ſaid, declaring the whole to be a palpable fiction; and in confirmation of this, he ſaid, that he had ſpoken in direct contradiction to a prophecy of Elias, who had aſſerted that the king's blood ſhould be licked by the dogs, in the field where they had licked the blood of Naboth. "I will now (ſaid he) ſtrike this man on the face, and if he be a prophet of God, may my arm wither as did that of Jeroboam, when he lifted it againſt the prophet Jadon." He ſtruck Micaiah, and as no judgment enſued, Ahab was confirmed in the deſign of engaging in a war with the king of Syria. Zedekiah now preſented the king with horns of iron, ſaying, that under the ſemblance of theſe horns, it was intimated by the Lord that he ſhould puſh the Syrians to extremity and finally deſtroy them. Micaiah told Zedekiah, that he would be ſhortly called to a very ſevere account for the impoſitions he had been guilty of, and driven to ſeek his ſafety in hiding places *. The king being highly incenſed againſt Micaiah, commanded Apion, the governor of the city, to confine him in priſon, and allow him no other ſuſtenance than bread and water, till his return from the war.

The battle being joined, Ahab is ſlain.

The confederate kings led their forces toward Ramoth, whence Adad came forth to meet them. In order to avoid the event which had been foretold by Micaiah, the king wore the dreſs of a private man, and he was perſonated by a native of Jeruſalem, habited in the royal robes. Adad charged his officers to direct their arms againſt the king of Iſrael, without regard to his ſubjects. Obſerving Jehoſhaphat at the head of the troops, the Syrians preſſed upon him, but diſcovering their miſtake, they retired. A domeſtic of Adad, named Aman, ſhot a random arrow, which paſſing through the joints of Ahab's armour, penetrated his lungs. Apprehending that this unfortunate circumſtance might depreſs the ſpirit of the troops, the wounded monarch ordered his charioteer to remove a ſmall diſtance from the army; and having remained in his chariot nearly till ſun-ſetting, he expired. The armies took the field in the morning, and continued harraſſing each other the whole day, but Ahab was the only man ſlain. On the approach of night, the Syrians retired to their tents: and when an herald had proclaimed the death of Ahab, the people diſperſed. The remains of the king were interred at Samaria; and upon waſhing the blood from the chariot, at a neighbouring fountain, the dogs licked it up, according to the prophecy of Elias. This fountain was afterwards uſed as a bath for common women.

Prophecy of Elias fulfilled.

* Zedekiah had uſed Micaiah with great indignity, and by his queſtion to him would have inſinuated that he was a falſe prophet; but in puniſhment of his abuſe, and in vindication of Micaiah's divine miſſion, he was again inſpired with a ſecond prophecy; which being fulfilled, as well as that denounced againſt Ahab, was a farther illuſtration of Micaiah's integrity, and Zedekiah's falſehood.

BOOK IX.

Containing the JEWISH HISTORY, from A. M. 3048, to 3224.

CHAP. I.

The MOABITES and their Confederates, conquered by JEHOSHAPHAT. The Death of AHAZIAH, agreeable to the Prediction of ELIAS. He is ſucceeded by JEHORAM, who being joined by JEHOSHAPHAT and the King of IDUMÆA, they conquer the MOABITES.

Jehoſhaphat reproved for joining with Ahab.

JEHU, the prophet, meeting Jehoſhaphat on his return to Jeruſalem, after his junction with Ahab, againſt Adad, told him how much the Almighty was offended at the alliance; but ſaid, that for his former obedience to the law of God, he would find pardon, and deliverance from his foes. Hereupon the king ſought his peace with God by prayer, offering ſacrifice, and ordering that the people throughout his dominions ſhould be inſtructed in the laws of Moſes, and in the antient religion. He likewiſe appointed magiſtrates of the cities and large towns, who were ordered to diſtribute juſtice to all ranks of people without favour or partiality. Good order being ſettled among the two tribes, the king repaired to Jeruſalem, where, from among the prieſts and Levites, he ſelected judges, who were inſtructed to act uprightly; and directed, that when matters of conſequence were brought before them from the adjacent cities, they ſhould not determine but on the cooleſt deliberation; ſince a deficiency of juſtice in the city where the temple of God and the palace of the king were erected, would be highly diſhonourable. Ahaziah, the prieſt, was appointed to preſide in holy matters, and Zebediah in civil.

The Moabites, &c. invading Judea, Jehoſhaphat convenes an aſſembly, and prays for divine aid.

About this period, the Moabites, Ammonites, and Aramites, having hired great numbers of troops, advanced to the city of Engedi, near the lake of Aſphaltites, about thirty-eight miles from Jeruſalem, with a view of giving battle to Jehoſhaphat; who no ſooner learnt that they had paſſed the lake, than he convened an aſſembly, and ſtanding before the temple, implored the protection of heaven againſt the enemy.

They are encouraged by a prophet.

During their devotions, Jahaziel, a prophet, ſtood up, and ſaid, that their prayers were heard, and God would grant them victory in the defence of their religion. He adviſed him to march the next day, and they ſhould find their enemies encamped on a hill called Sis (ſignifying an eminence) between Jeruſalem and Engedi: where God would fight the battle for them, while they might only look on, as ſpectators of the action. When the prophet had ended, Jehoſhaphat and his people fell on the ground in adoration, while the hymns and muſical inſtruments of the Levites accompanied their devotions.

The king's ſalutary advice and meaſures.

On the following day the king roſe early, and going into the deſert near the city of Tekoa, told the people to rely on God by believing his prophet, and not to form in battle array. He directed the prieſts with their trumpets to advance, followed by the Levites and ſingers, as on a day of victory and triumph. This advice being obeyed, the Almighty ſtruck ſuch a terror into the enemy, that they attacked each other, and fought with ſuch incredible fury, that they all fell ſacrifices to their mutual rage. On a view of the valley, Jehoſhaphat found it covered with dead bodies, and triumphantly rejoicing in a victory obtained without bloodſhed, permitted the ſoldiers to make booty of all the ſpoils, which were ſo conſiderable as to take three days to carry them off.

He gives thanks to God for his miraculous interpoſition on his behalf.

At the end of four days the people aſſembled in the valley of Beracha, where they offered thanks to God for the merciful exertion of his power. From this circumſtance the place was called the Valley of Bleſſings, which name it ſtill retains. Hence the army proceeded to Jeruſalem, where feaſts and ſacrifices employed ſeveral days. This ſignal victory impreſſed all foreign princes and nations with a high opinion of the piety of Jehoſhaphat, as a perſon peculiarly favoured of heaven; and this ſentiment attended him through life. In the mean time Jehoſhaphat was in friendſhip with Ahaziah ſon of Ahab, in conjunction with whom he fitted out ſhips for the gold trade; but the whole project failed, all the ſhips being loſt, partly through tempeſtuous weather, and partly from the veſſels being ill adapted to the ſeas they were to navigate *.

Tranſlation of Elias.

In the reign of Ahaziah, king of Iſrael, Elias was tranſlated, and no account was ever

* The unnatural league Jehoſhaphat made with this idolatrous prince was, by the hand of Providence, the real cauſe of this diſaſter. The wickedneſs of Ahaziah and his people was extremely great. He was not moved by the untimely death of his father; but followed his

ever afterwards heard of him: but he left behind him his diſciple Eliſha, of whom mention has been already made. In like manner Enoch was tranſlated, before the flood, as it is recorded in holy writ. Jehoram ſucceeding his brother in the government, determined to go to war with Meſha, king of the Moabites, on his refuſal to pay an annual tribute of two hundred thouſand unſhorn ſheep, in conſideration of what had been heretofore paid to Ahab his father; and he gained a complete victory over them. Some little time after this, Jehoſhaphat lived in an eaſy retirement, and then died in Jeruſalem, in the twenty-fifth year of his reign, and the ſixtieth of his age; and was interred in a moſt pompous manner.

CHAP. II.

JEHORAM ſucceeds JEHOSHAPHAT. Miracles wrought by ELISHA. ADAD beſieges SAMARIA. The Siege miraculouſly raiſed. ADAD murdered by HAZAEL, who aſſumes the Government. JEHORAM, for his great Wickedneſs, is threatened by ELISHA.

Jehoram ſucceeds his father Jehoſhaphat.

JEHORAM, the eldeſt of ſeveral ſons of Jehoſhaphat, ſucceeded his father in the ſovereignty. He was named after his mother's brother, who was lately returned from the war againſt the Moabites, and had brought with him Eliſha the prophet, of whom many things are mentioned in holy writ, which are well worthy of regard. Eliſha was applied to by the wife of Obadiah, ſteward to Ahab, who hinted that he was acquainted with the rage of Jezebel againſt the prophets; and of her huſband having ſupported an hundred of them in the cave, by which he had ſo greatly involved himſelf in debt, that herſelf and children were likely to become ſlaves to the creditors: on which ſhe begged the prophet's aſſiſtance, in conſideration of her huſband's merit. Hereupon Eliſha demanded what her houſe afforded; and on her ſaying only a little oil in a cruſe, he directed her to borrow a number of empty veſſels and pots of her neighbours, and, making faſt her chamber-door, to pour a little oil into each, and they would be filled by the power of God. She did ſo; and having returned to the prophet with an account of her proceedings, he bid her ſell the oil, and diſcharge her debts, and ſhe would have ſomething left for her family. By this means ſhe experienced a very ſeaſonable deliverance.

Miracles performed by Eliſha, who multiplies the oil.

Eliſha being informed of a conſpiracy againſt Jehoram, and that Adad meant to attack him in a particular place when he went to hunt, adviſed the king not to go, by which his life was preſerved. Adad was ſo enraged hereat, that he charged his ſervants with infidelity, in diſcovering what themſelves only could know. One of them replied, that he ought not to ſuſpect them, while his enemy had ſo faithful a ſpy as Eliſha, who was able to divine his moſt ſecret thoughts. Hereupon the king ſent a party to enquire after Eliſha, who learnt he was at Dothan; on which chariots and horſemen were ſent to take him into cuſtody. They ſurrounded the town in the evening, ſo that no perſon could go in or out; and the prophet's ſervant haſted to him in the morning, to acquaint him with what had happened. The prophet bade him be of good courage, and rely on the Providence of God; and inſtantly prayed for ſome token of his protection, to confirm the faith of the ſervant. In conſequence hereof, a number of chariots and horſes appeared about Eliſha, as a guard, and were viſible to the ſervant; upon which all his fears were diſſipated.

Eliſha leads the blinded Syrian army into Samaria.

Eliſha now implored the Almighty to blind his enemies to ſuch a degree, that they ſhoud not know him from any other perſon; which petition being complied with, he went among the troops, and demanded who and for what they were ſearching. "For the prophet Eliſha" (ſaid they), on which he bid them follow him, and he would direct them to the place where he was. Now their intellects being as much clouded as their eyes, they followed him to Samaria, and were no ſooner within the city, than he deſired Jehoram to make the ports faſt, and confine them. The prophet now prayed once more, that the Syrians might be reſtored to ſight; and his prayers being heard, they were aſtoniſhed to find that they were within the walls of the enemies city, and wholly at their mercy.

The affrighted Syrians were doubting how to act in this ſituation, when the king adviſed that they might be put to death*; but to this the prophet objected, as a diſhonourable proceeding, except towards perſons conquered in war: "Theſe men (ſaid he) had no hoſtile intention againſt this country, and appear to be mere agents in the hand of Providence." The prophet, therefore, adviſed that they ſhould be treated hoſpitably, and left to their own liberty, after they had been properly entertained. Hereupon Jehoram, in purſuance of the prophet's advice, entertained them liberally, and diſmiſſed them. On their return, they gave the king their maſter a minute account of what had happened, which greatly affected him, and convinced him that this miracle was wrought by the immediate hand of Heaven, and that the prophet was divinely

At the prophet's motion, they are fed, and ſent home.

his pernicious example, ſtill ſeducing the people, and provoking the God of Iſrael by his abominable idolatries. The author of the book of Chronicles informs us, that his impiety was ſo provoking, that God had abandoned him, and would not proſper the naval expedition of Jehoſhaphat, becauſe he joined the fleet of this vicious prince. And the wickedneſs of Ahaziah, ſo great in itſelf, was highly aggravated by his making the people to ſin. By his evil example and authority he corrupted their worſhip, and juſtly drew upon himſelf the guilt of their tranſgreſſions.

* Though a conqueror is at liberty to put his enemies to the ſword, yet the laws of humanity and compaſſion ſhould always reſtrain us from treating with the utmoſt ſeverity ſuch as ſurrender themſelves,

divinely inſpired when he delivered the prediction in the name of God. Adad reſolved that, henceforward, he would never ſeek to injure the king of Iſrael in a treacherous manner: but, confiding in his numbers and ſtrength, would engage him in open war.

Adad renews hoſtilities againſt Jehoram.

Thus reſolved, Adad collected a numerous army, with which he marched againſt Jehoram; who thinking his forces inadequate to the riſk of a battle in the plains, remained within the walls of Samaria; which being ſtrongly fortified, Adad heſitated whether he ſhould attack him in form, or endeavour to reduce it by famine. At length the place was beſieged, and the garriſon was ſo reduced for want of proviſions, that the head of an aſs was ſold for eighty pieces of ſilver, and five pieces was the price of a pint of pigeon's dung, as the ſauce for it. In this diſtreſs Jehoram was apprehenſive, that ſome perſon might inform the enemy how greatly the famine had reduced them; for which reaſon he daily walked round the fortifications, had an eye upon the guards, and was very attentive that no ſpy ſhould enter the city in a private manner.

A grievous famine in Samaria.

While the king was thus employed, a woman demanded his aſſiſtance. He ſuppoſed ſhe came to beg of him, and ſaid, "How can I aſſiſt you, who have neither barns nor wine-preſſes?" Hereupon the woman ſaid, ſhe aſked not for food but for juſtice, and wiſhed he would determine a debate between another woman and herſelf. The king aſking her meaning, ſhe told him that her neighbour and herſelf being both ready to periſh for food, having each a male infant, agreed to kill their children in turn, to prevent themſelves from ſtarving. She ſaid her child was killed and dreſſed on the preceding day, and the other woman had a ſhare of it; but now that ſhe ought to partake of the other child, the woman had departed from her promiſe, and concealed it. This narrative almoſt diſtracted Jehoram, who tore his garments, and exclaimed, that he was never completely wretched till that moment: "And this, (ſaid he) would not have happened, if the prophet had applied to God in my favour; but his life ſhall pay the forfeit:" and, in the firſt impulſe of his rage, he ſent an officer to cut off the head of the prophet.

The king threatens to put Eliſha to death.

Eliſha was not unacquainted with this reſolution of the king, and while he was in company with his diſciples, he told them, that Jehoram had commiſſioned an officer to head a party who were to deſtroy him. "Therefore, (ſaid he), keep an eye on them, and when they approach, ſhut the door till the king comes; for he has altered his intention, and is now on the way to counteract what he ordered." Theſe directions were obeyed, and the party was ſhut out till the arrival of Jehoram, who had made all poſſible haſte to prevent his commands reſpecting the life of the prophet being executed.

Eliſha promiſes plenty the next day.

The king had no ſooner arrived, than he began to revile the prophet, who could ſuffer them to endure ſuch extreme diſtreſs, without offering one prayer to God on their behalf. In anſwer hereto the prophet ſaid, that by the ſame hour on the day following, proviſions ſhould be ſo cheap in Samaria, that the market price of a meaſure of fine flour ſhould be only a ſhekel, and the ſame ſum for two meaſures of barley. This prediction was credited by the king and his attendants, who had heretofore had ſufficient proofs of the prophet's veracity. Hereupon they had as much faith in the prophecy as if it had been already accompliſhed: but one of the king's favourite officers who commanded a third of the army, and was then in familiar converſation, leaning on the king, ſaid, "What you have now declared is as credible as that it ſhould rain flour and barley from heaven*; and I ſhould as readily aſſent to it." To this the prophet replied, that what had been foretold ſhould infallibly happen, and that he ſhould be a witneſs of it, without partaking of the benefit: which accordingly came to paſs.

Behaviour of the lepers.

At this time four leprous perſons lived without the gates of Samaria, and it was not cuſtomary to admit any ſuch within the walls. The famine raged ſo violently in the city that no proviſion could be hoped for from that quarter, and to remain where they were, threatened equal deſtruction: on which they reſolved to ſubmit to the mercy of the enemy, who would either ſpare their lives, or deſtroy them in a more eligible way than ſtarving. Being all of the ſame ſentiment, they departed by night to the camp of the Syrians, who, on the inſtant, were ſtruck with an imagination that they heard the trampling of horſes, and the noiſe of armed men invading them; on which they repaired in haſte to Adad, and acquainted him that Jehoram and his allies were on the march within hearing. This ſtory was the more readily believed by Adad, becauſe his own imagination had painted the ſame ſcene: wherefore every man began to ſhift for himſelf, and the whole army retired in confuſion, each anxious to ſave his own life, and leaving horſes, carriages and treaſure, behind them. The lepers arriving at the tents of the Syrians, and finding all quiet, refreſhed themſelves with eating and drinking, and then carried away gold and other rich effects, which they buried in a hole they had dug for that purpoſe. Having four times loaded themſelves in this manner, and finding the enemy quite retreated, they conſidered that they ought, on

The Syrians abandon their camp;

themſelves, and implore our mercy. Beſides the humanity and charity of this action, it was both prudent and politic, as it was the beſt natural means to mollify the hearts of theſe Syrians.

* In deſcribing a large ſhower, or great fall of rain, the ſacred writers uſe the phraſe of "opening the *windows of heaven*;" ſee 2 Kings vii. 2. This unſeaſonable ridicule, therefore, implies that the nobleman thought that ſuch a ſudden tranſition from famine to plenty, predicted by the prophet, deſerved no credit, and was as improbable as to expect that it ſhould rain corn.

the firſt diſcovery, to have acquainted Jehoram, and the people in the city, with this event: on which they haſtened back to Samaria, and arriving at the walls of the city, called aloud to the watch that the camp was abandoned by the enemy. They likewiſe, at the ſame time, ſent notice hereof by the king's guards: on which a council was ſummoned, to whom Jehoram delivered his ſentiments, that it was an artifice of the enemy to draw his ſubjects into an ambuſh. "Probably, (ſaid he), they deſpaired of ſtarving us, and have therefore had recourſe to this ſtratagem. Now, for this reaſon, I would be guarded againſt this treachery, and not embark in an affair that may totally ruin our cauſe." Hereupon one of the council, premiſing that his majeſty had formed a right judgment, hinted that it would be proper to ſend two horſemen as far as Jordan to learn the truth: that if they ſhould be made priſoners, the loſs would not be great, and it might ſerve as a caution to others. The king acceded to this propoſal, and diſpatched the meſſengers, who ſoon returned with an account that not an enemy was to be ſeen; but that there was plenty of corn and arms, and abundance of things which the Syrians appeared to have left in their hurry. This intelligence induced the king to ſend out people to pillage the camp of Adad, where they obtained an immenſe booty in gold, ſilver, horſes, and other cattle, and an amazing quantity of corn; ſo great, indeed, that the former ſcarcity was forgotten in the preſent plenty; and, agreeable to Eliſha's prophecy, a meaſure of flour and two of barley, were ſold each for a ſhekel; containing a buſhel and a half, Italian meaſure: but the officer before-named, who commanded a third of the army, received no benefit thereby, for, being ſtationed at the gate, by the king's command, he was cruſhed to death by the crowd.

which is pillaged by the Israelites.

Adad, being taken ill, ſends a meſſenger to Eliſha, to inquire concerning the iſſue.

By this time Adad had retired in ſafety to Damaſcus; and having learnt that the haſty retreat from the camp was the conſequence only of their own fears, he conſidered it as the immediate judgment of heaven, and fell ill through the anxiety of his mind. Eliſha now advanced towards Damaſcus, which Adad being informed of, ſent Hazael with rich preſents to the prophet, and bade him enquire whether the king would ſurvive his diſeaſe. Forty camels being loaded with valuable effects, Hazael proceeded on his commiſſion, and meeting the prophet, ſaluted him with the moſt profound reſpect, produced his preſents, and aſked him, in the king's name, what would be the iſſue of his diſorder. Eliſha ſaid, the king would not live; but bade him conceal the intelligence from him. Hazael was ſhocked at this news; and Eliſha wept extremely, in conſideration of the future diſtreſſes of the people. Hazael demanding of the prophet the cauſe of his grief, he replied, "I weep to think what miſery you will occaſion to the Iſraelites. Their principal men ſhall be put to the ſword by you, who ſhall likewiſe deſtroy the cities by fire, kill their children by daſhing them againſt the ſtones, and rip others from the mothers' wombs." Hazael aſked how he could be the author of ſuch diſtreſs? to which the prophet ſaid, "God has declared to me that you are to reign in Syria." Hereupon Hazael departed, and told Adad he ſhould recover of his diſorder: but viſiting him on the following day, he took a wet cloth*, with which he ſtrangled him, and uſurped the government.

Eliſha foretells the death of Adad, and advancement of Hazael.

CHAP. III.

The ARABIANS ravage ISRAEL. JEHORAM's deplorable Death. He is ſucceeded by his Son AHAZIAH.

Invaſion of the Arabians.

NOT long after the prediction of Eliſha concerning Hazael, the Arabians on the confines of Ethiopia, in company with other barbarians, aſſembled, and forced their way into Jehoram's kingdom. Having laid waſte the country as they went, they entered the royal palace, and ſtripped it, and ſtabbed all the wives and children of the king, except only his ſon Ahaziah, who with great difficulty eſcaped from their rage. This misfortune was ſucceeded by Jehoram being ſeized with the diſorder which the prophet had predicted, which was ſo peſtilential, that it was juſtly deemed the conſequence of the immediate wrath of God; his bowels daily falling from him in his own view. His ſubjects even triumphed in his diſtreſs, and conſidered it as due to his execrable wickedneſs. When he died, his corpſe was denied the honour of a royal funeral, for they would not place it in the tomb of his father. His reign was eight years, and his age forty; and Ahaziah his ſon ſucceeded him in the government of the people of Judah.

Jehoram wounded by a Syrian at Ramoth-Gilead.

The death of Adad afforded a proſpect to Jehoram, king of Iſrael, of the recovery of Ramoth-Gilead, for which purpoſe he raiſed a large army, and marched towards that city. An arrow ſhot by a Syrian wounding him, on the firſt attack, he was obliged to retire to Jezreel, to obtain a cure; leaving his army under the command of Jehu, who ſoon compelled the town to yield. It was Jehoram's intention to wage war againſt the Syrians, as ſoon as he ſhould be recovered. In the interim, Eliſha diſpatched one of the diſciples to Ramoth, to anoint Jehu with holy oil, and pronounce

* He ſuffocated him with the cloth, which he pretended to lay on his face to cool him. Some copies of our author read a *net*, δικτυον, and others σημα, a *coverlid*, which commentators endeavour to reconcile by aſſerting, that the coverlid was made of network. But as the meſhes would have given the king room enough to perſpire through them, their opinion ſeems more agreeable to the context who think it was either a coverlid of goat's hair, or elſe a thick cloth, which would imbibe a large quantity of water.

him

him king, by the divine authority. This meſſenger was likewiſe ordered to leave the place with expedition, and to keep his buſineſs a ſecret from every one. Finding Jehu with his officers, he begged to ſpeak to him in private; and Jehu retiring with him to his cloſet, was anointed king, with directions to deſtroy the houſe of Ahab, and revenge the death of the prophets whom Jezebel had cauſed to be inhumanly murdered. The meſſenger ſaid farther, that as Jehoram the ſon of Nebat, and all the family of Baaſha, had fallen ſacrifices to their vices, ſo the whole race of Ahab ſhould be utterly demoliſhed. Having delivered his commiſſion, he retired as privately as poſſible, and Jehu returned to his officers. Theſe were anxious to know the buſineſs of the meſſenger, whom they thought was not in his ſenſes. "No (ſaid Jehu), he ſpoke like a madman*." This only excited their curioſity to know the particulars; on which Jehu told them, he had declared him king, by the command of God. Hereupon, the officers taking each his cloak, piled them one on another, to form a kind of temporary throne; on which Jehu being ſeated, they ſounded horns and trumpets, congratulated him on his ſucceſſion, and ſaluted him as king. At this time Jehoram was at Jezreel, to be cured of the wound he had received at Ramoth: and Ahaziah, his ſiſter's ſon, was likewiſe there on a viſit to him. Hereupon Jehu marched his army to Jezreel, where he propoſed to ſurpriſe them both: but he gave ſtrict orders to his ſoldiers, not to ſend the leaſt intelligence to Jehoram, as the teſt of their loyalty to himſelf.

Jehu anointed king.

Jehoram and Ahaziah killed by Jehu.

The army immediately obeyed the orders of Jehu, ſtationing themſelves upon the paſſes towards Jezreel, and effectually prevented any intelligence being communicated to the enemy. In the mean time, Jehu mounted his chariot, and, being attended by a party of choſen troops, proceeded towards the city. This party being obſerved by a ſpy, related his diſcovery to Jehoram, who immediately ordered a horſeman to go up to the party, and learn of whom it was compoſed. The man obeyed; and upon his making enquiry relative to the ſtate of the army, Jehu ordered him, without concerning himſelf about the troops, to fall into the rear and join the march. The ſpy having given notice that the meſſenger had joined the party which was advancing towards the town, another courier was diſpatched, and he was alſo detained by Jehu: upon which the king mounted his chariot, and being accompanied by his kinſman, Ahaziah, the king of Judah, went forth towards Jehu, who continued his march at a regular and moderate pace. Upon his arrival in the field of Naboth, Jehoram queſtioned Jehu concerning the ſituation of his troops. Inſtead of giving an anſwer, Jehu ſaid he might boaſt of an abandoned proſtitute, in the perſon of his mother. Upon this, Jehoram obſerved to the king of Judah, that it was evident his deſtruction had been conſpired: and as he was providing for his ſafety by flight, Jehu let fly an arrow, which penetrating his heart, he fell from his chariot; and Jehu recollecting that he had heard Elijah pronounce that Ahab and his whole race ſhould periſh in the field which he had uſurped from Naboth, ordered Bidkar, who commanded a third part of his forces, to caſt the body of Jehoram into that field. Ahaziah apprehending himſelf to be in danger, turned into a private road, but being purſued and wounded by an arrow which was pointed at him by Jehu, he diſmounted from his chariot, took horſe, and fled to the city of Megiddo, where he ſoon fell a victim to the wound he had received. His remains were interred at Jeruſalem. He reigned one year, during which period he proved himſelf to be a man of more iniquitous principles than his predeceſſor.

CHAP. IV.

JEHU puts JEZEBEL to Death, extirpates the Race of AHAB, with the idolatrous Prieſts, and demoliſhes the Temple of BAAL.

Death of Jezebel.

WHEN Jehu made his entry into the city of Jezreel, queen Jezebel being ſumptuouſly apparelled, placed herſelf at a turret window, in order to view the proceſſion; and as he was paſſing, ſhe ſaid, "A faithful ſubject that, who kills his ſovereign!" This being noticed by Jehu, he demanded who the woman was, and ordered her to deſcend; but, as ſhe did not comply, he commanded the eunuchs† by whom ſhe was attended, to caſt her down. They obeyed: and the walls of the tower, againſt which ſhe ſtruck in falling, were ſtained with her blood. Jehu and his followers proceeding to the palace, rode over the body, and trampled it under foot. After having remained a ſhort time in the palace, Jehu gave orders that, from a reſpect to the exalted ſtation of Jezebel, her domeſtics ſhould cauſe her remains to be buried with the honours due to her rank: but only a part of the ſkull, the palms of her hands, and ſoles of her feet, could be found, the reſt having been devoured by the dogs. This circumſtance gave the new king

* The ſacred hiſtorian (2 Kings, ix. 11.) makes the imputation of madneſs in the prophet to proceed from the other officers, who inquired of Jehu, "Whence came this *mad fellow* to thee?" and indeed, the abruptneſs of his addreſs, the terror painted on his countenance, the haſte with which he fled, the general contempt which men of a military life have for the prieſthood, joined to the contempt which idolaters have for the prophets of the true God, might all coincide to make the reſt of the captains look on the prophet in this unfavourable light.

† Theſe perſons, in the Eaſtern countries, attended upon queens in their chambers, and, by their great care and diligence, were often promoted to places of great truſt and profit; as appears from the Hebrew word, which is ſometimes uſed to ſignify a great officer of ſtate, who dwells in the palace, and is near the perſon of the ſovereign.

additional veneration towards the prophecies of Elijah, who had foretold that in Jezreel the flesh of Jezebel should be eaten by dogs.

The seventy sons of Ahab resided at this time in Samaria. In order to be convinced of the disposition of the people towards him, Jehu wrote letters to the governors of the young princes, and the principal magistrates of the town, saying, that as they possessed numerous fortified towns, and other places of strength, and were abundantly provided with troops, chariots, and every implement of war, it would be acting a commendable part to select from the youths one who should be most worthy to assume the regal dignity, and under his command to avenge the death of their late sovereign. These letters being taken under consideration, the result was, that it would be a highly impolitic and dangerous procedure, to dispute the power of a man who had already vanquished two powerful kings: they therefore informed Jehu, that they would acknowledge the sovereignty of no other man than himself, and declared that they would implicitly submit to his commands. Jehu wrote again, requiring them, as a testimony of their obedience, to send him the heads and hands of the sons of Ahab. Hereupon a conference was held between the magistrates and the governors of the princes, and they came to a resolution of complying with the requisition of Jehu. He was at supper when intelligence was delivered, that the heads and hands of the princes were arrived: he ordered them to be placed in heaps, one on each side of the palace gate. Going forth the following morning to view them, he said to the multitude, "It is true that I killed the king my master, but by whom have his sons been slain?" He applied himself to convince the people, that the sacrifice of the house of Ahab was agreeable to the will of the Almighty, and the prediction which he had dictated to his prophet. Having put to death all the persons he could discover of the family of Ahab, he departed for Samaria. On his way, he joined company with forty-two of the relations of Ahaziah, king of Jerusalem, who informed him, that the purpose of their journey was to acknowledge allegiance to Jehoram and Ahaziah: for they were ignorant that those princes had been slain by Jehu. He caused all these persons to be put to death. He afterwards met with Jehonadab, a man of strict integrity, who applauded his zealous endeavours for extirminating the race of Ahab. Inviting him to take a place in his chariot, and to accompany him to Samaria, Jehu said he should bear witness, that he would put all the apostates to the only true God to the sword; and that men of virtue derived satisfaction from inflicting a just punishment upon the wicked. They repaired to the city, where Jehu caused the relations of Ahab to be put to death, as fast as they could be discovered. To prevent the escape of the false prophets and idolatrous priests, he suggested the following stratagem; he declared himself determined to observe a more scrupulous attention to the worship of Baal than had been paid by Ahab, and that he meant to offer a great sacrifice to the idol; on which occasion he required the attendance of the priests and prophets, on the penalty of forfeiting their lives. On the appointed day they assembled at Samaria, and were presented with vestments, in which they habited themselves preparatory to their religious ceremonies. Jehu, accompanied by Jehonadab, repaired to the temple of Baal, and caused all persons to evacuate the building, who were not servants to the idol, under the pretext of not suffering the ceremony to be profaned by the presence of unqualified persons. When the apostates were on the point of commencing their abominable worship, Jehu gave a signal to a party of fourscore men, who were stationed near the entrance, upon which they rushed in upon the priests and prophets, and put them all to death. They were enjoined not to spare the lives of either prophets or priests, on pain of being themselves put to death. Further, to purify the city from the most abominable sacrilege, Jehu's men set fire to the royal palace, which was intirely consumed. Baal was the idol of the Syrians, to which Ahab had dedicated an altar, in compliment to his father-in-law, Ithobal, king of Tyre and Sidon; and besides appointing priests and prophets, provided every requisite for their religious ceremonies. Though Jehu still permitted the adoration of the Israelites towards the golden calves, the Almighty, in consideration of the severities he had inflicted upon the apostates, was pleased to intimate, by the agency of a prophet, that his posterity, till the fourth generation, should reign over the people of Israel.

Ahab's seventy sons slain.

Baal's priests and worshippers slain.

CHAP. V.

ATHALIAH conspires the Destruction of the Line of DAVID. JOASH, the Son of AHAZIAH, is preserved by JEHOIADA, the High-Priest, and anointed King at JERUSALEM.

ATHALIAH, daughter of Ahab, king of Israel, and widow of Jehoram, king of Judah, being informed of the devastation which Jehu had made in the iniquitous family of her father, formed a determination of revenging the deaths of her brother Jehoram, Ahaziah, her son, and other kindred, by so effectually exterminating the line of David, as not to suffer a man to escape her vengeance, who should boast an hereditary claim to the throne of Judah. She accordingly gave orders, that the sons of Ahaziah should be slain: but the nurse of Joash, who was then a year old, concealed the infant among the bodies of his deceased brethren; and upon Jehoshabeth, sister of Ahaziah, and wife of Jehoiada, the high-priest, entering the palace, she perceived the child, and secretly conveyed him to her dwelling, and thence into the temple, where, without the circumstance

Athaliah conspires the destruction of Ahaziah's sons and kindred.

cumſtance being known to any perſon except her huſband, ſhe carefully nouriſhed him during the ſix years of Athaliah's reign over the two tribes in Judea *.

Joaſh anointed king by Jehoiada the high-prieſt.

Jehoiada, in the ſeventh year, produced the child to five captains, and prevailed upon them to unite their endeavours towards inveſting him with the regal dignity. Having bound themſelves by an oath of fidelity and ſecrecy, the captains departed, in order to ſummon the prieſts, Levites, and the principal men of the tribes, in the name of the high-prieſt, to aſſemble at Jeruſalem. Being arrived, Jehoiada informed them that, on condition of engaging in an oath of ſecrecy, he would communicate to them a matter of the higheſt importance to the public weal, wherein he ſhould have occaſion to requeſt their aſſiſtance. He adminiſtered the oath, and then pointing to Joaſh, ſaid, "Behold your king: he is the only ſurviving branch of the houſe of David, whoſe poſterity it was the pleaſure of the Almighty to promiſe ſhould continue to reign over us. It is my advice, that you form yourſelves into three parties; one to guard the king in the temple; another to poſſeſs themſelves of the ſeveral avenues to the buildings; and the third to guard the open gate leading to the palace. Such as are unprovided with arms, may follow their inclinations, as to remaining in the temple, or otherwiſe: but no perſons bearing weapons muſt be admitted to the building, except they be prieſts." He appointed certain prieſts and Levites to remain near the king, as the guard of his perſon, keeping their ſwords conſtantly unſheathed, and to ſlay any man who ſhould attempt to force into the temple with arms; and to employ the utmoſt vigilance towards the perſonal ſafety of the new ſovereign. The perſons aſſembled on the occaſion, unanimouſly approved the conduct of the high-prieſt; whoſe next buſineſs was to open a magazine, and deliver to the centurions, prieſts, and Levites, arrows, lances, and other implements of war, which had been depoſited in the temple by David. The arms being diſtributed, the centurions, prieſts, and Levites, ſtationed themſelves without the temple, which they intirely ſurrounded: and as they ſtood ſo near as to be able to take each other by the hand, none could obtain admiſſion whom it was judged expedient to exclude. Joaſh, wearing a royal crown, was now produced; and being anointed with the holy oil, the high-prieſt, with the uſual formalities, proclaimed him king. The ceremony was accompanied with reiterated acclamations; and the perſons who attended on the occaſion, joined in wiſhes that Joaſh might enjoy a long and happy reign, and prove victorious over his enemies.

The ſhouts of the people reached the palace, and proved terribly alarming to Athaliah, who ſummoned her guards, and repaired to the temple, where ſhe gained a ready admittance, but her attendants were not ſuffered to accompany her. Perceiving Joaſh ſeated on the throne, and wearing a crown of royalty, ſhe vehemently called for the uſurper to be deſtroyed. Jehoiada ordered her to be taken into cuſtody, and to be put to death at the brook of Kidron, ſaying that the temple was not to be polluted, by the blood of a perſon ſo abandoned to wickedneſs. The officers appointed to execute the commiſſion, were directed to put any man to death who ſhould attempt a reſcue.

Athaliah ſlain.

The ſentence pronounced by Jehoiada being executed upon Athaliah, he aſſembled the populace in the temple, and adminiſtered the oath of allegiance to the new king. Joaſh now bound himſelf under the ſolemnity of an oath, to a faithful diſcharge of the religious duties, and a rigid obſervance of the commandments of God, which had been tranſmitted to us by Moſes. Theſe ceremonies being concluded, the people haſted to the temple, which, with a view to ingratiate themſelves in the favour of Ahab, Athaliah, and her huſband Jehoram, had built and dedicated to the idol Baal: this building they intirely laid in ruins, and put to death a prieſt of Baal, named Mattan.

Jehoiada reſtores the worſhip of God.

Agreeable to the inſtitution of David, the holy temple of Jeruſalem was committed to the care of the prieſts and Levites; and, according to the law of Moſes, Jehoiada appointed a ſolemn ſacrifice and incenſe to be offered each day: and he ſelected a number of the Levites, to prevent the temple being polluted by unpurified perſons gaining admittance. Joaſh was now conducted from the temple to the royal palace; and being ſeated on the throne, was again declared king, amidſt the univerſal ſhouts and acclamations of the people. The death of Athaliah, and the ſucceſſion of Joaſh to the ſovereignty, were events ſo agreeable to the multitude, that they employed ſeveral days in feaſting and merriment. The mother of Joaſh was a woman of Beerſheba, named Zibiah. During the life of Jehoiada, Joaſh ſtrictly adhered to the duties of religion and the laws of his country. On his arrival to a ſtate of manhood, he obtained the approbation of the high-prieſt to eſpouſe two women, by each of whom he had iſſue.

CHAP. VI.

JEHU dies, and is ſucceeded in the Government of ISRAEL by his Son, JEHOAHAZ. The Degeneracy of JOASH, who cauſes ZECHARIAH to be ſtoned to Death. The Siege of JERUSALEM by HAZAEL. JOASH dies.

* The terrible fate of theſe royal families cannot be read without horror. The whole offspring of Ahab was cut off for their idolatry, and the kings of Judah having contracted an affinity with the houſe of Ahab, were ſo deſtroyed by three ſucceſſive maſſacres, that there was but one left.

A Deſperate

A Deſperate war was proſecuted by Hazael, king of Syria, againſt Jehu, king of the Iſraelites, in the courſe of which an immenſe tract of land, eaſtward of the Jordan, was laid waſte, great havock was committed upon the tribes of Reuben and Gad, and the half-tribe of Manaſſeh, and the cities of Gilead and Batanæa were vanquiſhed and plundered. Theſe places were entirely conſumed by fire, and the inhabitants, without diſtinction of age or ſex, were put to the ſword: and theſe enterpriſes were accompliſhed with very little oppoſition on the part of Jehu, who held the religion and laws of God in contempt *. In the twenty-ſeventh year of his reign over Iſrael, Jehu died; and his remains were buried at Samaria. Jehoahaz, the ſon of Jehu, ſucceeded to the throne of Iſrael.

Degeneracy of the king and people.

After the deceaſe of Jehoiada, Joaſh, and the principal people of his dominions degenerated into an utter contempt of the holy religion. The Almighty ſent prophets to expoſtulate with them on their abominable apoſtacy: but the vengeance denounced againſt them, and the example afforded them in the fate of their predeceſſors and families, upon whom the judgment of heaven had been inflicted, as a puniſhment for the enormity of their crimes, were not ſufficient to effect a reformation. Zechariah, the ſon of Jehoiada, exhorted the king and the people to repentance, as the means of avoiding the dreadful judgments which would inevitably be the conſequence of perſiſting in their iniquity. The king, regardleſs of all the ſervices which had been rendered him by his father, cauſed Zechariah to be ſtoned to death in the temple. With his dying breath, he appealed to the Almighty, as his judge and witneſs, that he ſuffered for having adminiſtered good counſel, and for being ſon of a man who had effectually laboured in the ſervice of the king. Soon after this, Hazael ſubdued and plundered the city of Gath, and then led his troops towards Jeruſalem. Terrified at the approach of the Syrian army, Joaſh entered into a compoſition with Hazael, to whom he ſurrendered the immenſe treaſure contained in the temple, as a conſideration for his raiſing the ſiege. A ſhort time having elapſed, Joaſh fell ſick; and this circumſtance was taken advantage of by the friends of Zechariah, who attacked

Joaſh ſlain.

him by ſurpriſe, and took away his life. He lived forty-ſeven years. He was interred at Jeruſalem: but his impious courſes had rendered him ſo obnoxious, that his body was denied a place in the royal ſepulchre.

* Strange that a man ſo jealous of the honour of the Lord of Hoſts, as to ſlay the whole race of Ahab, and utterly deſtroy all the prieſts, prophets, and principal worſhippers of Baal, ſhould himſelf depart from the obſervance of the holy commandment, and as the hiſtorian informs us, ſhould hold the laws of God in contempt, and become a worſhipper of ſtocks and ſtones.

† This was an information by action, whereby the prophet informed the king of the victory he ſhould gain over the Aſſyrians, to conſole him on account of his own approaching death. His ſhooting the arrow eaſtward, was explained by the prophet to ſignify his deliverance from the Syrians; and his ordering him to ſhoot the other arrows againſt the ground, had not the king been very dull of apprehenſion, or very far gone in infidelity, muſt have been underſtood by him to ſignify a repetition of theſe victories. To ſtop, therefore, when he knew beforehand what this action meant, was an inſtance of the higheſt degree of ſupineneſs; and, as ſuch, juſtly excited the indignation of the prophet, who could not but grieve at the calamities which threatened his country, on account of the incredulity or remiſſneſs of their king.

CHAP. VII.

JOASH ſucceeded by his Son AMAZIAH. JEHOAHAZ obtains the divine Aſſiſtance againſt HAZAEL. JOASH, the Son of JEHOAHAZ, becomes King. The Deſtruction of the ASSYRIANS foretold by ELISHA. HAZAEL dying, the Kingdom of SYRIA deſcends to ADAD, his Son.

Amaziah ſucceeds his father Joaſh.

THE government of Judah deſcended to Joaſh, from his father Amaziah; and when Joaſh had reigned near twenty-one years, Jehoahaz, the ſon of Jehu, began a reign, which laſted ſeventeen years, over the people of Iſrael, in Samaria. His conduct was very different from that of his father, ſince, by his diſregard to every thing that was praiſe-worthy, he imitated the worſt of his anceſtors. In the interim, the great force of the king of Syria, who had over-run many of his cities, and deſtroyed numbers of the inhabitants, was reduced to ten thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe. Eliſha had predicted this misfortune to the Iſraelites, in informing Hazael that he ſhould deſtroy his lord, and take on himſelf the government of Damaſcus and Syria. At this unhappy period, Jehoiada humbled himſelf before the Lord, intreating relief from the oppreſſions of Hazael; and God being pleaſed to hear his prayers, peace and happineſs were reſtored to his dominions.

Joaſh, king of Iſrael, viſits Eliſha.

Joaſh, the ſon of Jehoahaz, ſucceeded to the government of Iſrael and Samaria, in the thirty-ſeventh year of the reign of his name-ſake Joaſh, king of Judah. He reigned ſixteen years, and was in all reſpects the reverſe of his father, being a man of moſt exemplary character. At this time, Eliſha, the prophet, was very old; and being on his death-bed, Joaſh made him a viſit, wept over him, and treated him as the father and friend of his country. He ſaid, that while the prophet lived, his prayers and predictions would defend them againſt their enemies, to whoſe mercy he ſhould be left when he was departed: "Wherefore (ſaid he) I would rather die with you, than live without you."

Emblematical prediction of the prophet.

The prophet was much affected with this generous ſorrow, and ordering a bow and arrows, bid the king ſhoot them †. After ſhooting three times, he left off; on which the prophet ſaid, if more ſhafts had been diſcharged, he ſhould have over-run the whole kingdom of Syria; but as he had ſhot only thrice, he ſhould gain three

victories

victories over them, in which the lands they had taken from his father, ſhould be recovered. Hereupon the king left Eliſha, who ſoon afterwards died. The prophet was highly celebrated for the uprightneſs of his character, and the many miracles he wrought, an account of which is ſtill preſerved on the records of the Hebrews. He was buried in a moſt magnificent manner, agreeable to the merit of ſo illuſtrious a man. A little time afterwards ſome thieves having murdered a traveller, threw the body into the tomb of the prophet; but it had no ſooner touched him, than the man came to life. Thus his miracles laſted even after his death.

Death of Hazael.

The death of Hazael ſoon happening, the ſon of Adad ſucceeded of courſe to the government of Syria; and Joaſh now obtained three victories over him, by which the Iſraelites recovered the country of Syria, as Eliſha had foretold. Jeroboam ſucceeded to the government, on the death of Joaſh his father.

CHAP. VIII.

The AMALEKITES, EDOMITES, and GABILITES, defeated by AMAZIAH. He is conquered and taken Priſoner by JOASH. He ſaves his Life by giving up JERUSALEM. He is murdered by his Subjects, and ſucceeded by his Son UZZIAH.

Character of Amaziah king of Judah.

AMAZIAH was advanced to rule over the tribe of Judah, in Jeruſalem, in the reign of Joaſh king of Iſrael. Jehoadan, a native of Jeruſalem, was his mother. From his youth he was remarkable for his love of integrity; and the firſt thing he did was to puniſh the murderers of his father, who were all brought to juſtice; but he puniſhed not their children; following herein the ſentiments of Moſes, who held it wrong to chaſtiſe children for the crimes of their parents. Amaziah now enliſted, and appointed centurions over ſuch of the men of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, as were about twenty years of age. Having determined to wage war againſt the Amalekites, Edomites, and Gabilites, he agreed to pay one hundred talents of ſilver to the king of the Iſraelites, for twenty thouſand of his forces. When he was ready to march againſt his enemies, a prophet adviſed him to diſcharge the Iſraelites, for they were an abandoned people, whoſe deſtruction would attend that of thoſe who were concerned with them; beſides, with God's help, his own army was ſufficient to deſtroy his enemies. As the king had already paid for his forces, he did not much like this advice; but being reſolved to ſubmit to the will of God, as expreſſed by the prophet, he diſmiſſed them, ſaying, "he would freely give that as a bounty, which had been received as wages." When theſe troops were gone, he advanced with his own forces, and conquered his enemies, ten thouſand of whom he killed in one battle, and drove the other ten thouſand to the extremity of a mountain which overlooks Arabia, down which they were thrown, and killed; after which, Amaziah returned with immenſe treaſure. In the interim, the twenty thouſand diſcharged troops were ſo enraged at the rejection of their ſervices, that they invaded the king's dominions, waſted the country quite to Bethſemere, killed three thouſand of the inhabitants, and drove off great numbers of cattle.

Lapſes into idolatry.

This victory ſo elevated Amaziah, that he forgot the God of battle, and departed to the worſhip of the idols of the Amalekites. Hereupon the prophet went to him, and expreſſed his aſtoniſhment at his worſhipping thoſe gods, who, ſo far from protecting others, were unable to defend themſelves, but were carried, with the reſt of the booty, by the Hebrews to Jeruſalem. The king bade him ſay no more, at his peril; to which the prophet only replied, that he would deſiſt; but that the vengeance of heaven would be the certain conſequence of ſuch a horrid ſuperſtition.

Sends a haughty challenge to Joaſh.

Notwithſtanding this, Amaziah was ſo fluſhed with his late ſucceſs, that, regardleſs of the intervention of Providence, he wrote to Joaſh, king of the Iſraelites, a letter, requiring ſuch ſubmiſſion from him and his people, as had heretofore been paid to David and Solomon, his anceſtors; and threatened that the ſword ſhould decide the difference, in caſe of refuſal. To this haughty letter, Joaſh ſent an anſwer to the following purport: "A thiſtle that grew on mount Lebanon ſent, on a certain time, to a cyprus-tree growing on the ſame ſpot, ſaying, give thy daughter in marriage to my ſon: on which a wild beaſt trod the thiſtle to the ground *. Learn hence to lower your ambition, nor aim at things ſo much above you. Be cautious leſt your pride, on having conquered the Amalekites, ſhould lead you to ſuch actions as may produce the loſs of your kingdom and life."

He is defeated, and taken priſoner, by Joaſh, who takes Jeruſalem and plunders the temple.

Amaziah was now much more enraged than before, and Providence leaving him to the influence of his own paſſions, he prepared for battle: the forces were drawn up on each ſide; but the troops of Amaziah no ſooner ſaw the enemy, than they precipitately fled, and left the king to be taken priſoner. The opponents refuſed him quarter, but on the condition that the gates of Jeruſalem ſhould be thrown open to them. Neceſſity and the fear of death prevailed; and a breach of three hundred cubits wide being made in the wall, Joaſh entered the city in a triumphal chariot, with Amaziah his priſoner preceding him. Joaſh having

* This is a very ſignificant allegory, in which Joaſh, under the figure of a thiſtle (a low, contemptible weed, but greatly elevated on account of ſome accidental advantages), intimates what would certainly be the fate of Amaziah, if he continued to provoke a prince of his ſtrength and power.—His refuſing to follow this advice, ſoon afterwards proved his ruin.

made



And Jonah began to enter into the City; a days Journey and he cried, and said, yet Forty days and Nineveh shall be overthrown.

made prize of the gold, ſilver, holy utenſils, and other treaſure found in the palace and temple, gave the king his liberty, and retired with his booty to Samaria. It was in the fourteenth year of the reign of Amaziah that this misfortune happened to Jeruſalem, the people of which conſpiring againſt him, he fled to Lachiſh; but thither they purſued, and deſtroyed him. His body being carried to Jeruſalem, was interred with regal honours. Thus ended the life of a king, who owed his misfortunes to his departure from the true religion. He died at the age of fifty-one, having governed twenty-nine years; and Uzziah, his ſon, ſucceeded to the throne.

CHAP. IX.

UZZIAH's Victories. His Departure from God, and Puniſhment. He is ſucceeded by his Son JONATHAN. ZECHARIAH killed by SHALLUM, who ſeizes the Government, SHALLUM killed by MANAHEM, and is ſucceeded by his Son PEKAHIAH. He is murdered by PEKAH, who reigns in his ſtead, and is invaded by TIGLATH-PILESER. JOTHAM, King of JUDAH; a pious Prince, in whoſe Reign the Deſtruction of NINEVEH, and the ASSYRIAN Empire, is foretold by NAHUM.

Reign of Jeroboam over Iſrael.

JEROBOAM, the ſon of Joaſh, became king of Iſrael in the fifteenth year of the reign of Amaziah. He reigned forty years, and held his court in the palace of his forefathers, at Samaria. He was addicted to idolatry, and was of a mind utterly depraved; and many were the judgments againſt the Iſraelites, in conſequence of his wicked courſe of life. The prophet Jonah had predicted of him, that he ſhould conquer the Syrians, and extend his dominions to the city of Hamath northwards, and ſouthward to the lake Aſphaltites, which had been formerly allotted by Joſhua as the bounds of the land of Canaan. This prophecy ſo elated Jeroboam, that he ſeized from the Syrians the lands thus deſcribed, and annexed them to his own dominions; thereby verifying the prophet's prediction.

Hiſtory of Jonah.

Jonah was inſtructed by God to go to Nineveh, and there to preach deſtruction to that wicked city, and the kingdom: but, unwilling to be the author of ſuch bad news, he took his paſſage at Joppa, on board a ſhip which was bound to Tarſhiſh, in Cicilia. During the voyage, the wind blew ſo tempeſtuouſly, that the commander, ſeamen, and even the pilot, deſpaired of ever making land. While ſome of the crew were at prayers, and others labouring to ſave the ſhip, it was obſerved that Jonah lay on his face, without lending any aſſiſtance. The ſtorm becoming more violent, it was conceived that this judgment aroſe from the guilt of ſome perſon on board, and they agreed to caſt lots to diſcover the offender. This being done, the lot fell on Jonah; upon which they enquired who and what he was; to which he anſwered, "I am an Hebrew, and a prophet of God; but I have occaſioned this ſtorm, and you muſt throw me overboard, if you mean to ſave yourſelves and the ſhip." At firſt they thought it extremely inhuman, thus to devote to certain deſtruction a man who had put himſelf under their care; but at length his authority, their own fears, and the urgent neceſſity of the caſe (for the ſhip was juſt ſinking), determined them to caſt him overboard; and in that moment the ſtorm ſubſided. We are farther told, that he was ſwallowed by a great fiſh, which threw him up, three days afterwards, alive, and unhurt, on the coaſt of the Euxine Sea*. The prophet having beſought and procured God's pardon for diſobeying his commands, proceeded to Nineveh; where having exalted himſelf ſo as to be properly heard, he foretold that the empire of Aſia was nearly at a period: and departed, when he had thus fulfilled his commiſſion.

Uzziah, for uſurping the office of high-prieſt, is ſmitten with leproſy.

Uzziah, on the day of a ſolemn feſtival, having cloathed himſelf in the dreſs of a prieſt, went to the temple, to offer incenſe on the golden altar; on which, the high-prieſt, Azariah, and eighty other prieſts, haſtily repairing to the temple, proteſted againſt ſuch an aſſumption of the ſacerdotal rights, which had ever been the peculiar privilege of the prieſts of the houſe of Aaron. Azariah enjoined him to deſiſt from ſuch profanity; but the king bidding them depart, at their peril, an earthquake ſhook the temple, and opened the roof of it, through which a ſun-beam darting, ſtruck the impious prince with leproſy. Another miracle ſucceeded this: not far to the weſt of the city, at a place called Eroge, the ſame earthquake divided a mountain in the middle, and part of it rolling half a mile, ſtopped on the eaſt ſide of an oppoſite mountain, cloſed up the highway, and covered the royal gardens with part of its contents. The king being a leper, the prieſts adviſed him to depart the city, as one unfit for ſociety; and his ſpirit was ſo broken by his illneſs, that he obeyed them. His ſon Jothan aſſumed the government, and the king having languiſhed awhile in retirement, died, and was buried in his gardens, in a tomb erected on the occaſion. He reigned near fifty-two years, and was near ſixty-eight years of age.

Shallum murders Zechariah, and uſurps the government; but is ſlain by Menahem, who ſucceeds to the throne.

About this time, Shallum, ſon of Jabeſh, a domeſtic of Zechariah, king of the Iſraelites, murdered his maſter, before he had reigned ſeven months, and aſſumed the government: but news hereof reaching Menahem, who commanded an army at Tirzah, he marched to Samaria, when Shallum had governed only thirty days, routed him in battle, put him to the ſword, and appropriated to himſelf the enſigns of royalty. Menahem returned with his army to Tirzah, but the citizens refuſing him

* Joſephus was miſtaken as to the place, as is proved by Bochart, a learned and reſpectable hiſtorian.

admittance, he ravaged the adjacent country, and, with unheard-of cruelty, cauſed all the men, women, and children, to be deſtroyed: and his reign of ten years over Iſrael, was of a piece with this commencement. Soon after the above maſſacre, Pul, king of Aſſyria, threatened to invade him; but he compounded the matter, by paying a thouſand talents of ſilver, at the rate of fifty ſhekels a head. This prince was buried at Samaria, and ſucceeded by his ſon Pekahiah, whoſe inhuman diſpoſition equalled that of his father. When Pekahiah had reigned two years, he was murdered at a public feaſt by Pekah, ſon of Remaliah, who reigned about twenty years, and died with a character equally diſtinguiſhed by his impiety to God, and his want of common juſtice to his fellow-creatures.

Pekahiah ſlain by Pekah, who reigns in his ſtead.

The Iſraelites captivated by the Syrians.

Tiglath-Pileſer, king of Aſſyria, made incurſions on the Iſraelites during the reign of the above-mentioned Pekah, and having conquered the land of Gilead, the country beyond Jordan, and the adjacent part of Galilee, with Aſſora, and Cydida, made captives of the inhabitants, whom he conveyed to his own country*.

Jotham, a pious and virtuous ſovereign over Judah.

The tribe of Judah, in Jeruſalem, was now governed by Jotham, the ſon of Uzziah, by Jeruſhah, a native of the city. This prince was diſtinguiſhed by his devotion, juſtice, and public ſpirit. He rectified all abuſes, and kept every thing in proper order. The galleries and porches of the temple were repaired by him, and the city walls prevented from going to decay. He built large and ſtrong towers; ſubjected the Ammonites to the payment of one hundred talents, and thirty thouſand meaſures of wheat and barley annually. He raiſed his kingdom to a ſtate of ſplendor; and while his people were dreaded abroad, they were happy at home.

Nahum's prophecy.

The prophet Nahum, who lived in this king's reign, predicted the deſtruction of Nineveh, and the Aſſyrian empire, in words to this purpoſe: "Nineveh ſhall reſemble a fiſh-pool, the waters of which are agitated by a violent wind. The ſtorm ſhall occaſion the people to fly, and cry one to another, Take with you your gold and ſilver; but this will be diſregarded, as life ſhall be held more valuable than riches. Divided in ſentiments, they ſhall run weeping and lamenting among each other, their knees trembling under them, and deſpair in their countenances. They ſhall aſk what will become of the habitations of the lions, and the dams of the lions whelps; and the Lord ſhall reply, that Nineveh ſhall be cut off from the face of the earth, and the devaſtations of the wild beaſts ſhe has ſent into the world ſhall ceaſe." This prophecy was fulfilled at the end of one hundred and fifteen years.

Infamous character of Ahaz, who ſucceeds his father.

Ahaz ſucceeded to the throne of his father Jotham, who died in the ſixteenth year of his reign, and the forty-firſt of his age. Ahaz was diſtinguiſhed by his imitating the kings of Iſrael in their idolatry, and by his violation of the laws of his country, beyond any prince who had preceded him. He raiſed altars in Jeruſalem, on which he ſacrificed to idols, and even offered his ſon, as a burnt-offering, according to the cuſtom of the Canaanites; and committed other acts equally atrocious. During this conduct, Rezin king of Damaſcus, and Pekah king of the Iſraelites, uniting their armies, marched and beſieged Jeruſalem; which, however, was ſo fortified, that they were compelled to deſiſt from the attack.

In the mean time, the king of Syria took poſſeſſion of the city of Elath, near the Red Sea, deſtroyed all the inhabitants, and ſupplied their places by a colony of Syrians. Soon afterwards he ſeized on ſeveral caſtles and fortreſſes, ſlaughtered the Hebrews in a dreadful manner, acquired great plunder, and then retreated to Damaſcus with his victorious army. The king of Jeruſalem having learnt that the Syrians were departed, advanced his army againſt the king of Iſrael: but ſuch was the diſpleaſure of God againſt him for his impiety, that he loſt one hundred and twenty thouſand men in the battle; in which, Amiah, the ſon of Ahaz, fell in perſonal conteſt with Zechariah, general of the Iſraelites; who likewiſe killed Azica, captain of the guards, and took priſoner Elkanah, general of the Hebrew forces.

CHAP. X.

SYRIA laid waſte; REZIN, King of DAMASCUS, killed, and the Place taken. AHAZ dies, and is ſucceeded by his Son, HEZEKIAH. PEKAH killed, and the Kingdom ſeized by HOSEA; who is made tributary to SALMANEZER. The Worſhip of GOD reſtored by HEZEKIAH, by whom the PHILISTINES are conquered.

The Aſſyrians aſſiſt Ahaz.

AHAZ being now reduced to demand help towards carrying on the war, ſent meſſengers to Tiglath-Pileſer, king of the Aſſyrians, with ſumptuous gifts and offers of large ſums of money, on the condition of his aiding him againſt the Iſraelites, and the people of Damaſcus and Syria. That prince immediately marched to the aſſiſtance of Ahaz, and in conjunction with him ravaged Syria, poſſeſſed himſelf of Damaſcus, and ſtabbed Rezin, the king thereof. He ſent the inhabitants of Damaſcus to Upper Media, and filled the place with his own ſubjects. The land of the

* This was the ſecond captivity or deportation of the Iſraelites, the firſt being made by Pul, who carried away the two tribes and a half, ſituated beyond Jordan. The king of Aſſyria carried away the golden calf which Jeroboam ſet up at Bethel; the other in Dan was taken away by Pul, when he invaded Galilee, in which province that city ſtood.

Iſraelites

Iſraelites was in great meaſure depopulated, and immenſe numbers of priſoners taken. This being done, Ahaz ſeized the gold and ſilver in the royal treaſury, and in the temple, together with the rich preſents, and carried the whole to Damaſcus, where he delivered it to the king of Aſſyria, in gratitude for his aſſiſtance, and returned to Jeruſalem.

His ſhameful departure from the true worſhip.

Ahaz was ſo deſtitute of all ſenſe of true religion, that he worſhipped the gods of the Syrians, in the hope of their favouring his arms; on the contrary, when he had been overcome, he paid adoration to the Aſſyrians' gods; ſo that any kind of idolatry was equal to him; but he deſpiſed the worſhip of the true God, according to the religion of his forefathers*, which brought on him the vengeance of heaven. Such was his contempt for the worſhip of the true God, that having robbed the temple of all its moſt valuable effects, he ordered the doors to be kept faſt, to prevent others from offering up their devotions there.

Death of Ahaz.

After a continued courſe of impiety, he died in the ſixteenth year of his reign, aged thirty-ſix years, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Hezekiah. At this period, by the treachery of Hoſea, a favourite at court, Pekah, king of Iſrael, was deprived of his government and life, Hoſea continuing nine years in poſſeſſion of his uſurped authority. His life and conduct proved that he believed not in God, and was one of the moſt abandoned of men. Being attacked by Salmanezer, king of the Aſſyrians, he was conquered, and obliged to become tributary, being rejected by that God whom he had deſpiſed.

Hezekiah ſucceeds Ahaz his father, and effects a thorough reformation in religion.

Hezekiah became king of Jeruſalem in the fourth year of Hoſea's reign. He was a prince of ſuperior abilities, and celebrated for his regard to equity and piety. On his firſt advancement to the throne, he determined to adjuſt the great buſineſs of religion; and thereupon ſummoning his prieſts and Levites, he addreſſed them to the following purport: "It is unneceſſary for me to remind you of the misfortunes conſequent on my father's ſins, in your refuſing the worſhip due to God, and uniting with him in the adoration of his idols: but as experience hath now taught you how dreadful a thing it is to trifle with heaven, I recommend that all paſt failings may be buried in oblivion; that you, and the prieſts, and the Levites, cleanſe yourſelves from former pollutions; then opening the doors of the holy place, purify it by ſacrifices and conſecrations; on which you may hope for future proſperity, as well as preſent pardon." The royal advice was ſo acceptable, that the prieſts immediately repaired to the temple, which they ſtripped of its impurities, prepared their holy veſſels, and placed ſacrifices on the altar, agreeable to the cuſtom of the Jews. In the interim, the king diſpatched meſſengers throughout his territories to demand the attendance of the people to the feaſt of the unleavened bread, which, through the impiety of former kings, had been long neglected. The meſſengers alſo warned the Iſraelites to ceaſe all ſuperſtitious worſhip, and return to that of the God of truth; promiſing, in the king's name, that they ſhould be equally free as his own people, to paſs to and from this feaſt: they were alſo told that their intereſt, rather than that of the king, gave riſe to this invitation, and it was hoped they would find their advantage in it. The Iſraelites, however, treated the meſſengers with contempt, and inſulted the prophets; who recommended a return to their duty, and told them what miſery would reſult from their diſobedience: nay, they even ſeized and put to death ſeveral of the prophets, and proceeded from one impiety to another, till the vengeance of God yielded them up a prey to their enemies, as will be hereafter ſeen. Of the tribes of Zebulon, Manaſſeh, and Iſſachar, however, multitudes attended to the words of the prophets, and repaired to Hezekiah, at Jeruſalem, to offer up their devotions.

His meſſage to the Iſraelites treated with diſdain.

The concourſe being aſſembled, the king, accompanied by the princes and people, proceeded to the temple, where Hezekiah offered, of bulls, rams, and goats, ſeven each, on his own account. Having firſt placed his hands on the heads of the beaſts, the prieſts cut their throats, and then burnt without dividing them; while the Levites made a circle, and ſang divine hymns to muſical inſtruments, the other prieſts forming the chorus. This ended, both king and people worſhipped God with their faces bowed to the ground. Excluſive hereof, the king ſacrificed ſeventy bullocks, a hundred rams, and two hundred lambs; and likewiſe gave, as a feaſt for the multitude, ſix hundred bullocks, and three thouſand other cattle. The prieſts having ended their ceremonies, the king and people feaſted together, and combined in the praiſe of God.

Offerings in the temple revived.

Now approached the feaſt of unleavened bread, and during the preparation for it, ſacrifices were made for ſeven days, and Hezekiah gave the multitude two thouſand bulls, and ſeven thouſand cattle of various kinds. The king's example was followed by the princes, who gave a thouſand bulls, and fourteen hundred other cattle; ſo that ſo ſumptuous a treat had not been known ſince the days of Solomon.

Feaſt of unleavened bread.

This feſtival being ended, and Jeruſalem being purified from the idols which had diſgraced its wor-

* The covenant which God had made with his people was, that he ſhould be their tutelary deity and king; but not worſhipped in the ſame manner as the tutelary deities of the neighbouring nations, who adored the tutelary gods of other nations in conjunction with their own. On the contrary, the God of Iſrael reſtrained all their worſhip to himſelf by expreſs laws, and ſtill ſtrengthened this part of their conſtitution by aſſuming the character of their king; for as the ſeparate characters of king and God centered in one object, they could not be guilty of idolatry without being guilty of rebellion at the ſame time. So admirable was the conſtitution of the theocracy, under which the Iſraelites were!

ſhip,

Hezekiah purges Jeruſalem of idols.

ſhip, a general purification took place throughout all the country. Hezekiah now ordered daily ſacrifices to be offered out of his own poſſeſſions, and directed the people to preſent tenths and firſt-fruits to the prieſts and Levites; ſo that their attendance on the altar was not interrupted by other affairs. He likewiſe built granaries and ſtore-houſes, in which corn and fruit were kept for the uſe of them and their families: ſo that all things began now to run in the ancient channel.

His ſucceſs againſt the Philiſtines.

After this reſtoration of good order, Hezekiah waged war againſt the Philiſtines, and united to his own dominions all their cities from Gath to Gaza. In the interim the king of Aſſyria required the tribute of him which had been heretofore paid to his father, and threatened an invaſion in caſe of refuſal: but Hezekiah paid no regard to theſe threats; relying on the mercy of Heaven, the conſciouſneſs of his own integrity, and the aſſiſtance of the prophet Iſaiah, whom he knew would inform him of ſuch things as were to come to paſs.

CHAP. XI.

SAMARIA taken by SALMANAZAR, who ravages the Kingdom of ISRAEL, takes King HOSEA Priſoner, and tranſplants the People. A Colony of CHUTHITES placed in ISRAEL.

Capture of Samaria, by Salmanezer, who ravages the country, and takes Hoſea priſoner.

IN the ſeventh year of Hoſea, king of Iſrael, Salmanezer, king of Aſſyria, having learnt that Hoſea was combined againſt him with So, king of Egypt, he advanced his army againſt the city of Samaria, which, having reſiſted his attacks for more than two years, was taken by aſſault, in the ſeventh year of the reign of Hezekiah, king of Jeruſalem. The kingdom of Iſrael was deſtroyed by the capture of this place, Hoſea being taken priſoner, and the inhabitants removed into Media and Perſia: Salmanezer bringing people from the borders of Chuthah, a river of Perſia, to ſupply the place of the Iſraelites in the land of Samaria.

Captivity of the ten tribes of Iſrael.

It was about nine hundred and forty-ſeven years from their departure from Egypt, eight hundred from the time of Joſhua, and two hundred and forty from Rehoboam's revolt, that the ten tribes were thus tranſlated. Such was the wretched fate of a people, who diſdained ſubjection to the laws, and deſpiſed the admonitions of the prophets, who forewarned them that a continued courſe of impiety would certainly end in their ruin*. Theſe misfortunes aroſe from the revolt of the Iſraelites, and their advancing to the regal dignity Jeroboam, who ſetting up idolatry in defiance of the laws of God, and inducing his people to follow ſuch a bad example, juſtly provoked the wrath of the Almighty. The above-named Salmanezer, who ranſacked and triumphed over all Syria and Phœnicia, is mentioned by Menander, in his hiſtory of the Tyrians.

The Chuthites in Samaria being plagued for their idolatry, ſend for an Iſraelitiſh prieſt.

The people newly planted in Samaria were called Chuthites†, from the river Chuthah in Perſia, whence they were brought by Salmanezer. They conſiſted of five nations, each worſhipping their own gods, which they brought with them: on which the wrath of heaven deſcended on them for their idolatry, and afflicted them with a peſtilence that nearly deſtroyed them. All human methods of relief being fruitleſs, the Oracle adviſed them to pay adoration to the true God, as the only means of having their evils redreſſed. Hereupon they diſpatched meſſengers to the king of Aſſyria, entreating him that ſome of the prieſts, who had been made priſoners with the Iſraelites, might be ſent to them. This was complied with; and on the arrival of the prieſts, the Chuthites deſired them to read the law of Moſes, which they did, and likewiſe expounded it, ſhewing the reaſonableneſs of the worſhip: whereupon the Chuthites began the ſtudy and practice of the true religion, and the plague ceaſed in a ſhort time. The Hebrews ſtill call theſe people Chuthites, but Samaritans is the name they bear among the Greeks. They are a moſt unprincipled people, ſtill adapting their conduct to the change of circumſtances. When the Jews are in a proſperous ſituation, they claim a kindred to them; but when misfortunes ſurround them, they ſay, "We are ſtrangers, who came from a diſtant country, and have no connections with you."

* The main cauſe of theſe calamities is very properly accounted for by the ſacred penman, who obſerves (2 Kings xvii. 14.), that they did not believe in the Lord their God;" or, in other words, they did not believe the prophets of the Lord, when they foretold them the conſequences of their ſins; for they never rejected his worſhip entirely, but worſhipped him in conjunction with idols.

† The tranſplanting theſe people into the dominions of the Iſraelites, occaſioned a corrupt mixture of religions; for the ſacred hiſtorian, (ſee 2 Kings xvii. 29, 30, 31.) inform us, that "every nation made gods of their own;" there were, *Succoth-benoth*, *Nergal*, *Nibhaz*, and *Tartak*.

As the words *Succoth-benoth* ſignify the *tabernacle of daughters*, they probably refer to thoſe infamous places in which young women proſtituted themſelves in honour of the goddeſs Mylete, or Venus. Cuth was a province of Aſſyria, and perhaps the ſame which Moſes tells us is encompaſſed by the river Gihon, and therefore the ſame with the country which the Greeks call Suſiana; and which is, to this day, called by the inhabitants Chuſeſtan. With regard to the god *Nergal*, we may infer that, as the word *ner* ſignifies a *lamp*, theſe Cuthites, who were afterwards called Perſians, adored fire; and, we are informed that, in honour to the ſun, they kept a perpetual flame burning on their altars. The city here mentioned was ſituated in a province of Syria, lying on the Orontes. But what idol is here meant by the word *Aſhima?* As it is well known that the Syrians adored the ſun, and as *aſuman*, or *ſuman*, in the Perſian language, ſignifies *heaven*, it is probable that the Syrians derived from thence the name of their god, who was repreſented by a large ſtone pillar, of a conical or pyramidal form, the hieroglyphic of fire. *Nibhas*, or *nibehas*, both in the Hebrew and Chaldee, with a ſmall variation, denote quick, ſwift, rapid, &c. and *tartak*, in the ſame language, ſignifies a chariot.

BOOK X.

HISTORICAL OCCURRENCES from the YEAR of the WORLD 3224 to 3425.

CHAP. I.

SENNACHERIB leads a powerful Army towards JERUSALEM, and besieges it. The Prophet ISAIAH assures HEZEKIAH of the Assistance of the Almighty.

Jerusalem besieged by the Assyrian army.

SENNACHERIB, king of Assyria, in the fourteenth year of the reign of Hezekiah, having subdued all the cities of Judah and Benjamin, led his army towards Jerusalem, whence an embassy was dispatched to propose terms of accommodation, and to offer him tribute. He accepted the proposals, and bound himself with the solemnity of an oath to decline hostilities, on condition of being paid thirty talents of gold and three hundred of silver. Hezekiah paid the stipulated sum, in confidence that the enemy would evacuate his dominions: but, regardless of the treaty which he had sworn to observe, he appointed his lieutenant-general Rabshaketh, with Tharata and Anacharis, to direct the war against Jerusalem, himself taking the lead of an army against the Egyptians and Ethiopians. The commissioners who had been deputed by Sennacherib, having caused the camp to be removed within sight of the walls of Jerusalem, dispatched a courier to demand a parley with Hezekiah. Judging it unsafe to go in person, he ordered Eliakim, his deputy-governor, and Shebnah and Joah, the keepers of the records, to repair to the Assyrian army. Rabshaketh, in a peremptory voice, bade them enquire of their master, wherefore he had presumed to dispute admitting the army into the city, and hesitated to acknowledge submission to the great and powerful Sennacherib. He said that Egypt was not in a condition to withstand the Assyrian army, and therefore if Hezekiah flattered himself in the hope of assistance from that quarter, he would be deceived; for he would be trusting to a broken reed*, which would wound the hand that pressed it. He desired them to inform Hezekiah, that the present expedition was undertaken by the direction of the Lord, who had already granted Sennacherib a complete victory over the Israelites, and would certainly render him equally successful in the war against Jerusalem. Rabshaketh spoke in Hebrew, in which language he was well versed; and Eliakim, apprehending that his address being generally understood might have an unfavourable effect upon the multitude, requested him to proceed in the Syriac tongue: but being apprised of the motive on which a change of language was advised, he exalted his voice, and continued his harangue in Hebrew.

Rabshaketh's insolent speech to the Jews.

The purport of his discourse being communicated to Hezekiah, he cloathed himself in sackcloth, according to the custom of the country, to denote his humiliation, and falling prostrate on the ground, fervently prayed for the assistance and protection of the Lord. He charged a number of his select friends to accompany some of the priests to the prophet Isaiah, whom they were to entreat to exert his endeavours, by prayers and sacrifices, for obtaining the assistance and protection of the Almighty, and for humbling the power and pride of the enemy. Isaiah yielded to the request made to him on the part of Hezekiah; and was authorised by the Oracle to declare to him that, without proceeding to an engagement, the Assyrians should be compelled to make a shameful retreat, with the loss of a considerable part of the army; that Sennacherib should not succeed in the war against the Egyptians; and that, on returning to his kingdom, he should die by the hands of his two sons.

Hezekiah, in an humble manner, craves the divine aid.

At this time Hezekiah received letters from the king of Assyria, expostulating on the dangerous policy of attempting to maintain a defence against a monarch who had reduced so many warlike nations to subjection, and menacing a general slaughter of men, women, and children, if the gates of the city were not thrown open to his army. Hezekiah having reposed an absolute confidence in the truth and power of the Almighty, paid no regard to these letters, which he folded up and laid in the temple. He continued to offer up supplications in favour of the people, till the return of Isaiah, who reported to him the following answer: "That his petition having prevailed, no injury was to be apprehended from the enemy; and that the period was approaching, when the people would be restored to the peaceful enjoyment of their possessions."

Sennacherib's threatening message to Hezekiah.

The king of Assyria, on his return from the war in Egypt, found, that in the night after the siege had been commenced against Jerusalem, his army had sustained

Judicial pestilence in Sennacherib's army.

* This comparison is excellently adapted to denote an ally, that is not only weak and unable to help, but also dangerous to those who rely on him for succour: and his representing the power of Egypt to be as brittle as the reeds growing on the banks of the Nile (for to these doubtless the Syrian orator alludes), is a great beauty in the similitude.

a dreadful havock; general officers, tribunes, and private ſoldiers, amounting to one hundred and eighty thouſand, having fallen a ſacrifice to the judicial vengeance of heaven*. Sennacherib conſidered the peſtilence as an effect of the divine wrath; and dreading that the mortality would prevail among his remaining people, he led them with the utmoſt expedition to the city of Nineveh, at which place he held his court. Some time after his return, he was murdered in the temple dedicated to the idol Araſcus, by Adramelek, and Sharezar, his two eldeſt ſons, who took refuge in Armenia. Eſarhaddon, the third ſon of Sennacherib, ſucceeded to the throne.

CHAP. II.

The Life of HEZEKIAH prolonged for Fifteen Years. A Treaty of Alliance concluded between BALAD, King of BABYLON, and HEZEKIAH. ISAIAH predicts the Captivity of the ISRAELITES, and the Calamities to be inflicted upon HEZEKIAH and his Poſterity. HEZEKIAH dies.

Hezekiah's dangerous ſickneſs.

CONSCIOUS that his preſervation had been effected by the intervention of Divine Providence, in cauſing a judicial plague to prevail in the Aſſyrian army, Hezekiah now humbled himſelf in prayer and thankſgivings to God. While he was occupied in this holy buſineſs, he was afflicted with ſo grievous a diſtemper, that his phyſicians entertained no expectation of his recovery; and, in this extremity, he fervently prayed to the Lord to prolong his life till he ſhould become the father of a ſon, to whom the ſovereignty might be tranſmitted. On the conſideration that being deſtitute of an heir to the government, proved the ſource of greater affliction than he experienced from being deprived of the grandeur and other advantages of a throne, the Almighty accepted his ſupplications, and commiſſioned the prophet Iſaiah to aſſure him, that his afflictions ſhould be removed in three days; that fifteen years ſhould be added to his life, and that he ſhould beget a ſon who ſhould ſucceed him in the government. The meſſage from the Lord was of ſo extraordinary a nature, that Hezekiah could not avoid entertaining a doubt of its authenticity; and he therefore deſired the prophet to afford a proof of the divine commiſſion by the performance of ſome miracle. Being aſked what evidence he required, the king ſaid, that the moving of the ſhadow on his dial ten degrees backwards, would give him perfect ſatisfaction. This prodigy was wrought, and Hezekiah being ſoon afterwards reſtored to perfect health, repaired to the temple, where he devoutly prayed to, and worſhipped God.

His life is miraculouſly prolonged.

About this period the Medes obtained a conqueſt over the Aſſyrian empire. Balad, the king of Babylon, diſpatched embaſſadors charged with preſents for Hezekiah, to whom they were authoriſed to propoſe terms of alliance. Theſe embaſſadors were graciouſly received, and after Hezekiah had magnificently entertained them, ſhewn them his armoury, and the immenſe treaſures which he poſſeſſed in gold and ſilver, he diſmiſſed them with gifts of value for king Balad. Iſaiah queſtioned Hezekiah reſpecting the embaſſadors; and he anſwered, that they had been ſent to him by the king of Babylon, and that he had ſhewn them the treaſures of his palace, that they might be enabled to make a juſt report of his wealth and power to their maſter. Upon this, the prophet ſaid, "I am commiſſioned to inform you, that in a ſhort time your treaſures ſhall be conveyed to Babylon; and that many of your poſterity are deſtined, after being deprived of virility, to ſerve as eunuchs in the court of Babylon. Theſe events will inevitably tranſpire, for they have been predicted by the Lord." This information deeply afflicted Hezekiah, both on his own account and on that of his family: and he ſaid, that ſince the judgment of heaven could not be averted, he had only to ſupplicate, that he might paſs the remainder of his life in a ſtate of tranquillity. Iſaiah and twelve other prophets faithfully committed their predictions to writing, that poſterity might be convinced of their acting under the ſanction of the divine commiſſion. Hezekiah died in the five and fiftieth year of his age, and in the twenty-ninth year of his ſovereignty.

Concludes an alliance with Balad king of Babylon.

Death of Hezekiah.

CHAP. III.

The Iniquity of MANASSEH, the Son and Succeſſor of HEZEKIAH. The King of BABYLON conquers JUDEA, and takes MANASSEH Priſoner; but upon his Repentance, he reſtores him to his Government. The Death of MANASSEH, who is ſucceeded by his Son AMON. In the Second Year of his Reign, AMON is murdered, and his Son JOSIAH is proclaimed King.

Manaſſeh's wicked reign.

MANASSEH ſucceeded his father Hezekiah in the government; his mother's name was Hephzipah, a native of Jeruſalem. This prince acted on principles directly oppoſite to thoſe of his father. Influenced by the pernicious example of thoſe around him, and open to the flattery of ſycophants, who were averſe to the refor-

* This tremendous act forced him to retreat with ſhame and confuſion, and made it viſible to all the nations, eſpecially to the *Jews*, that JEHOVAH was a God "mighty in ſtrength and excellent in power;" that he was truly, what he ſtyled himſelf, "The Lord of hoſts;" and that "there was no other god that could deliver after this ſort."

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mation eſtabliſhed by his pious predeceſſor, he ruſhed into the commiſſion of the moſt daring impieties, and thoſe abominable idolatries for which the Hebrews were on many occaſions ſeverely puniſhed. He even dared to profane the holy temple. He barbarouſly perſecuted men of the moſt exemplary piety; and the very prophets were ſacrificed to his inſatiable luſt of blood; ſcarcely a day paſſing, whereon ſome of theſe pious men were not made victims of his cruelty. The Almighty ſent prophets to exhort the king and the people to repent of their crimes, on the penalty of ſuffering puniſhments equal to what had been inflicted upon their brethren, the Iſraelites. Theſe admonitions were treated with contempt; and the king and people of Judæa continuing to purſue their uſual courſes of iniquity, the Almighty was pleaſed to ſtir up againſt him a powerful enemy in the king of Babylon and Chaldæa, whoſe forces obtained a complete victory over Manaſſeh, who was ſurpriſed and made a priſoner of war. His dominions being ravaged, and himſelf at the mercy of the conqueror, this unhappy prince fervently ſupplicated the Almighty to cauſe his enemy to treat him with clemency and tenderneſs. The Lord, in commiſeration of his ſufferings, liſtened to his prayers: and, after ſome time had elapſed, the king of Babylon reſtored him to his throne.

He repents, is pardoned, and reſtored.

Manaſſeh now exerted his utmoſt abilities to make every poſſible atonement for his former crimes. He purified the city, conſecrated the holy temple anew, and made it the buſineſs of his life to manifeſt a due reverence and gratitude towards his Creator. Conſcious that his former guilt had, in a great meaſure, been the cauſe of the miſeries which his people had endured, he endeavoured to effect a reformation among them, both by his example and authority. He cauſed an altar to be erected agreeable to the directions of Moſes, upon which daily oblations were made: and having reſtored the religious ceremonies to their original purity, he directed his attention towards improving the fortifications of the city. He made the neceſſary reparations in the old walls, and, as a further ſecurity, encompaſſed them with new ones. He erected divers ſtrong and lofty towers, and provided the out-works with all neceſſary proviſions and ſtores. During the remainder of his reign, his veneration to God ſuffered no abatement, and he was conſidered as one of the moſt happy ſovereigns. At the age of ſixty-ſeven, and in the fifty-fifth year of his reign, he died, and was interred in the royal garden. His ſon

Amon ſucceeds Manaſſeh, his father.

Amon, by Elmalſema, a native of the city of Jabat, ſucceeded to the throne. He followed the profligate examples which his father afforded in the early time of his life: and his mal-adminiſtration, induced ſome of his intimate friends and domeſtics to conſpire his death, which they effected in the twentieth year of his life, and in the ſecond of his government. The public puniſhed the murderers by death. The remains of this prince were depoſited in the ſepulchre of his father. Upon the deceaſe of Amon, Joſiah his ſon, who was at that time about eight years old, aſcended the throne.

CHAP. IV.

JOSIAH aboliſhes the worſhip of Idols, and makes excellent Regulations in religious and civil Affairs.

Excellent character of Joſiah, ſon and ſucceſſor of Manaſſeh.

THE mother of Joſiah was a native of Boſcath, and her name was Jehida. The new king was of a gracious diſpoſition, and naturally attached to virtue. He propoſed the truly excellent example of David as the rule of his conduct through life. Before he had compleated his twelfth year, he gave a ſignal inſtance of piety, by extirpating the abominable worſhip of idols, and reſtoring the people to the religion of the true God*. Such of the ordinances of his predeceſſors as he found productive of ill conſequences, he aboliſhed: ſuch inſtitutions as were expedient he retained; and to thoſe which required alterations, he made amendments, which would have conferred honour upon the moſt conſummate wiſdom, and the experience of advanced years. He cauſed all the groves and altars which his apoſtate predeceſſors had dedicated to the idolatrous worſhip, to be deſtroyed, and attached the people to a due reverence towards the worſhip of the living God. He appointed commiſſioners to ſuperintend the manners of the people, and determine on the merits of cauſes depending between individuals; and he rigidly adhered to the adminiſtration of public juſtice. He deputed commiſſioners to receive contributions of gold and ſilver for the purpoſe of repairing the temple; but, averſe to give cauſe of complaint, his ſubjects were at liberty either to promote or decline the ſubſcription. The contributions being depoſited in the treaſury, Amaſiah, governor of the city; Shaphan, the ſcribe; Joaſh, the recorder; and Hilkiah, the high-prieſt, were nominated to engage artificers, provide materials, and regulate the expences of the intended reparations. The rebuilding the temple proved a laſting monument of the exemplary piety of Joſiah.

He gives directions for reſtoring the true worſhip.

In the eighteenth year of his reign, Joſiah directed Hilkiah to apply what gold and ſilver ſhould remain, after defraying the expences incidental to the edifice, in

* The ſacred writings, on this part of the Jewiſh hiſtory, inform us, that ſo many and aggravating were the provocations of the Iſraelites againſt God in the preceding reigns, that all the piety of Joſiah, his great care and indefatigable induſtry to extirpate idolatry, were not ſufficient to obtain a revocation of the ſentence the Almighty had pronounced againſt Judah: for it ſeems, that though the people complied with the preſent reformation, yet their compliance proceeded principally from a fear of incurring the king's diſpleaſure, or of feeling the ſeverity of his juſtice.

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the formation of cups, chalices, and other veſſels and utenſils for the ſervice of the holy religion; and he ordered that all the gold and ſilver depoſited in the royal treaſury, ſhould be manufactured into veſſels for the ſame purpoſe. Upon removing the treaſure, the high-prieſt diſcovered the ſacred books of Moſes; which he delivered to Shaphan, the ſcribe, who, after having peruſed them, repaired to the king, and informed him, that his commands had been obeyed; adding, that he had found the books of Moſes. Hilkiah read theſe books to the king, who, upon hearing their contents, in an agony of grief, tore his clothes, and called for certain particular friends. On their arrival, he deſired them to accompany the high-prieſt to the propheteſs Huldah, the wife of Shallum, who was a man of diſtinguiſhed reputation; requeſting that they would unite their endeavours, to prevail upon her to make interceſſion with the Almighty for pardon towards himſelf and his ſubjects; ſaying, there was great reaſon to apprehend, that the vengeance of heaven would be directed towards the preſent generation, as a puniſhment for the iniquities of their progenitors; and that without obtaining a reconciliation with the Lord, they ſhould be diſperſed over the face of the earth, and terminate their lives in miſery. Upon the king's order being communicated to the propheteſs, ſhe directed them to report this anſwer: "That the impious ſuperſtition of the people, and their contempt of the menacing predictions of the prophets, had incurred the wrath of heaven; that the people would be baniſhed from their native land, and be deprived of the bleſſings of life; and that no ſupplications could prevail, to avert the judgment which the Lord had irrevocably pronounced. However (continued the propheteſs), report to Joſiah, that, from a regard to his piety, the Almighty will not inflict theſe puniſhments during his life; but that immediately after his deceaſe, the divine vengeance will be executed upon the people in general, without diſtinction."

The books of Moſes found.

Huldah's prophetical denunciation.

Hereupon, Joſiah diſpatched meſſengers to the ſeveral cities within his dominions, commanding the prieſts, Levites, and his ſubjects in general, to repair to Jeruſalem: and upon their being aſſembled, the books of Moſes were read to them: after which, the king advanced to an eminence in the midſt of the multitude, and adminiſtered the oath of obedience to the laws of Moſes, and the holy worſhip and religion of God: and the people bound themſelves under this engagement with unanimous approbation. After the ſacrifices had been made, prayers were put forth for obtaining the bleſſing of the Almighty. The king enjoined the high-prieſt to take a particular ſurvey of the veſſels and other plate contained in the temple, and effectually to deſtroy ſuch articles as had been dedicated by his predeceſſors to the ſervice of the idolatrous religion. The king's commands were punctually obeyed, and the remnants of the utenſils were caſt away. In obedience to the command of Joſiah, all the prieſts who were not of the line of Aaron were put to death.

Joſiah cauſes the law to be read to an aſſembly of the people at Jeruſalem.

His efforts to extirpate idolatry.

The reformation of the city of Jeruſalem being effected, Joſiah made a journey through his kingdom, and deſtroyed every evidence which remained of Jeroboam's ſuperſtition and idolatry: and the bones of the falſe prophets, he cauſed to be burnt upon the altar which Jeroboam had erected. Thus, after the expiration of three hundred and ſixty-one years, was the prediction of the prophet verified; for he declared, that theſe events ſhould be accompliſhed by a man of the race of David named Joſiah. The king, in perſon, and by the agency of meſſengers, applied to the Iſraelites who had eſcaped from the captivity of the Aſſyrians, with a view to reclaim them from the abominable adoration of idols, and to inſpire them with a juſt ſenſe of their duty towards the eternal God. The figures of horſes dedicated to the ſun *, and placed over the porch of the temple, he cauſed to be deſtroyed; and he appointed officers to make ſtrict enquiry within the towns and villages of his dominions, for the relics of idolatry, which he commanded them utterly to deſtroy.

Burns the bones of the falſe prophets.

After this purification of his realm, he aſſembled the people at Jeruſalem for the purpoſe of celebrating the feaſt of unleavened bread, or the paſſover; and on this occaſion he gave from his own ſtore thirty goats, one thouſand lambs, and three thouſand oxen: the principal prieſt preſented to the others of the ſacerdotal order two thouſand ſix hundred lambs; and the chiefs of the Levites gave to their tribe five thouſand lambs, and five hundred oxen. A ſolemn ſacrifice was made of theſe victims, according to the precepts of Moſes: and the ceremony was performed under the direction of the prieſts. An exact conformity to the law and ancient uſage was obſerved on the celebration of this feſtival, which was the moſt ſolemn that had been known ſince the time of the prophet Samuel.

Joſiah celebrates the paſſover.

CHAP. V.

PHARAOH-NECHO is oppoſed by JOSIAH, who is ſlain, and ſucceeded by his Son JEHOAHAZ, who is made Captive, and dies in Egypt. ELIAKIM is made king by PHARAOH.

IN proceſs of time, the army of Pharaoh-Necho proceeded under his command towards the Euphrates, to attack the Medes and Babylonians (who had over-

Joſiah refuſing to grant the king of Egypt a paſſage through his

* It is certain that all the people of the Eaſt worſhipped the ſun, and conſecrated horſes to it, becauſe they were, perhaps, the hieroglyphic by which that luminary was repreſented. The ancients had alſo a notion that the ſun itſelf was carried about in a chariot; and therefore chariots, as well as horſes, were dedicated to it; and in them the king and his great officers went out at the eaſt gate of the city every morning, to ſalute and adore the ſun, at its coming above the horizon.

run

country, is slain by an Egyptian.

run the empire of Assyria), and subdue Asia to his dominion. Having proceeded to Megiddo, a place subject to Josiah, the latter refused to let Pharaoh pass; on which he dispatched a messenger to tell Josiah, that his designs were not hostile to him, but he wished to march towards the Euphrates, and hoped the king would not compel him to force his way. Josiah, however, persisted to deny him a passage, as if hereby impelled by a kind of fatality to bring on his own ruin: for while he was riding to and fro, giving orders to his army, an Egyptian shot him with an arrow, by which he was so dreadfully wounded, that he gave orders for his army to retreat, and went himself to Jerusalem, where he expired, in the thirty-first year of his reign, and at the age of thirty-nine. He was interred with great solemnity, in the burial-place of his ancestors, and several days were devoted to public mourning for his death. Jeremiah, the prophet, wrote an elegy on this occasion, in which he foretold the near approach of the Babylonish captivity, and the misfortunes consequent thereon. This elegy is still in being. Ezekiel, the prophet, likewise left two books of prediction on this subject, in which he foretells the calamities which should follow this revolution. Both these prophets were of the line of the priesthood; Jeremiah dwelt at Jerusalem from the thirteenth year of Josiah's reign, till the city and temple were destroyed.

Jehoahaz succeeding, is soon after deposed by Pharaoh, who transfers the government to Jehoiakim.

Jehoahaz, who was twenty-three years old at the death of Josiah, now assumed the sovereign authority, and held his court at Jerusalem. His mother was named Hamutal; and he was a prince of a profane and irreligious disposition. When the king of Egypt returned from the wars, he dispatched a messenger to Jehoahaz to attend him at Hamath in Syria, when he deposed him, put him in chains, and transferred the government to his elder brother by the father's side, who was named Eliakim; but, on this occasion, assumed the name of Jehoiakim. The Egyptian made this prince his tributary, by taxing his country to the amount of one talent of gold, and one hundred of silver. Jehoahaz he took with him into Egypt, where he died, having reigned only three months and ten days. Zabida, of Raman, was the mother of Jehoiakim, who bore the character of a malicious, revengeful man, who neglected the worship of God, and had no compassion for his fellow-creatures.

CHAP. VI.

PHARAOH defeated by NEBUCHADNEZZAR, to whom JEHOIAKIM becomes tributary.

Pharaoh defeated by Nebuchadnezzar, who takes Jerusalem, and makes Jehoiakim captive.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR* proceeded with a large army to Carchabesa, near the Euphrates, in the fourth year of the reign of Jehoiakim, with a view to make war on Pharaoh-Necho, and reduce all Syria. Pharaoh raised a large army, and took the field to oppose him, and the armies engaging, on the banks of the Euphrates, Pharaoh was compelled to retire, with the loss of several thousands of his troops. After this, in the eighth year of Jehoiakim's reign, and the fourth of Nebuchadnezzar's, the Babylonians invaded Judea, and threatened destruction to its inhabitants, unless they paid a tribute, like the rest of the Syrians. Jehoiakim, terrified by these threats, purchased his peace, and paid contributions for three years; but in the fourth, hearing that the king of Egypt was advancing against the Babylonians, he refused to pay tribute. He was, however, misinformed; for the Egyptians were afraid to attack the Babylonians; which agreed with Jeremiah's prediction, that the Egyptians would be no better than a broken reed to depend on. This prophet likewise foretold, that the Babylonians should soon destroy Jerusalem, and take Jehoiakim captive. These predictions were generally despised; and there were a few persons who advised the exhibiting articles against the prophet, as a promoter of sedition. This being done, the majority of the council would have punished him with death; but others were for dismissing him; alledging, that other prophets, among whom was Micah, had predicted the same calamities; and instead of being punished for it, were highly honoured as the prophets of God. Attention being paid hereto, the prophet was dismissed.

Jeremiah's book of prophecy torn and burnt by the king's order.

Jeremiah now reduced his prophecies to writing; and in the ninth month of the fifteenth year of Jehoiakim's reign, on the assembling of the people in the temple, on a solemn fast, he publicly read his book, containing predictions of the misfortunes to the people, city, and temple. On hearing the contents, the princes took the book from the prophet, and advised him and Baruch, his scribe, immediately to secrete themselves. They then took the book to the king, who ordered his secretary to read it; but was so enraged at it, that he tore and burnt it; commanding that Jeremiah and Baruch should be instantly brought before him, to receive sentence of punishment: but they had previously absconded.

Nebuchadnezzar, being admitted into Jerusalem by Jehoiakim, perfidiously puts him to death.

Jehoiakim, soon after the above events, being terrified by the predictions of Jeremiah, admitted Nebuchadnezzar and all his army into the city, on friendly terms, without having taken any measures for his own security, or even thought of excluding the Babylonians; who had no sooner got footing in the city, than he violated the rights of friendship, by putting the king to the sword,

* From this place to the end of this book, Vorstius cautions us not to pay too implicit a regard to Josephus, who is supposed, on No. 10. some occasions, to shew more partiality to his countrymen than is agreeable with truth.

with all the principal young men of Jeruſalem. He then ordered the body of the king to be thrown into the fields without the walls of the city, and advanced his ſon Jehoiachin to the government of the city and country. He made priſoners of about three thouſand perſons of diſtinction and eminence, whom he carried to Babylon in captivity; among whom was Ezekiel the prophet, then a very young man. Thus ended the life of Jehoiakim, at the age of thirty-ſix years, after a reign of eleven years. The mother of his ſucceſſor, Jehoiachin, was named Nehuſhta, who was a native of Jeruſalem.

The Aſſyrian army enter Jeruſalem, and, ſeizing Jehoiachin, &c. ſend them priſoners to Babylon.

Nebuchadnezzar having revolved the former proceedings in his mind, repented his having placed Jehoiachin on the throne; conſidering that the young king would not eaſily forget the murder of his father, but would ſeek for the moſt favourable opportunity to revenge his death. Theſe reflections produced a reſolution to ſend an army to attack Jeruſalem; and Jehoiachin, who was a prince of a mild diſpoſition, and a lover of equity, agreed with Nebuchadnezzar's officers to ſurrender the place, on the condition that both it, and the inhabitants, ſhould remain uninjur'd: and for the ratification of this treaty, the king's mother and relations were given up as hoſtages. At the end of one year, however, Nebuchadnezzar broke his agreement, and ordered his officers to ſeize the young men of the city, with artificers of all kinds, and convey them to him in fetters. This being done, ten thouſand eight hundred and thirty-two perſons were made captives, and confined in priſon, among whom were Jehoiachin, his mother, and relations.

CHAP. VII.

ZEDEKIAH advanced to the Government, but reſtricted not to aſſiſt the EGYPTIANS. ZEDEKIAH breaking his Covenant, JERUSALEM is beſieged by NEBUCHADNEZZAR. PHARAOH, King of EGYPT, attempting to raiſe the Siege, is routed by NEBUCHADNEZZAR, who returns to the Attack.

Zedekiah raiſed to the throne.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR having impriſoned Jehoiachin, elevated his uncle Zedekiah to the government, binding him, by a ſolemn oath, neither to make innovations, or take part with the Egyptians. When Zedekiah began to rule, he was twenty-one years old; and he had a brother, by the ſame mother, named Jehoiakim. The above prince was deficient in all virtues, and aſſociated with young men as abandoned as himſelf: ſo that Jeremiah the prophet frequently conjured him to the practice of religion; adviſed him not to liſten to flatterers and falſe prophets, who filled his imagination with ideas that the Babylonians would not again attack Jeruſalem †; and that whenever the Egyptians fought, they ſhould conquer them; which the prophet ſaid would not happen. Zedekiah would liſten to, and appeared convinced by the arguments of Jeremiah; but no ſooner did he mix with his old companions, than all the good advice was forgotten.

Prophecies of Ezekiel and Jeremiah.

At this time, Ezekiel, who reſided at Babylon, predicted the deſtruction of the temple, and ſent his prophecy to Jeruſalem. The two prophets agreed that the city ſhould be taken by force, and Zedekiah carried into captivity: Jeremiah ſaid, that the king ſhould convey him priſoner to Babylon, while Ezekiel predicted that he ſhould not ſee that city. This apparent inconſiſtency in the prophecies led Zedekiah to doubt the truth of the whole: but it will hereafter be ſeen, that he was miſtaken in his conjecture.

Zedekiah, for his treacherous conduct, puniſhed by Nebuchadnezzar.

At the end of eight years, Zedekiah violated his oath to Nebuchadnezzar, by taking part with the Egyptians; thinking that, jointly, they could ſubdue the king of Babylon. Nebuchadnezzar immediately marched, ravaged Zedekiah's country, ſeized his cattle and fortreſs, and proceeded to the ſiege of Jeruſalem. Pharaoh learning how Zedekiah was preſſed, advanced to his relief, with a view to raiſe the ſiege. Nebuchadnezzar having intimation hereof, would not wait his approach, but proceeded to give him battle, and, in one conteſt, drove him out of Syria. This circumſtance ſuſpending the ſiege, the falſe prophets repreſented to Zedekiah how abſurd it was to fear that the Hebrews would be carried captive to Babylon: whereas it was more probable, that the priſoners already taken would be brought back, and the plate and treaſure, which had been carried from the temple, reſtored. In contradiction hereto, Jeremiah charged the falſe prophets with being impoſtors; ſaid, that no good was to be hoped for from the Egyptians; but that they ſhould be firſt conquered, and then the army of Babylon return to the ſiege: that thoſe who eſcaped death by ſword and famine, ſhould have their houſes ranſacked, their goods ſtolen, and the city and temple plundered, while themſelves ſhould be carried into captivity. The people in general paid great attention to what the prophet ſaid; but the moſt eminent people, and the unprincipled in general, conſidered and treated him as a mad-man. Jeremiah having proceeded twenty furlongs from Jeruſalem, in the way to Anathoth (his birth-place), he was met by a magiſtrate, who confined him, on pretence that he was deſerting to the king of Babylon. He urged in vain that they charged him falſely: he was hereupon hurried be-

† Jeremiah, by God's command, made him bonds and yokes, which he ſent by the embaſſadors of the princes who congratulated Zedekiah on his acceſſion to the throne, with this meſſage from God, "that he had given all their countries to the king of Babylon, and therefore their wiſeſt courſe would be, to ſubmit to his yoke; which if they refuſed, both they and their countries would moſt certainly be deſtroyed." This prediction was afterwards verified.

fore

fore a tribunal of juſtice, examined, tortured, and condemned to death; and remained ſome time under that ſentence.

Jeremiah's ill uſage from the princes.

In the tenth month of the ninth year of Zedekiah's reign, the king of Babylon again beſieged Jeruſalem with a large army, and, for a year and a half, exerted all his art and ſtrength to conquer it; but the city, though enfeebled by famine and peſtilence, did not yield. At this time Jeremiah, who was in priſon, called to the people to open the gates, and admit the Babylonians, as the only means to prevent their deſtruction: he ſaid, thoſe who remained in the city would be deſtroyed by famine or ſword; but the enemy would ſpare ſuch as fled out to them. Hereupon the princes went to the king, and repreſented the prophet as one whoſe idle tales would delude the multitude; inſinuating, that the people appeared reſolute to defend the city to the uttermoſt, till their courage was abated by his predictions. The diſpoſition of the king would not have led him to extremities; but urged as he was, and unwilling to diſoblige perſons of their rank, he permitted them to diſpoſe of the prophet as they pleaſed. Hereupon they repaired to the priſon, and taking out Jeremiah, lowered him with a rope into a pit, where they left him up to the neck in mud, that he might be ſuffocated. An Ethiopian, one of the king's favourite ſervants, informing his majeſty of his ſituation, he ordered him to ſelect thirty men who could be depended on, who ſhould take ropes, and inſtantly releaſe him. This being done, the prophet was privately introduced to the king, who aſked him if he could relieve his diſtreſs by the interpoſition of heaven. Jeremiah replied in the affirmative; "but (ſaid he) your people will neither credit me, nor take my advice. Thoſe who call themſelves your friends, are my foes: they conſider me as an hypocrite, and are now combining my deſtruction: but where are now thoſe deceivers, that perſuaded the people no danger could ariſe from the Babylonians? However, ſir, my life may pay the forfeit, if I tell you the truth." On this the king ſwore to the prophet that his life ſhould be ſafe; whereupon the latter ſaid, "Deliver up the city to the king of Babylon. This is the only method to be ſafe from perſonal harm, to avoid the dangers which threaten you, ſave the temple from being burnt, and the city from being raſed to the ground. If you neglect this advice, I declare in the name, and by the order of God, that all kinds of misfortunes will ſurround you; and to you will be attributed the deſtruction of yourſelf, family, and people." Zedekiah told him, he inclined to purſue his advice, for the public good; but he was apprehenſive that ſome of his people, who had gone over to the Babylonians, would adviſe the king to deſtroy him. The prophet told him to be eaſy on this head; for, on giving up the city, himſelf, his wives, and children ſhould be ſafe, and the temple ſhould ſuſtain no injury. Hereupon, he bade the prophet depart, enjoining him not to divulge a ſingle ſyllable of what had paſſed, even to the princes: and if any one ſhould inquire reſpecting the viſit, he ſhould ſay he had been to ſolicit his liberty of the king. The prophet complied in all reſpects with theſe injunctions.

He is taken out of the dungeon by the king's order.

CHAP. VIII.

JERUSALEM taken; the City, Palace, and Temple ranſacked and burnt. ZEDEKIAH's Children and Friends ſlain; his Eyes put out, and himſelf carried Captive to BABYLON. JEREMIAH committed to the Care of GEDALIAH. ISHMAEL's Treachery. The EGYPTIANS ſubdued, and carried Priſoners to BABYLON. Account of DANIEL, SHADRACH, MESHACH, and ABEDNEGO. DANIEL interprets the King's Dreams. NEBUCHADNEZZAR's Death.

Jeruſalem taken.

THE ſiege of Jeruſalem went on vigorouſly. The Babylonians compleated their works, having raiſed towers all round the city, ſo as to drive the invaded parties from its walls. The place, though a prey to the plague and famine, was obſtinately defended; every ſcheme of protection being oppoſed to that of attack, during the ſpace of a year and a half: but at length, want of proviſions and forces, compelled its ſurrender, when Zedekiah had reigned eleven years, three months and nine days. It was delivered at midnight to Nergelaer, Aremantus, Emegar, Nabaſaries, and Encharampſaris, officers of Nebuchadnezzar. Zedekiah ſeeing the troops enter the temple, abſconded, by a narrow paſs, to the deſert, with his wives, children, officers, and friends *: but advice of this being given to the Babylonians, they purſued them early in the morning, and ſurrounded them near Jericho. The friends of Zedekiah flying to ſecure themſelves, he and his wives and children, with a few adherents, were eaſily made priſoners, and conducted to the king, who no ſooner ſaw, than he reproached Zedekiah, ſaying, "Had I not your promiſe to conduct, for my advantage, the power I inveſted you with? I made you a king in the ſtead of your brother Jehoiakim, and you have endeavoured to repay me, by uſing your intereſt to my ruin. But you are now become my priſoner, through the juſtice of God, for the puniſhment of your ingratitude." The king hav-

* It is difficult to conceive how the beſieged could make their eſcape, by any narrow paſs, ſeeing their enemies the Chaldeans had encompaſſed the city. The Jews think there was a ſubterraneous paſſage from the palace to the plains of Jericho, and that it was through this they retired. But as no ſuch ſubterraneous paſſage is mentioned by the ſacred hiſtorian, it ſeems more probable, that the Chaldeans being now making their aſſault in the oppoſite part of the city, this was left unguarded.

ing thus ſaid, ordered his wives and children to be put to death in the ſight of himſelf and the other priſoners; and then directed Zedekiah's eyes to be put out, and himſelf conducted to Babylon in chains.

Agreement of the two prophets.

Thus were the prophecies of Jeremiah and Ezekiel verified; the former ſaying he ſhould be made priſoner, ſpeak with, and ſee the king, and be carried to Babylon: the latter, that he ſhould be carried to Babylon, and not ſee the king there; which he could not do, ſince his eyes were firſt put out. By this we may ſee the wiſdom and power of God, and the regularity of the operations of his counſels. We may learn to reverence the preſcience of the Deity, and to know that all events are ordered by his providence, and come to paſs according to his will. It is likewiſe a remedy againſt that incredulity which prevents our knowledge of threatened evils.

The race of kings deſcended from David was now extinct, after a ſucceſſive reign of twenty-one princes, and during a ſeries of five hundred and fifteen years ſix months and ten days; but this includes the reign of Saul for twenty years, who was of a different tribe.

Jeruſalem, with the palace and temple, ranſacked and burnt.

After the above ſignal victory, Nebuchadnezzar diſpatched his principal officer, Nebuzar-Adan, to Jeruſalem, to ranſack and burn both palace and temple, to raſe the city to the ground, and conduct the captive inhabitants to Babylon. Nebuzar-Adan executed his orders in the eleventh year of the reign of Zedekiah, taking all the gold and ſilver veſſels from the temple, the braſen pillars, the tables and candleſticks of gold, and Solomon's large laver: after which he burnt the city, palace, and temple, to the ground. This happened in the eighteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign. The temple had been built four hundred and ſeventy years ſix months and ten days. It was one thouſand and ſixty-two years ſix months and ten days from the Iſraelites leaving Egypt, and three thouſand five hundred and thirty-five years ſix months and ten days after the creation of the world.

Priſoners of eminence.

Nebuzar-Adan took the following priſoners, namely, Seraiah, the high-prieſt; Sepheniah, next in rank; three principal keepers of the temple; ſeven of the king's friends; the chief eunuch of the bed-chamber; the ſecretary to the king, and other perſons of diſtinction, in all about threeſcore, and conducted them to the king, at the city of Reblathis in Syria. The king ordered the high-prieſt, and others of the firſt rank, to be beheaded there: but the majority of the priſoners were carried to Babylon with Zedekiah, among whom was Jehozadock the high-prieſt, who was ſon to the above-named Seraiah.

Death of Zedekiah.

On the king's return to Babylon, Zedekiah was thrown into priſon, where he expired; and he was buried with regal honours. The king gave Jehozadock his liberty, aſſigned dwellings for the priſoners in Babylon, and dedicated to his idols the holy veſſels which had been taken from the temple. The general Nebuzar-Adan had committed the majority of the captives to the command of Gedaliah, a man diſtinguiſhed by his juſtice and benevolence, who allowed to each man a certain portion of land for his ſubſiſtence, on paying the king a tribute. Jeremiah was releaſed from priſon: and the governor having received the king's orders to treat him well, Gedaliah offered him either to go to Babylon, or, if he choſe another place of reſidence, he would write to the king reſpecting the matter. Jeremiah anſwered, that he would rather live among the ruins of his native land. This being told to Nebuzar-Adan, he directed Gedaliah to provide properly for him, and ſent the prophet ſome valuable preſents. Jeremiah having obtained the liberty of his ſervant Baruch, choſe him for his companion, and fixed on Mizpah for his reſidence. Baruch was the ſon of Neriah, nobly deſcended, and a great maſter of his native language.

Jeremiah favourably treated.

Gedaliah was very kind to thoſe who fled during the ſiege, and this benevolence to the fugitives ſo raiſed his credit among the ſurrounding nations, that numbers came to him, and formed a large ſettlement, having lands aſſigned them, for which they paid the king of Babylon a fixed tribute. Gedaliah's goodneſs to the ſettlers ſo engaged the eſteem of Johanan and the other principal men, that having intelligence of a conſpiracy forming againſt him, by Iſhmael and the king of the Ammonites *, they informed him that the former wiſhed to deſtroy him, and reign over the Iſraelites. To counteract this plan, they requeſted his permiſſion to deſtroy Iſhmael; for they thought the Iſraelites would be ruined by the continuance of the plot. Gedaliah ſaid, he deemed it impoſſible that any man could ſo far deviate from all ſenſe of moral obligation as to ſeek the deſtruction of his preſerver: but if this was the caſe, he would not ſo far violate the laws of hoſpitality as to take the life of the man who had ſheltered himſelf under his protection. On this declaration, Johanan and his friends departed.

Gedaliah and his friends barbarouſly ſlaughtered.

A viſit being made about a month after this, to Gedaliah, by Iſhmael and ten of his friends, they were moſt hoſpitably treated. The glaſs having gone round, till Gedaliah, and his party were ſomewhat elevated, the others treacherouſly murdered them all. This happening at midnight, they ſallied into the ſtreets, deſtroying Jews and Babylonians indiſcriminately. The following day a party of eighty men came from the coun-

* The words in ſcripture (Jer. xi. 14.) are, "Baalis, king of the Ammonites hath ſent Iſhmael," &c. Now it is neceſſary to obſerve, that the word "Baalis" is rather a name of office than a proper name, by which we may underſtand the Queen-mother, who was guardian of the king of the Ammonites during his minority. Iſhmael, mentioned in this verſe, was a Jew, and a deſcendant from David, who ſeems to have had ſome pretenſions to the throne at this time, and to have made an alliance with the queen-mother of the Ammonites, to render his deſigns more ſucceſsful.

try,



Susanna is surprised, when bathing by the two Elders.

try, with preſents for Gedaliah, but were unacquainted with the preceding murders. Iſhmael invited them in, as to Gedaliah; but cloſing the doors, cauſed them to be murdered, and thrown into a pit: but ſome of them were ſpared, on a promiſe of diſcovering where corn, cloaths, and other effects, were hid in the earth: but the men in general of Mizpah, with the women and children, were carried off; among whom were Zedekiah's daughters, who had been left under Gedaliah's protection, by Nebuzar-Adan.

Iſhmael flees to the king of the Ammonites.

This being done, Iſhmael repaired to the king of the Ammonites with the news; but Johanan, and the other principal people, having heard of the death of Gedaliah, and the cruelties at Mizpah, combined their forces, and purſued Iſhmael, whom they came up with near the fountain of Hebron. The captives, ſeeing the purſuers, ran to them in rapture; while Iſhmael and eight of his followers, haſtened to the king of the Ammonites. In the interim, Johanan, with the eunuchs, women, children, and others, who had fled from Iſhmael, proceeded to Mandra, where they reſted one day, doubting if they ſhould depart to Egypt, leſt the Babylonians ſhould attack them, in revenge of the murder of Gedaliah. But reſolving to conſult Jeremiah, they bound themſelves by an oath to follow his directions. The prophet promiſed them an anſwer; and at the end of ten days he was viſited by the Almighty, who directed him to tell Johanan and the other chiefs, that "if they remained in their preſent ſituation, they ſhould be ſecure againſt the Babylonians; but if they went into Egypt, they muſt expect judgments ſimilar to thoſe which had befallen their brethren." Inſtead of giving credit to this meſſage, they thought it was an invention of Jeremiah, in favour of his ſervant Baruch, and calculated to leave them a prey to the Babylonians: on which Johanan and his adherents ſeized on Jeremiah and Baruch, and departed into Egypt; where being arrived, the prophet had a viſion from heaven, which informed him that an army ſhould be brought into Egypt by the king of Babylon, the country conquered, part of the people ſlain, and the reſt carried captives to Babylon: and this the prophet was to declare to the people. This prediction was verified in the twenty-third year of Nebuchadnezzar, who making an incurſion into Cœlo-Syria, ſubjected that country, then went againſt the Ammonites and Moabites, whom having ſubdued, he penetrated into Egypt, killed the reigning king, advanced another in his ſtead, and carried priſoners to Babylon ſuch of the Jews as he found in the country.

Jeremiah enjoins the Jews not to go to Egypt; but they diſobey, and are again captivated.

Thus the Hebrews were twice carried priſoners beyond the Euphrates. The Aſſyrians, in the reign of Hoſea, firſt carried away the ten tribes; and Nebuchadnezzar, on the conqueſt of Jeruſalem, made captives of the other two. Salmanezer removed the Chuthites from Media and Perſia into the land of the Iſraelites, where they took the name of Samaritans; but the king of Babylon left no ſettlers in the room of the two tribes he carried away. Hence it happened, that, for the ſpace of ſeventy years, Judea, Jeruſalem, and the temple, were totally abandoned. One hundred and thirty-ſix years ſix months and ten days elapſed, between the captivity of the ten tribes and the departure of the other two.

Salmanezer tranſplants the Chuthites to Samaria.

Some of the fineſt young men among the Jews being ſelected for Nebuchadnezzar's particular ſervice, had tutors appointed to inſtruct them in the learning of Chaldæa: and ſome of them were caſtrated, agreeable to the cuſtom of the country. Among them were four relations of Zedekiah, viz. Daniel, Ananias, Miſhael, and Azariah; but their names were changed to Belteſhazzar, Shadrach, Meſhach, and Abed-nego. The king was equally pleaſed with the goodneſs of their tempers and ſtrength of their judgments, and directed proviſions to be ſent them from his own table: but Daniel, conſidering that ſuch elegant viands ſuited not their ſituation, applied to Aſchanes, the eunuch, and begged that, inſtead of the king's proviſions, they might eat pulſe or dates, or any homely food †. The eunuch expreſſed a readineſs to gratify them; but ſaid, that if they ſhould grow lean on ſuch food, and decline in health and complexion, the king might ſuſpect what had happened, eſpecially if their companions looked better than they did, which might endanger his life. However, they urged the eunuch to make the experiment, ſaying they could return to their former food, if this was found not to agree with them. The trial being made, the eunuch found they increaſed in health of body and vigour of mind; on which he kept to himſelf the king's allowance. A courſe of this temperance ſo ſtrengthened their faculties, that they rapidly increaſed in Hebrew and Chaldæan learning; particularly Daniel, who became a proficient in their arts, undertook to expound dreams, and had ſometimes viſions of his own.

Nebuchadnezzar treats Daniel and his companions with ſingular reſpect.

Nebuchadnezzar, two years after the conqueſt of Egypt, had a dream, and its interpretation, which he forgot in the morning; on which he ſent for the Chaldæans, magi, and prophets, and told them what had happened, but demanded their interpretation. They told him this was impoſſible; but if he would recite the dream,

The king's remarkable dream.

† It was the cuſtom of moſt nations, before their meals, to make an offering of ſome part of what they were to eat or drink to their gods, as a thankful acknowledgment, that every thing they enjoyed was their gift; ſo that every entertainment had ſomething in it of the nature of a ſacrifice. This practice generally prevailing, made Daniel and his friends look upon the proviſions coming from the king's table as no better than meats offered to idols, and, by ſuch offering, became polluted and unclean. He was likewiſe prohibited eating particular meats by the law of Moſes, and theſe very meats might have been in vogue among the Babylonians.

they would explain it. Hereupon the king demanded their compliance, which they ſaid was out of their power; on which he ordered them to be put to death. Daniel hearing of the intended execution, went to Arioch, the captain of the guards, to enquire the cauſe; on which the captain informed him they were to die, becauſe they could not explain a dream which the king had forgot. On this Daniel requeſted they might be reſpited for one night, and he hoped God would enable him to interpret the dream. The captain acquainting the king with this circumſtance, the execution was ſuſpended. The friends of Daniel retired with him to his chamber, where they ſpent the night in prayer, that God would be pleaſed to reveal to Daniel the dream which the king had forgotten. Their prayers were heard, and God made known to Daniel both the dream and its interpretation. He aroſe early in the morning, and repairing to the men under ſentence of death, bade them be of good courage, for he was certain of delivering them. They returned their joint thanks to heaven, and then Daniel went to Arioch, deſiring to be introduced to the king, whoſe dream he could now interpret.

Daniel, being ſent for, interprets it.

Daniel no ſooner ſaw the king, than he ſaid he did not approach him from motives of vanity, or a pretence of poſſeſſing more wiſdom than the Chaldæans and magi; but that God, in pity to the unfortunate, had permitted him to explain the king's dream. "I conſult (ſaid he) your honour, in the endeavour to ſave the lives of thoſe worthy men, whom you would deſtroy, for not being able to reveal a ſecret which it was not in the power of human wiſdom to diſcover. Your dream was to the following purport: having reflected on the fate of your dominions after your deceaſe, you dreamt that you ſaw a ſtatue ſtanding upright, the head of which was gold, the arms and ſhoulders ſilver, the belly and thighs of braſs, and the legs and feet of iron. To your ſight a ſtone then broke from a mountain, and falling on this ſtatue, overthrew it, and cruſhed it ſo, that the duſt of the gold, ſilver, braſs, and iron, was blown by the wind to the uttermoſt part of the earth, while the ſtone increaſed to the ſize of a mountain. The interpretation of your dream is, that yourſelf and the preceding kings of Babylon are meant by the golden head: the hands and ſhoulders ſignify, that your empire ſhall be deſtroyed by two kings: the braſs imports that a king from the weſt, cloathed in braſen armour, ſhall overturn their empire: and a man clad in iron, which is ſtronger than gold, ſilver, or braſs, is to ſubdue this laſt king." Daniel likewiſe explained the meaning of the ſtone †, which I omit, as I write of paſt, not of future events. The curious, however, may refer to the book of Daniel in the Holy Scriptures.

Struck with aſtoniſhment, Nebuchadnezzar owned the above to be his dream; and, bowing to the ground, worſhipped Daniel, beſtowing on him the name of his god Belteſhazzar. He likewiſe commiſſioned Daniel, in conjunction with ſome of his relations, to rule over the whole province. Daniel and his friends were much envied for this promotion, which ſeemed to threaten their lives, as appears by the following narrative.

A golden image erected for worſhip.

Nebuchadnezzar fixed up, in the plain of Babylon, a golden image, ſixty cubits high, and ſix broad. On the dedication of this image he ſummoned a meeting of the princes, officers, &c. throughout his dominions, and cauſed proclamation to be made by the ſound of trumpet, that all ſhould proſtrate themſelves, and worſhip the image, on pain of being thrown into the fiery furnace. The trumpet being ſounded, all the people fell down in adoration, except Daniel and his kinſmen, who refuſing thus to violate the laws of their country, information was laid againſt them, and they were thrown into the fire. The providence of God now ſo interpoſed on their behalf, that they remained unhurt amidſt the flames, which had not even the power to ſcorch them. This circumſtance ſtruck the king with ſuch an idea of the goodneſs of God in the preſervation of his ſervants, that he ever afterwards held them in great honour and eſteem.

Nebuchadnezzar's ſecond dream, and its interpretation by Daniel.

Soon after this event Nebuchadnezzar had a ſecond dream, which was that, "after being driven out from his kingdom, and living ſeven years among the beaſts of the foreſt, he ſhould be reſtored to his former rank and ſplendor." On this dream alſo the king conſulted his wiſe men, but Daniel alone could interpret it; and agreeable to his explanation it happened, that after Nebuchadnezzar had ſpent ſeven years in abſolute ſolitude, during which no perſon attempted to ſeize his government, it pleaſed God to reſtore him to the regal power. He died in the forty-third year of his age; having been diſtinguiſhed for his vigilance, and a better fortune than attended any of his predeceſſors.

CHAP. IX.

EVILMERODACH ſets JEHOIAKIM at Liberty. BELSHAZZAR beſieged in BABYLON, by CY-

† This ſtone is repreſented as "cut out of the mountain without hands:" the kingdom of Chriſt was firſt ſet up, while the Roman empire was in its full ſtrength with "legs of iron." This great empire, deſcribed in its ſtrong and flouriſhing ſtate, with "legs of iron," was afterwards divided into ten leſſer kingdoms, the remains of which are ſtill ſubſiſting. The image is ſtill ſtanding upon its feet and toes of iron and clay: the kingdom of Chriſt is yet "a ſtone of ſtumbling and a rock of offence;" but the ſtone will one day ſmite the image upon the feet and toes, and deſtroy it utterly, and will itſelf "become a great mountain, and fill the whole earth;" or in the words of the apoſtle (Rev. xi. 15.), "The kingdoms of this world ſhall become the kingdoms of our Lord," &c. We have therefore ſeen the kingdom of the "ſtone," but we have not yet ſeen the kingdom of the "mountain." Some parts of this prophecy ſtill remain to be fulfilled: but the exact completion of the other parts will not ſuffer us to doubt of the accompliſhment of the reſt alſo, in due ſeaſon.

RUS and DARIUS. A Vision expounded to BELSHAZZAR by DANIEL. CYRUS takes BABYLON. DANIEL becomes the Favourite of DARIUS. His wonderful Predictions.

Jehoiakim set at liberty.

EVIL-MERODACH succeeding his father Nebuchadnezzar, gave liberty to Jehoiakim, king of Jerusalem, made him various presents, reposed great confidence in him, and committed the government of the palace at Babylon to his care.

Evil-Merodach reigned eighteen years, and was succeeded by his son Niglisar, who, having reigned forty years, the kingdom devolved to his son Labosardochus, who died at the end of nine months, when the sovereign rule descended to Belshazzar, who was called Naboandel by the Babylonians. Against this prince, Cyrus, king of Persia, and Darius, king of the Medes, waged war; and when they were besieging Babylon, an astonishing vision appeared to Belshazzar.

Belshazzar's vision.

While he was surrounded by his courtiers and concubines at supper, the table being decorated with vessels of silver, he profanely called for the sacred vessels, which Nebuchadnezzar, after the ransack of Jerusalem, had deposited in the temple, though he never applied them to vulgar uses. Belshazzar being elevated with liquor, was talking profanely of the true God, when looking towards the wall, he beheld a hand, writing some words thereon, which terrified him to such a degree, that he instantly assembled his wise men and Chaldæans, to discover the meaning of the words. Having consulted together, they declared their total ignorance of the whole.

Hereupon the king, utterly distressed in mind, ordered proclamation to be made throughout his dominions, that whoever could interpret the writing, should receive as a reward a royal purple robe, and a gold chain, and should rank as third man in the kingdom; on which the wise men once more assembled, each anxious to develop the secret; but their labours proved altogether fruitless. This second disappointment made the king perfectly miserable; on which his grandmother informed him, that among the prisoners whom Nebuchadnezzar had brought from Jerusalem, there was a man of great wisdom and penetration, who appeared to be actuated by a divine spirit in the resolving abstruse questions; and she, therefore, advised him to send for Daniel, question him respecting the writing, and offer him every encouragement to speak the truth, however disagreeable that truth might be.

Belshazzar confessed he had heard of Daniel's wisdom, and took her advice in sending for him*. When he approached the royal presence, the king assured him, that all which he had promised in his proclamation should be made good, if he could resolve the question, which would extend his fame wherever the affair should be heard of. Daniel declined accepting either presents or honourable distinctions, saying, "Wisdom is the gift of heaven, not to be purchased or corrupted by bribes, but ever disposed freely to assist those who want her advice. The writing predicts that your death is near. You ought to have been warned by the fate of your great predecessor, for his contempt of heaven, and regulated your conduct by the principles of religion. Nebuchadnezzar, as you well know, was driven from the society of men, and obliged to herd with beasts; till, on his humble penitence, God was pleased to re-instate him in his government; a blessing he ever afterwards acknowledged with the most devout gratitude. But so little are you influenced by his example, that you openly blaspheme God, and, in the company of your harlots, profane the vessels of his holy altar. This impious conduct hath brought on you the vengeance of God; and this writing is predictive of your fate. By MENE is implied *number*; which portends, that the days of your life and reign shall be few. TEKEL signifies *weight*; and intimates, that your concluding reign is weighed in the balance. PERES imports a *fragment*; and declares, that the Medes and Persians shall divide your kingdom." Dejected as the king was at this interpretation, which foretold his destruction, yet he conferred on Daniel all that had been promised; for he considered that, however fatal the news might be to him, the prophet had acted the part of a conscientious man, in telling him the real truth.

Expounded by Daniel.

Soon after this, the city of Babylon fell into the hands of Cyrus, who took it in the seventh year of the reign of Belshazzar, who is deemed the last king of the family of Nebuchadnezzar. Darius was sixty-two years old when Babylon was taken, by the aid of his kinsman, Cyrus, the son of Astyages. Cyrus took Daniel with him to Media, where he promoted him to the rank of one of the three chief governors, under whom were three hundred and sixty others, as Darius had originally modelled the government. Darius had such veneration for Daniel, that he seldom engaged in any business of consequence without his advice, which drew on him the envy of the other favourites at court: but Daniel was particularly cautious not to fall into their snares. He was wholly above receiving a bribe, and took only a legal acknowledgment for a favour conferred: yet this did not deter his enemies from combining his destruction, which they attempted in the following manner.

Cyrus takes Babylon and promotes Daniel.

As Daniel regularly prayed to God three times every day, his opponents sought to entrap him from this circumstance; on which they made application to Darius, in the name, and by order of the officers of state, to issue an order, that whosoever should solicit any thing, from God or man, for thirty days, should be thrown into

Conspiracy against Daniel.

* Though his grandfather Nebuchadnezzar had promoted Daniel to considerable places of honour, yet Belshazzar knew but little of him; which argues his being a weak, vicious prince, according to the character which historians give of him, leaving the care of public business to his mother.

the lions den. Darius unaware of their intentions, paſſed the decree. This circumſtance ſhocked all the people except Daniel, who continued to worſhip God publicly, as if the order to the contrary had never iſſued. His enemies had now a pretence for their proceedings, and immediately waiting on the king, informed him that Daniel was the only perſon who deſpiſed the royal proclamation, by continuing his worſhip; which, they ſaid, was not done from a motive of religion, but in mere contradiction to the king's authority *. Their malice was the more violent, from an apprehenſion they entertained, that the king's partiality for Daniel might induce him to pardon the ſuppoſed offence: on which they preſſed him for immediate juſtice on the delinquent, whom they inſiſted ſhould be caſt into the lions den.

Who is thrown into the lions' den, and miraculouſly preſerved; but his enemies deſtroyed therein.

Darius, compelled to yield to their importunities, told Daniel he had no doubt but the life of ſo good a man, would be protected by the immediate interference of divine Providence. Daniel being put into the den, the mouth of it was made cloſe by a large ſtone, and Darius having ſealed the door with the royal ſignet, returned to his palace. The king was ſo troubled, that he could neither eat nor ſleep during the night; and in the morning early, he repaired to the den, where he found the ſeal unbroken, and every thing as he had left it. Darius looking through the grate, called Daniel by his name, to enquire if he was ſafe and well, on which the prophet anſwered in the affirmative: on which the king ordered him to be ſet free; but the enemies of Daniel denied that this was a providential deliverance; inſiſting, that the reaſon why Daniel remained unhurt, was, that the lions had then no appetite. Darius was ſo enraged at this palpable malice, that he ordered the lions to be fed till they were perfectly ſatisfied, and then that the accuſers of Daniel ſhould be put in among them; ſaying, "If the lions touch them not, it is becauſe they are filled; but if they deſtroy them, the preſervation of Daniel muſt be aſcribed to Providence." They were no ſooner thrown in, than the Providence of God was manifeſted by their being torn to pieces.

Darius publicly acknowledges the true God.

Soon after this wonderful deſtruction of Daniel's enemies, Darius cauſed proclamation to be made throughout all his dominions, that his ſubjects ſhould acknowledge the God of Daniel as the only true God. He likewiſe made the prophet his moſt particular favourite, and advanced him to the higheſt honours. Daniel having now acquired univerſal eſteem, built a magnificent edifice at Ecbatane, the capital of Media, which is equally wonderful for its beauty and ſtrength.

Daniel highly favoured of God and man.

The life of Daniel is pregnant with many remarkable circumſtances worthy of notice. Excluſive of the gift of prophecy, he was happy in the enjoyment of the higheſt reputation both with prince and people; and his writings ſtill extant, prove that he was admitted to the immediate converſation of God, who revealed to him not only future events, but the particular time when thoſe events ſhould happen. Other prophets generally foretold misfortunes, by which they made enemies both of princes and people; but Daniel poſſeſſed the eſteem of both, from the good news he had the happineſs to reveal. It was alſo univerſally allowed, that his predictions were infallible, which may be alſo judged from the works which he has left us.

His viſions.

Daniel relates, that as he was enjoying the air with his friends, at Suſa, the capital of Perſia, they were ſuddenly ſurprized by an earthquake, on which his friends fled, and left him aſtoniſhed on the ground. In this ſituation ſomebody ſeemed to touch him, bid him riſe, and he ſhould ſee what would happen to his countrymen in future ages. On his getting up, he ſaw a ram with ſeveral horns, one of which was higher than the reſt: looking weſtward, he beheld a goat paſſing through the air, which attacked the ram, beat him twice down, and trod on him. Then a large horn grew from the forehead of the goat, which being broke, four more aroſe in its ſtead, directed to the four quarters of the heavens. The prophet writes, that from one of theſe came forth a ſmall horn, which, on its increaſe, was to make war againſt the Jews, deſtroy Jeruſalem, and aboliſh the ceremonies of the temple, and all ſacrifices, for 1296 days. Daniel thus expounds this viſion. The Medes and Perſians are intimated by the ram: their following kings by the horns, and the laſt of their ſovereigns, by the laſt horn, as his wealth and power was to exceed the reſt. A king of Greece, who ſhould deſtroy the Perſian empire, is meant by the goat. The horn on the goat's forehead, means the firſt of their kings, and the four budding horns, their ſucceſſors, who, though not allied to them, ſhould divide their dominions; that theſe ſhould reign many years, and from them a king ſhould ariſe, who ſhould wage war againſt the Jewiſh nation, aboliſh the laws, deſtroy their commonwealth, plunder their temple, and prevent for three years all worſhip and ſacrifice. This misfortune happened under Antiochus Epiphanes.

His prophecies reſpecting events of Providence.

Daniel wrote many wonderful predictions concerning the Roman empire, and its inroads on the Jews, which he has left in writing as a proof of their divine authority, by their accompliſhment †. This ought to confound

* In order to aggravate his fault, they added, that he was a foreigner, one of the children of the captivity, and, though brought thither as a captive, dared to offer a public affront to the laws of a king whoſe favour and protection he enjoyed. Daniel, on the other hand, pleaded in his defence, that his having diſobeyed the king's decree, was not done out of contumacy, but purely to preſerve a good conſcience, which is the only true principle of loyalty and obedience. See Dan. vi. 13. 22.

† What was revealed to Nebuchadnezzar concerning the four great empires of the world, was again revealed to Daniel, with ſome additions and enlargements, about forty-eight years after. But what was repreſented to Nebuchadnezzar in the form of a great image, was exhibited

confound the Epicureans, who deny an over-ruling Providence, and contend that all things happen without divine direction; which is as abſurd, as it would be to turn a ſhip looſe to the mercy of the winds and waves without a pilot. When I reflect on the prophecies of Daniel, I am aſtoniſhed at the ignorance and irreligion of thoſe people who deny a Providence; for how could it happen, that things predicted in one age, ſhould be punctually fulfilled in another, if all things were left to mere chance?

exhibited to Daniel in the ſhape of *great wild beaſts*. The reaſon of this difference might be, that this image appeared with a glorious luſtre in the imagination of Nebuchadnezzar, whoſe mind was wholly taken up with the admiration of worldly pomp and ſplendor; whereas the ſame monarchies were repreſented to Daniel under the ſhape of fierce wild beaſts, as being the great ſupporters of idolatry and tyranny.

BOOK XI.

OCCURRENCES from the YEAR of the WORLD 3425 to 3635.

CHAP. I.

CYRUS commands his Officers and Governors to aſſiſt the JEWS in rebuilding the City and Temple at JERUSALEM.

Zeal of Cyrus in behalf of the Jews.

IN the ſeventieth year of the captivity of the Jews in Babylon, and in the firſt year of the reign of Cyrus, the Almighty accompliſhed the prediction which he made by the prophet Jeremiah, previous to the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, that, "After a bondage for the ſpace of ſeventy years, under Nebuchadnezzar, and his ſucceſſors, the Hebrews ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed in their former ſtate of happineſs and ſplendor." The Lord was pleaſed to incline Cyrus to circulate letters throughout Aſia, purporting, that the God adored by the Iſraelites was the eternal Being, through whoſe bounty he enjoyed the regal dignity; and that he had found himſelf honourably mentioned by the prophets of ancient date, and repreſented by them as the man who ſhould cauſe Jeruſalem to be rebuilt, and reſtore the Hebrews to their former ſtate of grandeur and independency. Cyrus had read the prophecies of Iſaiah, which had been written two hundred and ten years previous to his birth; and which included a revelation from the Lord, that he would create a man named Cyrus, who ſhould reign over many powerful nations, and give the Hebrews poſſeſſion of their native land. This prediction was delivered one hundred and forty years before the deſtruction of the temple. Cyrus entertained a due veneration towards the prophecies reſpecting himſelf; and having ſummoned the principal people among the Jews to Babylon, he informed them, that he would grant paſſports to ſuch of their nation as ſhould be inclined to return to their native country; and that they ſhould be at liberty to rebuild the city and temple of Jeruſalem; adding, that he would command his governors, and other officers on the confines of Judæa, and provide them with gold, ſilver, and other materials for conſtructing the edifice, and likewiſe beaſts for ſacrifice; and he obſerved, that the bleſſing of the Lord would certainly attend the righteous undertaking. The principal people of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, with the prieſts and Levites, immediately departed for Jeruſalem: but many of the Jews determined to remain at Babylon, rather than relinquiſh the poſſeſſions they had obtained in that city*.

Their contributions for ſupporting the work.

When the people who had accepted the propoſal of Cyrus for rebuilding the temple, arrived at Jeruſalem, great contributions were made in gold, ſilver, horſes, and other cattle. Numbers attended the ceremony of oblations, and the ancient forms of religious inſtitutions, with as great punctuality as was obſerved when the city was firſt erected. Cyrus had ſent to

* One reaſon why the bulk of the Jews (who were originally paſtors, and lovers of agriculture) might rather chuſe to live in the country than at Jeruſalem, was, becauſe it was more ſuited to their genius and manner of life: they might alſo be terrified from going thither, on account of the many enemies they ſhould be expoſed to. We do not read that Daniel took the advantage of the edict which Cyrus made in favour of the Jews; and therefore we may ſuppoſe, that as he did not return with them to Jeruſalem, the king might require his continuance with him; and Daniel might rather conſent to it, as having thereby a better opportunity to befriend his countrymen upon any exigence. For this purpoſe, it is highly probable that he attended the Perſian court, which, after the taking and defacing of Babylon, reſided in ſummer at Shuſham, or Suſa, and in winter at Ecbatana.

Jeruſalem the holy veſſels and other utenſils which had been taken from the temple, and conveyed to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar. Mithridates, or Mithradates, the king's treaſurer, being charged to deliver them to the care of Abaſſar, in whoſe poſſeſſion they were to remain till the temple ſhould be compleated, when he was authorized to depoſit them with the prieſts and magiſtrates.

The number of perſons who were releaſed by Cyrus from the captivity in Babylon, and returned to Jeruſalem, was forty-two thouſand four hundred and ſixty-two.

The Jews applied themſelves with the greateſt induſtry to form the foundation of the temple; but they had made no conſiderable progreſs, when application was made by the neighbouring nations, requeſting the princes and governors, who had been appointed to ſuperintend the work, to prevent farther proceedings. The moſt ſtrenuous oppoſers of the intended ſtructure, were the Chuthites, whom, after he had expelled the Jews, Salmanaſſer, king of Aſſyria, led to repeople Samaria. Conſiderable bribes and flattering promiſes prevailed upon the commiſſioners to neglect the execution of the important undertaking: and Cyrus being at this time engaged in the war againſt the Maſſagetes, was entirely unacquainted with the ſuſpenſion of his commands. He at length fell a victim to the rage of war; and the government was aſſumed by his ſon Cambyſes, who, ſoon after his return from the conqueſt of Egypt, died in the city of Damaſcus, after he had reigned ſix years. The government was transferred to the Magi, who held the adminiſtration one year, at the expiration of which period, Darius, the ſon of Hyſtaſpes, was advanced to the throne by the ſeven Satrapæ, or the heads of the ſeven principal Perſian families, and the unanimous ſuffrages of the people.

CHAP. II.

An Aſſembly of the JEWS convened by ZERUBBABEL and JESUS the High Prieſts, by whoſe Means the Foundation of the Temple is laid, and Part of the Superſtructure raiſed.

ZERUBBABEL, the leader, and Jeſus, the high prieſt, in the ſeventh month after the Jews had retired from Babylon, iſſued orders for an aſſembly of the people at Jeruſalem. Theſe orders being chearfully complied with, an altar was erected, according to the inſtitution of Moſes, on the ſpot where the altar had ſtood in former times. Hereupon the inhabitants of the neighbouring countries were greatly offended; and indeed they were enemies to the Jews, and inclined to obſtruct all their operations.

About this period, the feaſt of the tabernacles occurred, according to the order of the Moſaical law, and it was followed by the daily oblations, the ſacrifices of the Sabbaths, and the new moons and other ſacred feſtivals. From the firſt day of the ſeventh month people repaired to Jeruſalem in order to diſcharge ſuch vows as they had bound themſelves to perform.

The building was now commenced, and immenſe ſums were expended amongſt the various artificers, and in making the neceſſary proviſions for thoſe who were employed in the conveyance of materials. The Sidonians liberally aſſiſted in the undertaking: they conveyed vaſt numbers of cedar planks from Libanus, and framed a great number of boats, which they removed to the port of Joppa, agreeable to the directions of Cyrus, which Darius had confirmed and ordered to be carried into execution.

The foundation of the temple having been completed in the ſecond month of the ſecond year after the return of the Jews, they began to raiſe the ſuperſtructure on the firſt day of the third month; the direction of the work being entruſted to ſuch of the Levites who were twenty years of age and upwards, Jeſus, the high-prieſt, his ſons and brothers, Zolimiel, and others, who executed their ſeveral commiſſions with ſuch induſtry that a progreſs was made in the undertaking greatly ſuperior to the moſt ſanguine expectations.

The prieſts, habited in ſacerdotal garments, and provided with muſical inſtruments, repaired to the temple, and being joined by the Levites and the ſons of Aſaph, the ſacred hymns of David were ſung, agreeable to the original inſtitution. The prieſts, Levites, and others, who had been witneſſes to the aſtoniſhing magnificence of the former ſtructure, with violent exclamations of ſorrow, lamented the great inferiority of the new temple; but ſuch as were not qualified to judge of the diſproportion were perfectly ſatisfied.

Xerxes, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Darius, was the heir of his father's virtues. He confirmed to the Jews all the favours his predeceſſors had promiſed. At this time Joiakim, the ſon of Jehu, was high-prieſt; but the high-prieſt of the Jews was Eſdras, an inhabitant of Babylon, diſtinguiſhed by his piety, and honoured by the general eſteem. He was an adept in the law of Moſes, which rendered him a particular favourite with the king. Eſdras having reſolved to go to Jeruſalem, and to take with him a number of Babylonian Jews, requeſted the king to grant him a recommendatory letter to the governors of Syria; which favour was obtained, and the moſt happy conſequences enſued.

Eſdras reads the law to the people.

The feaſt of tabernacles having commenced, and the people being aſſembled in the eaſtern part of the temple, Eſdras, at their deſire, ſtood in the midſt of them, and read the law of God: which ſervice continued from morning till noon, to the great inſtruction of the audience, who learnt the laws of truth and uprightneſs*, and

* Ezra was not only famous for writing, but for explaining the things contained in the ſcriptures: for as *ſepher* ſignifies a book, ſo *ſopher* denotes one ſkilled and learned in that book; and as there was no book comparable to the book of the law, therefore, *ſepher* became a name of great dignity, and ſignified one that taught God's law, and inſtructed the people out of it; ſuch was Ezra, who is called *ſophan mahir*, a ready ſcribe, Ezra vii. 6.

were

were taught to reflect on the fate of their forefathers, in conſequence of the violation of thoſe laws, the obſervance of which would have enſured their happineſs. This reflection melted them into tears, which Eſdras obſerving, bade them go home and make themſelves eaſy: obſerving that the feſtival was rather profaned by their grief. He adviſed that they ſhould eat, drink, and rejoice, and regard the feſtival no farther than as it might prevent their being again guilty of their former error. They took his advice, and having ſpent eight days in feaſting, every man returned home, with acknowledgements to Eſdras for the reformation he had occaſioned. The hearts of the people of Iſrael were won by the conduct of Eſdras, who lived honourably: died at a great age, in Jeruſalem, and was interred in a moſt pompous manner. Nearly at the ſame time died Joiakim, the high-prieſt, who was ſucceeded by his ſon, Eliaſhib.

Nehemiah's meaſures for peopling the city.

The fortifications being compleated, Nehemiah and the people offered ſacrifice, and made a feaſt of eight days, which greatly chagrined the Syrians. Nehemiah conſidering that the city was but thinly inhabited, prevailed on the prieſts and Levites to reſide therein, promiſing to provide them houſes at his own expence. He alſo directed that the huſbandmen ſhould carry their tithes into the city for the ſupport of the prieſts and Levites, the duty of whoſe offices ought not to be interrupted by worldly cares. Theſe directions were readily obeyed, and the city ſoon became more populous. Theſe things happened in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Xerxes. After many worthy actions, Nehemiah died in a good old age: and he will be ever remembered with gratitude, for his goodneſs in the reparation of the walls of Jeruſalem.

CHAP. III.

ARTAXERXES diſmiſſes his Wife VASHTI, and marries ESTHER, MORDECAI'S Neice. HAMAN adviſes the Deſtruction of the JEWS, and that MORDECAI be put to Death. HAMAN hanged on the Gibbet provided for MORDECAI, and the latter advanced.

Deſcription of the great feaſt of Artaxerxes.

ON the death of Xerxes, his ſon Artaxerxes ſucceeded to the government of the Perſians, and no ſooner commenced his reign, than he appointed governors over one hundred and twenty-ſeven provinces between Ethiopia and India. In his third year he ordered a grand entertainment at Suſa, at which his friends and great officers were entertained for one hundred and eighty days. The embaſſadors of other nations attended this entertainment for ſeven days, and the feaſt was conducted in the following manner. A tent was erected on pillars of gold and ſilver, covered with purple and fine linen, large enough to contain ſome thouſands of people. The wine was ſerved in veſſels of gold and ſilver, adorned with ſtones of great value. The attendants were directed (as uſual among the Perſians) that no one ſhould be compelled to drink more than he choſe; and proclamation was made, that a certain number of days ſhould be appointed as a feſtival for the general welfare of the kingdom. Vaſhti the queen had a ſeparate apartment where ſhe entertained her women. Her beauty was ſo great, that the king ſent for her, that his company might ſee her; but in obedience to the rigid laws of Perſia, (where a woman only ſees her domeſtics) ſhe refuſed to attend: the eunuchs were repeatedly ſent to ſummon her, but ſhe ſtill perſiſted in her refuſal. This ſo incenſed the king, that, when the feaſt was ended, he adviſed with the ſeven commiſſioners appointed to interpret the laws of Perſia, how he ſhould act in this caſe of his wife's refuſal. Mechæus, one of the commiſſioners, ſaid that the offence was not ſimply againſt the king, but of dangerous precedent to his ſubjects, whoſe wives might be taught diſobedience to their huſbands, if the queen's preſumption ſhould go unpuniſhed; wherefore he adviſed that the king ſhould iſſue a proclamation, importing that he had baniſhed Vaſhti for ever from his court and preſence, and would take another wife in her ſtead. The king's love for the queen pleaded ſo powerfully for his living with her, and the laws ſo much to the contrary, that he knew not how to act. While he was almoſt diſtracted with his own thoughts, his friends adviſed him to conſider the unreaſonableneſs of his attachment to one woman, when he had only to chuſe among the whole ſex, and fix on that wife who ſhould be moſt agreeable to him. They urged that the former wife would ſoon be forgotten, in the charms and converſation of a new one.

Vaſhti puniſhed for her imprudent conduct.

The advancement of Eſther.

In conſequence of this advice, perſons were deputed to ſearch through the king's dominions for ſome diſtinguiſhed beauty; and at length they found at Babylon a maid named Eſther, the elegance and grace of whoſe perſon rendered her the object of univerſal admiration. Her parents being dead, ſhe had been educated in the houſe of her uncle Mordecai, a man of great diſtinction, of the tribe of Benjamin. Eſther being committed to the care of the king's eunuchs, was attended with great reſpect, and furniſhed with perfumes, eſſences, and ſuch other things as ladies uſe, to improve their charms. She thus continued with four hundred other virgins, for ſix months, at the end of which the king received them alternately to his bed; but when Eſther's turn came, her converſation and behaviour ſo charmed the king, that he reſolved to marry her, and accordingly celebrated his nuptials in the month Adar, being the twelfth month of the ſeventh year of his reign. He diſpatched meſſengers to proclaim the marriage feaſt, which laſted a month, at which the king entertained the principal men of the Medes, Perſians, and other nations. When the

queen

queen entered the palace, the king put the crown on her head and thenceforward lived with her without inquiring reſpecting her country. In the mean time her uncle Mordecai removed to Suſa, and often enquired at the palace for the welfare of Eſther, whom he loved as tenderly as if he had been her father.

About this time the king iſſued orders, that when he ſhould ſit on the throne, no perſons ſhould approach him without being commanded to attend, on the forfeiture of their heads; and the officers attended with axes, to execute ſuch as diſobeyed *. But the king held in his hand a golden ſceptre, which he extended when he choſe to ſave ſuch as diſobeyed the order: and their touching this ſceptre, ſealed their pardon.

Mordecai diſcovers a conſpiracy againſt the king.

Bigthan and Tereſh, two of the eunuchs of the chamber, now plotted the deſtruction of the king; but Barnabaſus, a Jew by deſcent, who was ſervant to one of them, told Mordecai of the affair, who made it known to the king, by the means of Eſther; on which the conſpirators were ſeized, convicted, and executed. For this ſervice Mordecai was admitted a domeſtic in the palace, and the circumſtance was entered on record to his honour.

Haman, being promoted, is a great enemy to the Jews.

The king promoted Haman, the ſon of Hammedatha, an Amalekite, who was often at court, where agreeable to the king's pleaſure, both Perſians and ſtrangers paid him great homage. Mordecai alone bowed not to him, ſuch obedience being againſt the cuſtom of his country. This being remarked by Haman, he enquired who he was; and learning that he was a Jew, exclaimed at his inſolence in affronting him to whom the natives paid ſuch reſpect. Haman now conceived a ſcheme of revenge, not only againſt Mordecai, but the Jews in general, remembering that theſe people had formerly beaten his countrymen, the Amalekites, and driven them out of their land. Hereupon Haman repaired to the king, hinting that the Jews were a vile race, of bad tempers, diſagreeable manners, and ſuperſtitious in their ceremonies; who lurked about his dominions, and appeared to be the enemies of mankind by their general behaviour. He then beſought the king to oblige him in the higheſt degree, by ordering the utter extirpation of theſe people: "And (ſaid he) that your revenue may not ſuffer hereby, I will, out of my own eſtate, pay into your treaſury forty thouſand talents of ſilver; for I ſhall be happy in the loſs of part of my private fortune, ſo that theſe abandoned people are but rooted out of your dominions." In anſwer hereto, the king refuſed to take Haman's money, but bid him deal with the Jews as he thought proper; whereupon the latter gave orders for publiſhing throughout the king's dominions the following edict:

"*ARTAXERXES the great King, to the one hundred and twenty-ſeven Governors of the Provinces of INDIA and ETHIOPIA, greeting.*

Cruel edict for deſtroying the Jews.

"Foraſmuch as God hath given me the ſupreme rule over numerous nations, and as much command over the reſt of the world, as gratifieth my higheſt ambition: I am diſpoſed, therefore, not to tyranniſe over my ſubjects, but to rule them with a gentle hand, to ſecure them in peace and freedom, and to ſettle their tranquillity on a firm baſis. Theſe things I have maturely conſidered; and being informed by Haman, my favourite friend and counſellor, on whoſe allegiance, diſcretion and juſtice, I can depend, and who ſtands firſt in my eſteem, that a barbarous people have intermixed with my ſubjects, who preſume to govern themſelves by their own laws, and preſcribe a rule of conduct contrary to good order and ſubjection: a people, who in their manners and behaviour hold our monarchy and adminiſtration in defiance: you are therefore hereby commanded, that when Haman (whom you are to deem as a father,) ſhall give notice who are meant by this proclamation, that, in purſuance of this decree, you put all the ſaid people to the ſword, men, women, and children, without diſtinction: and I farther enjoin, that this be executed on the thirteenth day of the twelfth month of the preſent year; that one day may compleat the deſtruction of your enemies and mine, and our lives be ſpent in peace and ſecurity."

This order was ſoon circulated through all the towns of the empire, and the people prepared to deſtroy the Jews on the fixed day: nor was the diſpoſition at Suſa leſs violent againſt them, than in other places. In the interim, the king and Haman ſpent their time in feaſting and drinking; but the people of reflection were ſhocked at the approaching maſſacre.

Mordecai's lamentation, and injunction to Eſther to patroniſe them.

Mordecai no ſooner learnt the purport of the proclamation, than he rent his cloaths, covered himſelf with ſackcloth, threw aſhes on his head, and went through the city, proteſting againſt the deed; but ſtopped at the gate of the palace, which no man durſt enter in ſuch a dreſs: in all other places the Jews were likewiſe abandoned to grief. The queen learning that Mordecai was at the palace-gate in ſuch a habit, ſent and begged that he would change his dreſs: but he replied that he would not, till the cauſe of it was removed. The queen ſent Hatach, one of

* For the preſervation of royal dignity, it was enacted, in the reign of Darius king of Media, that no perſon ſhould be admitted into the kings's preſence; but that, if he had any buſineſs with him, he ſhould tranſact it by the intercourſe of his miniſters. This cuſtom paſſed from the Medes to the Perſians, though the reaſon of the law, at firſt, was not only to ſecure the king's perſon, but alſo to ſupport the power of ſome great officers of ſtate, by having only the privilege of ſpeaking to the king themſelves, and ſuch as they thought proper to introduce.

the king's eunuchs, to learn Mordecai's reaſon for ſuch an appearance; on which he told him the particulars of the king's order for the deſtruction of the Jews; and what a ſum of money Haman had offered for the grant. He gave Hatach a copy of the original order, to communicate to the queen; and begged his intereſt with the king to ſpare the lives of a whole people; entreating him not to heſitate, for Haman was perpetually traducing the Jews to the king, and would certainly ſucceed if not counteracted. The eunuch told this to the queen, who ſent word to Mordecai, that to interrupt the king on his throne, without orders to attend, was an offence puniſhable with loſs of life, except the king granted pardon by extending his ſceptre. Mordecai now urged the meſſenger to remind the queen, that not her perſonal ſafety only, but that of a whole people was to be regarded; cautioning her not to omit ſo charitable an office; and hinting that if ſhe did, Providence would preſerve the Jews, and ſhe and her family might hereafter lie at their mercy*. Eſther now directed the eunuch to tell her uncle that he ſhould aſſemble the Jews at Suſa, and order a faſt of three days for the queen's ſafety; ſaying, that herſelf and attendants would obſerve the ſame, and at the end of that time ſhe would go to the king at the hazard of her life. The queen's orders were obeyed by Mordecai, who faſted and humbled himſelf, beſeeching God to extend his mercy to penitent ſinners, and turn away the malice of their enemies; for that not their own crimes, but the pride of Haman, who expected ſuch adoration as was due only to God, had reduced them to that diſtreſs; by which a nation who refuſed to violate the divine laws, was to be rooted out. The Iſraelites prayed to the ſame purpoſe, beſeeching God to avert his judgments. The queen wore a mourning veil, according to the cuſtom of her country, proſtrated herſelf on the ground, and abſtained from food and all refreſhments for three days; and implored God to incline the king's heart in her favour, to render her perſon and words more acceptable than ever in his ſight, that their enemies might be confounded, and her unhappy countrymen eſcape the ſnare that had been laid for them.

Eſther intercedes with the king in behalf of the Jews.

Three days being thus ſpent in humiliation, the queen dreſſed herſelf in her royal attire, took with her two handmaids, and advanced to the king, leaning on one, while the other bore her train. Dignity, elegance, and concern, were mingled in her appearance. The king was ſeated on his throne, moſt ſuperbly dreſſed in the royal robes, adorned with precious ſtones, gold, and pearl. The queen trembled at the grandeur of the ſight; and fanſying that the king looked diſpleaſed, fainted in the arms of one of her attendants. The king, ſhocked at this accident, deſcended from the throne, catched her in his arms, and aſſured her that, though ſhe came unſent for, no puniſhment ſhould follow, as the law was intended to reſtrain the ſubjects, and had no reference to her, who was his partner in the ſovereign authority. Thus ſaying, he laid the ſceptre lightly on her neck, and gave it into her hands; which diſſipated all her fears. Having recovered the uſe of ſpeech, ſhe ſaid ſhe could not account for her ſudden illneſs, but that her heart failed on the ſplendid appearance of the king. Theſe words were ſpoken in ſuch a weak and languiſhing tone, that the king, impreſſed by the idea of what ſhe ſuffered, ſaid, he would grant any thing, even to the half of his kingdom, to her petition. Eſther only begged he would that day bring Haman with him, and accept of a treat ſhe had provided. They both went, and when elevated with liquor, the king bade her only name her requeſt, and it ſhould be complied with: on which ſhe ſolicited, that he and Haman would attend her the following day, when ſhe would prefer her petition. This pleaſed the king, and enraptured Haman, who was not a little proud of this eminent diſtinction. In his way home, he met Mordecai in the palace, who paid him no reſpect; on which he went to his wife Zereſh, and ſeveral of his friends, whom he informed on what terms he was with the king and queen, with whom he had ſupped, and received a ſimilar invitation for the following day: "but yet (ſaid he) the inſolence of Mordecai chagrins me." Zereſh adviſed him to erect a gallows fifty cubits high, and obtain the king's permiſſion to hang Mordecai on it in the morning. He took her advice, and the gallows was put up within his own palace. But the providence of God defeated the hopes of Haman; for the king being unable to ſleep that night, aroſe, and ordered his ſecretary to bring him a number of ſtate papers for his peruſal. On reading them, the king found that great honours and riches had been beſtowed on one man for his valour; that the fidelity of a ſecond to his prince had made his fortune: at length, he came to the account of the conſpiracy of the eunuchs, Bigthan and Tereſh, of which Mordecai had made diſcovery. The king bade the ſecretary ſtop here, and aſked him if the party had been rewarded for his ſervices; to which the other ſaid, that no reward was mentioned in that account. The ſecretary was now ordered to enquire the hour; and bringing word that it was day-break, the king bade him ſee if any of his friends were at the gate of the palace. He there found Haman, with his petition againſt the life of Mordecai. The king being told that Haman waited, ordered him in, and ſaid, "As I eſteem you my beſt friend, I wiſh for your advice: but what honours, conſiſtent with my own dignity, and my affection for the party, ſhall I beſtow on the man who has conferred the greateſt obligation on me?" Haman, thinking this queſtion related to himſelf, ſaid, that the

* Not only the Jews, but a great many others in Shuſhan, might be concerned at the horrid decree Haman had procured for deſtroying that people, either becauſe they were related to them, or engaged with them in worldly concerns, or perhaps out of mere humanity and compaſſion to ſo vaſt a number of innocent people, now appointed as ſheep for the ſlaughter.

man thus to be diſtinguiſhed ſhould be cloathed in the royal apparel, be preſented with a chain of gold, and being mounted on the king's own horſe, his majeſty ſhould direct one of his confident friends to march before him through the city, and proclaim, "Thus ſhall it be done to the man whom the king delighteth to honour." The king appearing pleaſed with this propoſal, ſaid, "Do you take the horſe, apparel, and golden chain, and having found Mordecai the Jew, dreſs him, ſee him mounted, and walk before him as the herald; for you, being my moſt worthy friend, are the moſt proper perſon to execute what you have adviſed. This honour ſhall be done to Mordecai, becauſe I owe my life to his zeal." Haman was confounded at this order, but obliged to comply; wherefore he took the horſe, the royal apparel, and chain of gold, and went in ſearch of Mordecai, whom he found cloathed in ſackcloth at the gate of the palace, and deſired him to put on the purple robes. Mordecai, ignorant of what had paſſed, thought Haman intended to ridicule him, and therefore treated him as one who meant to inſult the unfortunate. The matter being explained, Mordecai was convinced that the king intended him this honour, in reward of his preventing the effects of the eunuchs' conſpiracy; whereupon he put on the robes, inveſted him with the chain, and, getting on the horſe, rode through the city: Haman preceding him with this proclamation: "Thus ſhall it be done to the man whom the king delighteth to honour." This ceremony being ended, Mordecai repaired to the king, while Haman went home dejected, and informed his wife and friends of what had happened: on hearing whereof they were convinced that they could not wreak their vengeance on Mordecai, who appeared to be protected by heaven.

Haman commanded to do honour to Mordecai.

During their converſation, ſome eunuchs came from the queen to ſummon Haman to ſupper: Sabuchadas, one of the eunuchs, ſeeing a gibbet in the court-yard, inquired who it was intended for; and being told for Mordecai, the queen's uncle, he ſaid no more. While they were at ſupper, the king again deſired the queen to make her demand, and it ſhould not be refuſed. On this ſhe recited the imminent danger of the Jews; lamented that herſelf and countrymen were devoted to deſtruction, and ſaid, that was the ſubject on which ſhe wiſhed to ſpeak to the king. She was unwilling to interrupt buſineſs of ſtate, and thought that if her countrymen had been only doomed to ſlavery, the ſentence might have been ſubmitted to; but ſhe implored his majeſty to put a ſtop to their total deſtruction. The king immediately aſked who had a deſign to deſtroy them? to which the queen anſwered that, in mere malice, Haman had given ſuch advice. The king being hurt by this diſcourſe, retired to the garden: and in the mean time, Haman, who ſaw the gathering ſtorm, beſought the queen's pardon for his errors, and threw himſelf on the bed by her, in a poſture of humiliation*. At this inſtant the king returned, and obſerving Haman in this ſituation, reproached him as a villain for attempting the honour of the queen; accompanying what he ſaid with ſuch violent action, that Haman was at a loſs to reply. Sabuchadas, the eunuch above-mentioned, now told the king of the gibbet erected in Haman's court, for the execution of Mordecai: hereupon the king gave orders that Haman ſhould be hanged on the very gibbet he had prepared for the other. Thus wonderful was the wiſdom of Providence, in bringing Haman to the very puniſhment he had deſigned for another.

The king highly incenſed at Haman.

Haman being executed, his eſtate was given to the queen, who had by this time informed the king of her affinity to Mordecai; on which the king ſent for him, and gave him the ring which had been heretofore entruſted with Haman, and the queen beſtowed on him the eſtates of the delinquent. She next reminded the king of the letters Haman had diſpatched through the empire; and begged that he would eaſe the Jews of their apprehenſions, ſaying that her own life was involved in the ſafety of her friends. The king aſſured her that nothing ſhould happen to the Jews without her conſent; and permitted her to write to them in his name, and the letters ſhould be delivered throughout his dominions, ſealed with the royal ſignet, which would give them ſufficient validity.

Execution of Haman.

Perſons were immediately diſpatched with the royal proclamation in favour of the Jews. In the mean time, Mordecai, coming out of the palace, dreſſed in the royal robe, gown and chain, the Jews triumphed in this circumſtance as a prelude to their happineſs; and the joy was extreme wherever the king's letters were publiſhed. People of other nations were likewiſe ſo affected, that many of them were circumciſed in order to eſcape as Jews. On receiving this letter, the princes, magiſtrates, and governors, dreading the reſentment of Mordecai, paid more than uſual reſpect to the Jews.

The publication of the edict cauſed the Jews of Suſa to deſtroy five hundred of their enemies; and the king informing the queen hereof, aſked her if ſhe had any thing farther to demand, for he ſhould not refuſe her requeſt. She begged that Haman's ten ſons might be hanged on the gibbet †, and that the Jews might be allowed one

Effects of the reſcindatory mandate.

* It is the univerſal cuſtom of the eaſtern nations to recline on a couch while they eat their meals; and while the queen was in this poſture, Haman proſtrated himſelf before her. It muſt be merely a pretence of Artaxerxes, to charge Haman with any indecent deſign, ſince all other circumſtances militated too much againſt him to admit of it, and conſequently prevented his forming any other project than that which tended to the preſervation of his life, which he now apprehended to be in danger.

† There is, in the Hebrew copies of the book of Eſther, a ſingular matter for preſerving the memory of the manner in which theſe young gentlemen were put to death; and in this circumſtance we follow them in our tranſlation, yet the meaning of it is but little known.

one other day of revenge. This being granted, they assembled on the following day, and killed near three hundred more at Susa; and it was judged that seventy-five thousand more were destroyed throughout the empire. The slaughter at Susa was on the thirteenth; that in the country on the fourteenth of the twelfth month; which days are still celebrated as festivals among the Jews, agreeable to an order of Mordecai, for a perpetual remembrance to posterity, that the days intended for their destruction proved those of their deliverance: and these days are now called *Purim*, or feasts of Preservation*. Mordecai continued in great credit with the king and queen, and so directed public affairs, that the Jews flourished wonderfully during his administration.

CHAP. IV.

ELIASHIB, the High-Priest, succeeded by JUDAS. JESUS slain in the Temple, by his Brother JOHN. MANASSEH, Brother of JADDUS, the High-Priest, married to SANBALLAT's Daughter, NICASA.

Outrages committed by John, in the temple.

THE high-priest, Eliashib, being dead, was succeeded by his son Judas, and he, by his son John. This John caused the temple to be profaned by Bagoses, commander of Artaxerxes' troops, levying a fine on the Jews of fifty drachmas daily, for each lamb they sacrificed, to be paid before the offerings commenced. The cause of this fine was as follows. The brother of John was named Jesus, and Bagoses being his intimate friend, fought to elevate him to the priesthood. Jesus, presuming upon this distinction, quarrelled with his brother in the temple, and the latter, much enraged, attacked and killed him: a circumstance so dishonourable to religion, that heaven would not permit it to remain unpunished. The consequence was, that the Jews lost their liberty, and the temple was profaned by the Persians: for no sooner had Bagoses heard that the high-priest had slain his brother in the temple, than he exclaimed, in contempt of the Jews, "Abominable people! to turn your house of worship into a slaughter-house!" He now crouded to get into the temple, but some persons opposing him, he said, "Conceive you that my living body is more offensive than the dead within this place?" And thus saying, he forced his way. From this period his conduct over the Jews was very rigid, for about seven years: but John dying, was succeeded in the priesthood by his son Jaddus. Now Jaddus having a brother named Manasseh; and Sanballat considering how great a city Jerusalem was, and that the Syrians and Assyrians had been frequently routed by the kings thereof, gave his daughter Nicasa in marriage to Manasseh, as a testimony of the friendship which he intended to maintain with the Jews. This Sanballat was a Chuthite, and from him the Samaritans derive their origin; he having governed Samaria, under the last king, Darius.

Alexander the Great succeeds his father Philip.

Pausanias having about this time murdered Philip, king of Macedon, that prince was succeeded by his son Alexander, who passing the Hellespont, gained a great victory over the army of Darius, by the river Granicus. He then reduced Lydia and Ionia, marched through Caria, and arrived in the country of Pamphylia. On the other hand, the Persian monarch, receiving intelligence of Alexander's successes, and subsequent operations, assembled his forces, resolving to give battle to the Macedonians, and prevent their ravaging Asia, as they had proposed. Having passed the Euphrates, he disposed himself to battle on the other side mount Taurus, in Cilicia. Sanballat, pleased with this march of Darius, told

known. The names of the sons of Haman make the 7th, 8th, and 9th verses of the 9th chapter of Esther; by which division of the names in a perpendicular course of verses, it is easy for the reader to consider them as divided into three columns, or as hanging upon three strings; three upon a string, one above another. The names in the Hebrew copies are much more exactly ranged for this way of considering them; particularly in the parchment copy for the service on this feast. The intention of which ranging or division, is to signify, that Haman's sons were hanged one above another in one perpendicular line.

* The day before the opening of the feast, the Jews observe as a fast, because on that day, say they, their fathers did so when they were threatened with the danger above-mentioned, and were assembled for their common defence. The two following days are Bacchanalian, or days of high feasting and mirth, particularly of high drinking. The Chassan reads the whole book of Esther, without pause or hesitation: it is kept for this service, fairly written on a large skin of parchment rolled on a cylinder of wood. Both sexes of all ages and conditions (except very young children) are enjoined, for the better preservation of the remembrance of the matters now commemorated, to read or assist at the reading of that whole book. When the parchment is unfolded, the Chassan says, "Blessed be God, the King of the world, who hath sanctified us, and commanded us to read the Magilla" (a Talmud treatise so called, which treats of the feast of Purim.) "Blessed be God, who in those days, at this time (so runs the Hebrew) wrought miracles for our fathers." As often as, in the course of the reading, he names Haman, the auditory says, "Let his name be blotted out; may the name of the wicked rot!" The boys, at the same time, clench their fists and strike them together, and hissing at the name of Haman, make a great and clamorous noise. The names of the ten sons of that proud Persian are read with one and the same breath, because, say the Jews, they were all hanged, and all expired, at the same moment of time.

When the Chassan has finished the reading, every one says, "Cursed be Haman; blessed be Mordecai; cursed be Zeresh (the wife of Haman); but blessed be Esther; Cursed be all idolaters; but blessed be all the Israelites; and blessed likewise be Harboneh (one of the king's chamberlains), by whose hands Haman was hanged."

On this feast, they send presents to one another (the men to men, and women to women); and give to the poor. And, for the promotion of mirth, men put on the apparel of women, and women put on the apparel of men. This is forbidden in the law of Moses: but the Jews say, 'tis no sin on this occasion, because it is done only to heighten the festivity.

Manasseh,

Manaſſeh, that on the king's return he would ratify all his promiſes; as he had no doubt, but the Macedonians would be routed on the firſt encounter. In this, however, he was miſtaken; for Darius was defeated, his army being chiefly cut off, his mother, wife, and children made captives, and he obliged to ſave himſelf by a precipitate flight. In the mean time, Alexander marched into Syria, made capture of Sidon and Damaſcus, and beſieged Tyre. He now wrote to the high-prieſt of the Jews, claiming the aſſiſtance heretofore given to Darius, and demanding that his army might be ſupplied with neceſſaries, which ſhould be paid for punctually. The high-prieſt returned a ſhort anſwer, intimating that they had ſworn not to bear arms againſt Darius, during their lives. This anſwer enraged Alexander, who, however, proceeded in his attack of Tyre, but vowed that, when he had conquered it, he would attack the high-prieſt, and teach his people not to violate their oaths. Alexander ſoon conquered Tyre, and then proceeded to reduce the Perſian government at Gaza.

Sanballat revolts from Darius to Alexander, who permits him to build a temple at Gerizim.

Sanballat, finding that Alexander lay before Tyre, repaired to him with eight thouſand men, thus abandoning his faith to Darius. Alexander received him graciouſly, and bid him ſpeak freely; on which he ſaid that his ſon-in-law, Manaſſeh, brother to Jaddus, high-prieſt of the Jews, was following him with a great concourſe of people, who requeſted leave to erect a temple in that province. Sanballat intimated likewiſe how much Alexander's intereſt was concerned in this permiſſion, as the Jews, who were very numerous, might be as troubleſome to him, as they had heretofore been to the Syrians. The requeſt was granted, and they began to build the temple, of which Manaſſeh was to be the high-prieſt, and his deſcendents, by Sanballat's daughter, to ſucceed to that honour. At the end of nine months, Sanballat died, and Alexander having made a conqueſt of Gaza, proceeded towards Jeruſalem. Jaddus the high-prieſt was now confounded to think how he ſhould behave to a prince whoſe former commands he had diſobeyed: on which he ordered prayers and ſacrifices for the general proſperity of the people. On the following night it was revealed to Jaddus in a dream, that he ſhould adorn the city with garlands and flowers, open the gates, and let the people, dreſſed in white, go out to meet Alexander; himſelf and the other prieſts preceding, in their proper habits. In the morning, Jaddus, highly rejoiced, told the citizens what had been revealed, and proceeded to make the neceſſary preparations for meeting the king. Learning that he approached, Jaddus, with the prieſts and people, went on to a place called Sapha, (or the place of proſpect) from its commanding a view of the city and temple. The Chaldæans and Phœnicians thought to deſtroy and plunder the high-prieſt and people; but it happened otherwiſe: for Alexander, ſeeing the people walking in white, the prieſts in ſilk robes, and the high prieſt in purple, embroidered with gold, wearing his mitre, and having on his forehead a golden plate, with the name of God on it, advanced alone, paid homage to the inſcription, and complimented the high-prieſt*. Hereupon the Jews gathered in crouds, and proclaimed the praiſe of Alexander. This behaviour aſtoniſhed the kings of Perſia and others; and Parmenio aſked Alexander how it happened that he, whom almoſt every man worſhipped, ſhould bow to a prieſt of the Jews. Alexander replied, "I worſhip not this man; but his God. Some time ſince I ſaw this very perſon, in the ſame habit, at Dion, in Macedonia. I was debating how to conquer Aſia, when he bade me conduct my army over the river, and I ſhould ſubdue the empire of Perſia. On ſeeing him in this habit, the idea of my dream recurs, and I am ſure this is the perſon who encouraged me to this expedition: thus convinced of the divine interpoſition, I have no doubt of ſucceſs againſt the Perſians." Having ſaid this, the king ſaluted Jaddus, and the other prieſts eſcorting him into the city, he advanced to the temple, and offered ſacrifice. Alexander paid great reſpect to the high-prieſt, who, on the concluſion of the ceremony, ſhewed him a prophecy of Daniel, which predicted that in future time, a Greek ſhould conquer the empire of Perſia. Alexander preſuming that this meant himſelf, was highly gratified, and diſcharged the people till the following day, when they were to make known what they deſired he ſhould do for them: On their meeting, the high-prieſt ſaid, they wiſhed to enjoy their own laws, to be freed from a tribute paid once in ſeven years; and to poſſeſs the ſame privileges as the Jews of Media and Babylon; all which Alexander granted, and ſaid farther, that if any of them choſe to enliſt in his army, they ſhould have the free exerciſe of their religion; on which many of them engaged in his ſervice.

Jaddus meets Alexander, by whom he is graciouſly received.

Alexander having adjuſted affairs at Jeruſalem, proceeded to different places, and was well received in them all. The city of Sichem, near the mount Gerizim, was at this time the chief reſidence of the Samaritans, who retained their own diſpoſition of being friends to the Jews in proſperity. Alexander was met by the Sichemites (accompanied by the troops Sanballat had ſent), who, with apparent joy, begged he would honour their city and temple with a viſit. The king ſpoke kindly to them, and promiſed a viſit on his return, They then aſked a remittance of the ſeventh year's tribute. Alexander demanded of what nation they were; they anſwered Hebrews, but the Sidonians called them Sichemites.

The Samaritans of Sichem apply to Alexander, for exemption from tribute.

* This account does not materially differ from that given by Stackhouſe, who relates, that Jaddus went out in his pontifical robes, with the prieſts attending him in their proper habits, and, upon an eminence, waited the coming of Alexander; whom ſeeing at ſome diſtance, he moved towards him in this ſolemn pomp; which ſtruck the king with ſuch an awe, that, as he drew near, he bowed down to him, and ſaluted him with a religious veneration, to the great ſurprize of all who attended him.

They

The conſideration of their requeſt poſtponed.

They were then aſked if they were Jews; but they anſwered in the negative; upon which Alexander ſaid, "The favour you aſk I have granted to the Jews; and when I return, and am better informed, I ſhall indulge you in what may be thought reaſonable." Saying this, the king diſmiſſed the Sichemites; but took Sanballat's troops with him to Egypt, where they had lands allotted them; but they were afterwards placed in garriſon in Thebes, where they had the ſame indulgence.

Death of Alexander and Jaddus.

Alexander dying, his empire was divided among his ſucceſſors. The temple of Gerizim remained untouched. When the Jews at Jeruſalem violated their laws, by a breach of the ſabbath, or eating meats that were forbidden, they uſed to take ſanctuary with the Sichemites, pretending that they were falſely accuſed. Jaddus, the high-prieſt, died at this period, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Onias.

BOOK XII.

Containing the HISTORY of the JEWISH TRANSACTIONS, from the YEAR of the WORLD 3635, to 3804.

CHAP. I.

The MACEDONIAN Empire divided into Principalities, after the Deceaſe of ALEXANDER. PTOLEMY obtains Poſſeſſion of JERUSALEM.

Partition of the Macedonian empire.

ALEXANDER died, after having obtained an intire conqueſt over the Perſian empire, and eſtabliſhed divers regulations in Jeruſalem, as we have already mentioned; and his kingdom was divided among the chiefs of his army. Antigonus aſſumed the command of Aſia; Seleucus, that of Babylon and the bordering countries; the Helleſpont was under Lyſimachus; Caſſander reigned over Macedon; and Ptolemy, the ſon of Lagus, over Egypt. Theſe princes ſeverally aimed at univerſal ſovereignty, and the conſequence was a war of long duration, in the courſe of which great numbers of people were ſacrificed, and many capital cities utterly deſtroyed. The country of Syria was particularly affected by theſe contentions, during the reign of Ptolemy, who was called the ſaviour: but no man leſs deſerved that honourable diſtinction*.

Ptolemy gets poſſeſſion of Jeruſalem by treachery, and takes many of the Jews priſoners.

This Ptolemy, under the pretext of a religious motive, obtained admittance to the city of Jeruſalem on the ſabbath, and gained poſſeſſion of the place, without oppoſition, the Jews being prohibited the uſe of arms on that ſacred day. In his hiſtory of the ſucceſſors of Alexander, Agatharchides, the Cnidian, ſays, "The people called Jews, inhabiting the ſtrongly fortified and populous city of Jeruſalem, ſubmitted to the intolerable oppreſſion of Ptolemy, from a ſuperſtitious regard to their ſabbath, by which they were with-held from taking up arms to repulſe the invader." Ptolemy made captives of a great number of Jews from Jeruſalem, Samaria, and mount Gerizim, and tranſplanted them into Egypt. The anſwer of the Jews to Alexander, after he had vanquiſhed Darius, convinced Ptolemy that they were a people who paid a ſacred obſervance to an oath; and on this conſideration, having firſt ſworn them to fidelity to himſelf and his ſucceſſors, he entruſted them to defend ſeveral places of ſtrength, appointed them to offices of conſiderable truſt, and admitted them to the ſame privileges in Alexandria which were enjoyed by the Macedonians. The liberality of Ptolemy, and the fertility of the country, induced great numbers of Jews to repair to Egypt. The ancient laws and cuſtoms were a continual ſource of diſſenſions among the Jews and Samaritans; the former declaring the temple at Jeruſalem to be the only holy place, and the others as poſitively inſiſting in favour of the temple at Gerizim: and in theſe conteſts many lives were loſt.

The captive Jews reſtored to freedom.

Philadelphus ſucceeded his father Ptolemy (who was called the ſaviour) in the government of Egypt. On the following

* Ptolemy was a man intirely given up to his luſts and voluptuous delights. Drinking, gaming, and laſciviouſneſs, were the whole employments of his life. Agathoclea his concubine, and Agathocles his brother (who was his catamite) governed him abſolutely; and when Arſinoe (who was both his ſiſter and wife) complained of the neglect which, by means of theſe two favourites, was put upon her, this ſo offended the king and his catamite, that orders were given to have her put to death: but he did not long ſurvive her; for, having worn out a ſtrong conſtitution by his intemperance and debaucheries, he ended his life before he had lived out half the ordinary term allotted to man.

occaſion he reſtored to freedom one hundred and twenty thouſand Jews who were captives in Egypt. Demetrius Phalereus, who was appointed to the care of the royal library, with remarkable induſtry laboured to procure all the books which were deſerving a place in the king's ſtudy. Being aſked by Philadelphus how many books he had collected, Demetrius replied, that the number amounted to two hundred thouſand volumes, which he hoped ſoon to increaſe to five hundred thouſand, having learnt that the Jews poſſeſſed a vaſt number of manuſcripts on the ſubject of their laws, ceremonies and cuſtoms, which would prove a valuable acquiſition to the royal library; he obſerved, that though the characters and language of the Hebrews bore ſome affinity to the Greek, yet there were many niceties peculiar to each tongue, which would contribute to render the tranſlation a work of difficulty, but that it might notwithſtanding be accompliſhed if the king ſhould judge it expedient to incur the expence of the undertaking. Philadelphus expreſſed an entire approbation of what had been intimated by his librarian: and diſpatched a letter to the high-prieſt of the Jews, requeſting his aſſiſtance towards the intended acquiſition. Ariſtæus, whoſe wiſdom and modeſty had obtained him a diſtinguiſhed place in the king's eſteem, had long cheriſhed the hope of reſtoring the Jews to freedom; and determining to avail himſelf of the favourable opportunity which now offered, he applied to Soſibius, Tarantinus, and Andræus, captains of the guards, entreating them to join their intereſts for effecting the deſired purpoſe. Having received their promiſe of aſſiſtance, he thus addreſſed the king:

Ptolemy Philadelphus orders a tranſlation of the Jewiſh laws to be made into Greek, by ſeventy-two elders.

"Your majeſty having been pleaſed to ſignify a deſire of having a tranſlation of the laws of the Jews, I humbly apprehend that the buſineſs cannot be fairly executed while ſo many of the people from whom you expect aſſiſtance remain in bondage. To relieve their diſtreſs is an act worthy your exalted ſtation and character, ſince we all worſhip the Almighty God under the ſeveral names of Jove, Jupiter, à Juvando. From a veneration of the univerſal Creator, you may be inclined to reſtore the miſerable captives to the land aſſigned them by Providence. I do not preſume to eſpouſe the cauſe of theſe people on account of a family alliance, but entirely on the conſideration that we are the ſervants of the ſame God, to whom the ſolicited clemency will prove highly acceptable."

The king's great liberality on behalf of the Jews.

The king inquired of Ariſtæus what number of Jews were in bondage; and he was informed by Andræus, that they amounted to about one hundred and twenty thouſand: upon this, the king aſked Ariſtæus whether he thought he had requeſted a moderate favour. It was obſerved by Soſibius, and others, that compaſſion towards the miſerable was worthy the royal character, in gratitude for having been advanced to the ſovereignty. Philadelphus was perfectly ſatisfied with the conduct of the perſons who had interceded in favour of the captives, and ordered that, on the enſuing pay-day, his ſoldiers, excluſive of their uſual ſtipend, ſhould receive an hundred and twenty drachmas in lieu of every Jew whom they held in ſlavery; promiſing further to extend his clemency in compliance with the requeſt of Ariſtæus, or rather with the decrees of Providence, and that the whole ſhould be ratified by a proclamation emancipating the Jews who had been made priſoners during his father's reign, as well as thoſe who had fallen into captivity before and ſubſequent to that period. He was informed that the deliverance of theſe people would incur an expence of at leaſt forty talents: and he ſaid that notwithſtanding the ſum was conſiderable, his promiſe ſhould be punctually fulfilled.

The king ordered Demetrius to publiſh the particulars concerning the tranſlation of the books and records of the Jews. Upon a regiſter was inſerted a tranſcript of the petition of Demetrius, a liſt of the donations towards the undertaking, with the names of the ſeveral ſubſcribers, and the letters which had paſſed on the occaſion; ſo that the munificence of the king, and the liberal aſſiſtance afforded towards perfecting the work, might be apparent on the firſt view. His munificence, and the many valuable preſents which he made to the temple, were beyond deſcription ſplendid, and exceeded every thing done by former monarchs; I mean thoſe who were not deſcendents of Abraham, but raiſed up by the Almighty to ſhew favour to the people of Iſrael.

CHAP. II.

The Liberality of the King of ASIA towards the JEWS. CLEOPATRA, Daughter of ANTIOCHUS the GREAT, married to the King of EGYPT.

SO celebrated were the Jews for their faith and their military ſkill, that Seleucus, ſurnamed Nicanor, admitted them to the immunities of Antioch, and his ſeveral cities throughout Aſia and Lower Syria; and to this day they enjoy the privileges granted to them, in common with the Greeks and Macedonians. The Jews being prohibited the uſe of foreign oil, the Olympic officers had it in commiſſion from the government, to allow them, in lieu thereof, a portion of money. In the following war, the people of Antioch inſiſted upon the Jews being abridged of this privilege; but Mutianus, governor of the province of Syria, would not comply with their requiſitions. The people of Alexandria urged the diſfranchiſement of the Jews, during the reign of Veſpaſian and his ſon Titus: the Romans honourably oppoſed the meaſure, which the above-mentioned princes could not be induced to countenance. Notwithſtanding the provocation of an obſtinate war and rebellion, they nobly declined a gratification of their paſſions, and rejected the interceſſion of two powerful nations, on the conſideration that the privileges of the Jews could not be abridged without a violation of juſtice. Their former

former deserts prevailed over their present offences; and the princes said, that private interest should not seduce them to take mean advantages. They urged, that such of our people as had taken up arms against the Romans, had been sufficiently punished in the course of the war; and to abridge the sacred rights of those who had not committed offence, would be equally contrary to the principles of reason and justice.

The generosity of Marcus Agrippa towards the Jews stands on record. He defended them against their enemies, and entered into various leagues with the neighbouring princes for their common defence.

Antiochus perfected a bond of friendship with Ptolemy, by marrying his daughter Cleopatra. For a marriage-portion he received half of Cœlo-Syria, Phœnicia, Judea, and Samaria, which being let to hire to the principal people of the provinces, the rents were paid into the royal treasury.

The pride of the Samaritans now induced them to insult the Jews, several of whom they made captives. This happened in the time of Onias the high priest, who was so weak and covetous that he refused the usual tribute of twenty talents, which his predecessors had constantly paid to the king. Ptolemy Euergetes, the father of Philopater, was so affronted at this conduct, that he sent an ambassador to Jerusalem to demand the payment, and threatened to fix a plantation there, and quarter an army on the country, in case of a refusal. The Jews were extremely terrified at this message; but Onias, whose ruling passion was the love of money, was determined to abide the consequence.

Joseph's advice to Onias rejected.

Joseph, a young man, nephew of Onias the high-priest, was remarkable for his prudence and integrity. Being at Phichola, his mother sent him notice of the above message; on which he went to Onias, and reproached him with his disregard to the welfare of the public, to whom he owed his promotion; saying that, at least he should go to the king, and endeavour to obtain a remittal of part of the tribute. This Onias absolutely declined; on which Joseph desired to go in his place, which was granted. Joseph therefore assembled the people in the temple, told them he would wait on the king, and hoped his uncle's remissness would have no ill consequence. They thankfully left the business to him; on which he invited the king's commissioner to a splendid treat, which lasted several days, made him rich presents, and told him he would follow him to his master. The commissioner returning into Egypt, spoke of the ingratitude of Onias; but mentioned Joseph (who would soon be there) in terms of such high respect, that the king, and the queen Cleopatra, wished to see him.

Goes on an embassy to Ptolemy, with whom he has an interview.

Joseph now sent to his friends in Samaria, to raise money to furnish his equipage, which cost near twenty thousand drachmas, in cloaths, horses, carriages, plate, &c. On his road to Alexandria, he fell in company with some of the princes and nobles of Syria and Phœnicia, who were going to the king, to purchase his revenue, which was annually sold to the best bidder. These people ridiculed the appearance of Joseph and his retinue; but he proceeded to Alexandria, where learning that the king was at Memphis, he went forward, and met him in his chariot, with the queen, and Athenion, the very commissioner whom Joseph had treated at Jerusalem. Athenion no sooner saw him, than he told the king that was the young man of whom he had spoken so highly. On this, Ptolemy took him into his carriage, and mentioned how ill he had been treated by Onias. Joseph replied, "An old man is a second time a child; impute nothing to Onias beyond what his age will excuse: for us who have youth, and the power of our faculties, we will give proof of our dutiful attachment." This speech so pleased the king, that he gave orders that Joseph should be lodged in the palace, and treated him at his own table; a circumstance that gave great disgust to the Syrians.

Joseph is treated with singular honour and respect.

The day arriving when the branches of the revenue were to be sold, the nobles above-mentioned offered eight thousand talents for the duties of Cœlo-Syria, Phœnicia, and Samaria; on which, Joseph bid double the sum; which pleased the king, who asked him what security he could give. Joseph said his securities were undoubted; and the king bidding him name them, he replied he had no doubt that the king and queen would be mutually bound for his integrity. Hereupon the king trusted him with the receipt of the revenue, without other security; a circumstance that extremely mortified the intended purchasers.

He is appointed receiver-general of the revenue.

Thus commissioned, Joseph solicited a guard of two thousand soldiers, to aid him in levying the duties; which being granted, he borrowed five hundred talents in Alexandria, and proceeded towards Syria. On his arrival at Askalon, the people not only refused to pay the tribute, but insulted him; whereupon he punished twenty of the ringleaders, and raised a thousand talents from their forfeited estates, which he sent to the king, with an account of his proceedings. This so pleased the king, that he left him wholly to his own conduct; and the rest of the Syrians, struck by the above example, paid their taxes without hesitation. The people of Scythopolis following those of Askalon in refusing to pay the tribute, Joseph dealt with them as with the others, applying the forfeitures to the use of the king. In the course of business, Joseph procured many valuable presents both to the king and his ministers.

Circumstances preceding the birth of Hyrcanus.

Twenty-two years Joseph lived in prosperity, during which he had seven sons by one wife, and one, named Hyrcanus, by the daughter of his brother Solymius, whom he married in consequence of the following incident. Journeying to Alexandria with his brother, to find a Jew of rank proper to marry his daughter, Joseph, being at supper with the king, fell in love with a maid who was dancing to entertain his majesty. He told the secret to his brother, wishing, that

that as he could not lawfully marry her, he would privately introduce them to each other. The brother promiſed, but put his daughter to bed; and Joſeph, having drank too freely, diſcovered not the deception. This deceit was repeatedly practiſed, till Joſeph, wholly enamoured, lamented to his brother the improbability of the king's permitting the match. Solymius bade him be at reſt; ſaid he might lawfully enjoy the woman as his wife, and revealed the whole ſecret: ſaying, he permitted this affront to his daughter, rather than that his brother ſhould commit a heinous offence. Joſeph was all gratitude for this inſtance of friendſhip, and married the daughter, who was the mother of Hyrcanus. At thirteen years old, Hyrcanus was ſuch a miracle of good ſenſe and benevolence, that he became the object of envy to all his elder brothers.

His extraordinary talents.

Joſeph, willing to make proof of the abilities of his children, placed all of them, except Hyrcanus, under experienced maſters; but they made no proficiency. He then ſent Hyrcanus a journey of ſeven days into the deſert, with three hundred pair of oxen, to plow and ſow; firſt privately taking away the lines that were to faſten the yoke to the plough. The youth, on his arrival, miſſing the lines, ſome huſbandmen adviſed him to ſend to his father for them; but, unwilling to loſe ſo much time, he gave orders for ten yoke of oxen to be killed, the fleſh of which he diſtributed among his workmen, and had the ſkins cut into thongs, with which he faſtened the oxen to the ploughs, did his buſineſs, and returned to his father. Joſeph was enraptured at this prudence of his ſon, and embraced him in token of his approbation of ſuch conduct: but the brothers hated Hyrcanus for his ſuperior abilities.

Hyrcanus appointed to congratulate Ptolemy on the birth of a ſon.

Soon after this, Joſeph heard that the queen was brought to bed of a ſon, and that the princes and great men of Syria were haſtening to court, to congratulate the king on the occaſion. Joſeph's age prevented his attendance; but he ſeverally aſked his ſons to go; one of whom ſaid he ſhould not chooſe to appear before the king; a ſecond was unacquainted with the ways of the court, &c. but they united in wiſhing Hyrcanus might be ſent. Hereupon, Joſeph called him, and aſked him how he would conduct himſelf if ſent on this buſineſs. Hyrcanus ſaid he ſhould think it an honour to be ſo employed, and would not put his father to much expence; hinting that ten thouſand drachmas would defray the charge. Joſeph pauſed, admiring his moderation, when the ſon ſaid, "I would not recommend the ſending from this place any preſents to the king; but write to your agent at Alexandria to furniſh me with proper gifts." On conſideration, Joſeph thought that ten talents might make the neceſſary purchaſes; on which he gave his ſon letters of credit to Arion, who had then three thouſand talents in hand, Joſeph uſing to remit the collections in Syria to him, to be tranſmitted to the royal treaſury. Hyrcanus immediately went to Arion with his letters, while his brothers ſecretly laboured to deſtroy him. Arion aſking what ſum would be ſufficient, Hyrcanus ſaid, "A thouſand talents." "What! (ſaid the former) to be waſted in luxury; no, ſir, your father's fortune was made by induſtry, and you would do well to follow his example: I will give you only ten talents, and thoſe I will ſee expended in the preſents." He proceeded in this manner, till Hyrcanus had him committed to priſon. At this time, Arion's wife, who was on good terms with the queen, carried the news to her miſtreſs, and the queen told it to the king, with reflections on the young man's conduct. Hereupon, the king ſent a meſſage to Hyrcanus, wondering that he did not fulfil his father's commiſſion, and ſtill more that he had impriſoned the agent; ordering him to attend immediately, and clear himſelf of the charge alledged againſt him. Hyrcanus bade the meſſenger tell the king, that by the laws of the Jews no man was to eat the fleſh of any ſacrifice, who had not himſelf firſt offered ſacrifice in the temple: that his caſe was ſimilar, and he could not wait on the king till he had procured the preſents which his father had provided as a teſtimony of his duty and gratitude; and that with regard to puniſhing a refractory ſervant, he thought himſelf juſtified: for the ill example of an inferior might at length reach the king himſelf; as where authority is deſpiſed, the precedent is dangerous. The king was charmed when he heard of this dignity of ſentiment in ſo young a man.

His vindication to the king.

By this time Arion found he had no intereſt with the king; on which he compounded for his liberty, by paying the thouſand talents to Hyrcanus, who immediately went to court, and was admitted to the royal table. Hyrcanus now privately bought of the merchants one hundred fine young men, and the ſame number of accompliſhed girls, at a talent each. Himſelf and other perſons of diſtinction, being invited to dine with the king, the maſter of the ceremonies placed Hyrcanus at the bottom of the table, on the ſcore of his youth. The company agreed to lay their bones on Hyrcanus's plate, and then introduced Tryphon, the king's jeſter, to ridicule him; which he attempted, by bidding the king notice the circumſtance, and ſaying, that ſo had Hyrcanus's father picked the bones of all Syria. The king, ſmiling, aſked Hyrcanus how he came by ſo many bones? "Sir (ſaid he, looking on the company,) dogs eat bones as well as meat; but men put the bones aſide." This pleaſed the king, who praiſed him, and recommended him to general reſpect. On the following day, Hyrcanus privately inquired of the ſervants, what their maſters intended to preſent the king on the birth of the prince: ſome ſaid twelve talents, and others more or leſs; while Hyrcanus pretended to be uneaſy that he could give only five talents. The ſervants told this to their maſters, thinking the youth would be diſgraced in the king's opinion, by the ſmallneſs of his preſent. On the following day, the higheſt gift was twenty talents, except that of Hyrcanus, who gave the hundred boys and girls, and with each a talent beſides. This gift aſtoniſhed the king and his friends; but

He obtains of Arion 1000 talents, to preſent to the king.

Hyrcanus's poignant repartee.

Superior magnificence of his preſents to the king.

exclusive

exclusive hereof, Hyrcanus gave gratuities to the king's officers, to counteract the plots of his brothers, who had fought his destruction. The conduct of Hyrcanus so struck the king, that he promised to grant any favour he should ask; on which he requested only letters to his father and brothers. Hereupon the king dismissed him honourably, made him princely presents, and gave him the requested letters to his family.

The brethren of Hyrcanus conspire against his life.

When the brothers of Hyrcanus learnt how the king and queen had received him, and how much his reputation was advanced by this expedition, they combined to meet him without the town, and put him to death: nor was their father (who was disgusted at the expence of the presents) wholly unapprised of this affair, though his fear of the king occasioned his concealing it. In fact, the brothers met, and attacked Hyrcanus, whose attendants killed two of them, and wounded several of their followers, the rest escaping to Jerusalem. Hyrcanus proceeded thither; but finding no respect paid him, he went over the river Jordan, where he collected the royal duties from the Barbarians, for the rest of his life. This happened when Seleucus, son of Antiochus the great, reigned over Asia. About this period, Joseph, the father of Hyrcanus, died, after having collected the public duties of Syria, Phœnicia, and Samaria, for twenty-two years; and bearing the character of a courageous and pious man. Near the same period died Onias, the uncle, who was succeeded in the priesthood by his son Simon, who likewise dying, was succeeded by his son Onias; who received, from Arius king of Lacedæmon, an embassy, the contents of which are as follow:

Death of Joseph. and Onias the priest.

ARIUS, King of LACEDÆMON, wishes Health to ONIAS.

Letter from Arius to Onias.

—"AN ancient manuscript having fallen into our hands, proving the relationship between our families, and that we are descended from the line of Abraham, it appears equitable that all possible good offices should be mutually done by persons so nearly related. We therefore offer you every service in our power; and shall henceforward deem your concerns as our own, and consider our interests as the same. Our faithful servant Demoletes will deliver you this letter, which is written on one page in quarto, and sealed with the white figure of an eagle, grasping in her talons a dragon."

Joseph being dead, there were violent disputes between his sons, the elder making war on the younger, and Simon the high-priest, with the majority of the people, taking part with the former. Hyrcanus remained beyond Jordan, engaged in perpetual war with the Arabians, of whom he killed, and carried into captivity, great numbers. In this country he built a wonderful castle, the walls of white stone, with figures of various animals curiously carved on them. A deep ditch or fish-pond was dug round the castle, and in a mountain opposite to it, passages were cut, in length several furlongs, but, for security sake, only wide enough at the mouth for one man to enter. Within the castle were lodging, dining rooms, and other places of entertainment, with stately buildings, courts, gardens, and fountains. This place is on the borders of Arabia, and Judea beyond Jordan, near the land of the Effebonites, and received the name of Tyre. During seven years, which Seleucus reigned in Syria, Hyrcanus held this government. Antiochus succeeded Seleucus: and about this time died Ptolemy king of Egypt, who left two young sons, named Philometer and Physcon. Antiochus being at this time very powerful, Hyrcanus dreading being called to answer for his severities to the Arabians, destroyed himself; and his possessions were seized by Antiochus.

The castle of Hyrcanus.

Death of Hyrcanus by his own hands.

CHAP. III.

ONIAS becomes High-Priest; repairs to ANTIOCH, and renounces Religion. ANTIOCHUS breaks into EGYPT, but is repulsed by the ROMANS.

THE high-priest Onias being dead, Antiochus Epiphanes promoted his brother Jesus to the priesthood, during the minority of his son: but the king being displeased with Jesus, deprived him of the dignity, which he bestowed on the younger brother Onias. Now Jesus took the name of Jason, and Onias that of Menelaus. Hereupon the people were divided into factions: Menelaus being supported by the sons of Tobias, and Jason by the people in general, who proving too powerful, Menelaus and his party retired to Antioch, declaring they would renounce the Jewish worship, and follow that of the Greeks; requesting permission to open an academy at Jerusalem for public exercises. This licence being obtained, they abandoned the laws and customs of the Jews, adhered to those of other nations, and became perfect Greeks in appearance, even when naked.

Ease, and the comfortable settlement of his people at home, induced Antiochus to penetrate into Egypt, encouraged hereto partly by the weakness of the sons of Ptolemy, and partly by ambition. Thus determined, he marched a large army to Pelusium, where he conquered Philometer. He then reduced Memphis and other places; and proceeded to Alexandria, in hope of conquering the king, and taking the place. But the Romans commanding him instantly to withdraw, he abandoned his conquests. Heretofore we have spoken only slightly of this king; but we now proceed to the particulars of his taking Jerusalem.

Antiochus, retreating from Egypt, proceeded immediately with his army to Jerusalem; and having gained over a party in the town, the gates were thrown open to him. Hereupon he plundered the city, put great numbers to the sword, and repaired to Antioch with his treasure. The barbarities

Expedition of Antiochus against Jerusalem, which he plunders, and commits dreadful barbarities and outrages.

barbarities of this outrage were ſuch, that even thoſe who opened the gates to the troops of Antiochus were not ſpared. The ſpoil of the temple was incredible: the holy veſſels, golden candleſticks, golden altar, table of ſhew-bread, curtains, ſilk and linen embroidery, and even the immenſe quantity of concealed treaſure were all carried away. The people were forbid to offer daily ſacrifices, the city was levelled with the ground, and moſt of the inhabitants, men, women, and children, were either killed or made priſoners. The enemy built a tower in the city, commanding a view of the temple, which they fortified, and filled with Macedonians and apoſtate Jews. They built an altar in the temple, on which they ſacrificed hogs, in deriſion of the Jews; whom they utterly diſtreſſed, becauſe they would not renounce the true God. They likewiſe built temples, and altars, on which they offered up ſwine's fleſh, in the other cities and towns. They laid penalties on the Jews for circumciſing their children, and kept people in pay to extort penalties, or to proſecute them; ſo that, in the end, moſt of the Jews ſubmitted to the king's commands: though ſome were found ſo courageous as to brave all dangers, rather than violate their laws and religion. Theſe were firſt ſeverely whipped, and then themſelves and wives crucified, thoſe of their children who had been circumciſed being hung about their necks. Orders were likewiſe given to deſtroy the holy ſcriptures: and that no perſon ſhould poſſeſs them on pain of death.

Duplicity of the Samaritans.

The Samaritans finding the wretched ſtate to which the Jews were reduced, now no longer claimed affinity to them, nor ſpoke of the temple of Gerizim as that of God. They now ſaid they were deſcended from the Medes and Perſians; and reſolved to renounce all connection with the wretched race of the Hebrews. They alſo dedicated their temple at Gerizim to Jupiter, the chief of the heathen deities.

CHAP. IV.

The Meſſengers, who would compel a falſe Worſhip, killed by MATTHIAS and his Sons. The dying Speech and Advice of MATTHIAS.

AT this period, Matthias, a prieſt, lived at Modim, a village of Judæa. He had five ſons, named Johannan, Simon, Judas, Eleazar, and Jonathan. Matthias would frequently lament to his ſons, the wretched ſtate of the Jews, whoſe city was laid waſte, and temple profaned; and he uſed to ſay how much more noble it would be to ſacrifice their lives in defence of their country, religion, and laws, than to live in ſo baſe and ſervile a ſtate.

When the king's officers came to execute the royal orders, they applied to Matthias, as a man whoſe conduct might influence others, and commanded him to worſhip as directed. This he refuſed, ſaying, that if every other perſon ſubmitted, he would not, and would adviſe his ſons never to abandon their ancient religion. While Matthias was thus ſpeaking, a Jew came forward, to ſacrifice according to the new edict; which ſo enraged Matthias and his ſons that they killed not only the Jew, but Apelles, the king's officer, with his guard, who were endeavouring to enforce the new worſhip. The altar was overturned in the conteſt; while Matthias exclaimed, "Follow me, you that regard your honour or religion!" Hereupon Matthias and his ſons retired to the wilderneſs, leaving their property behind them; and were ſoon followed by numbers of people, who reſided in caves a conſiderable time. News hereof being brought to the king's officers, they drew the troops from the caſtle of Jeruſalem, and advancing to the wilderneſs, adviſed the Jews to ſubmiſſion, to prevent the neceſſity of deſtroying them. To this the Jews turned a deaf ear; on which their opponents fixed on the ſabbath for deſtroying them, which they did by burning them in their caves, no reſiſtance being made; for ſuch was the reverence that the Jews had for the day, that, rather than profane it, they would periſh *. About a thouſand men, women, and children were thus ſuffocated underground: but numbers eſcaped, and united themſelves under Matthias. This venerable man now inſtructed them that, in caſe of neceſſity, they ought to defend themſelves on the ſabbath, as well as at other times; or their enemies would always take the advantage, and attack them when no reſiſtance was to be dreaded. They were hereby convinced of the propriety of uſing arms on the ſabbath on urgent occaſions; and the practice has continued to this day. Matthias now drew together all the people who had diſperſed themſelves, and lurked about in dread of the enemy; and finding himſelf at the head of a conſiderable army, deſtroyed the idol altars, put to the ſword ſuch apoſtates as could be found, ordered the circumciſion of children, and drove off ſuch of the king's officers as were appointed to reſtrain that practice.

At

* The modern Iſraelites are not leſs ſtrict (after their way), than their ancient idolatrous brethren were remiſs, in keeping the ſabbath. Buxtorf, in his Account of the religious Cuſtoms and Ceremonies of that people, has given us the following ſingular prohibitions, ſelected from among many others, which regard their obſervance of this holy day.

1. If, on the ſabbath, a Jew arrives at home, or elſewhere, on a horſe or aſs (as, by means of the privilege of the ſabbath-day's journey, he may) he is at liberty to eaſe his beaſt, when he puts him up, by looſing the girths; but it is a profanation to take off the ſaddle. If the beaſt ſhakes it off, all is well enough, ſay the Rabbins; for that is a thing the Jew hath no hand in. But in ſuch a caſe, the Jew muſt let the ſaddle lie, fall how it may.

2. If, on the ſabbath, he leads a horſe with a bridle, he muſt take care that ſuch a portion of the reins hang beneath his hand, or between his hand and the bit, as that he cannot be ſuppoſed, inſtead of leading the horſe, to aſſiſt only in carrying the bridle.

3. It is lawful on the ſabbath-day to leap over a ditch, but not to wade

At the end of a year from this period, Matthias finding that his death approached, ſummoned his ſons, and addreſſed them as follows: "My life is drawing to the cloſe; but ere I leave you, I charge you to be firm in the cauſe I have aſſerted. Remember my advice, and follow it. Maintain the laws and rights of your country, and, if poſſible, reſtore order to a nation almoſt buried in confuſion: nor aſſociate with thoſe who have betrayed it. Diſgrace not your father; but, deſpiſing all dangers,

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wade through the water, leſt, ſay the Rabbins, a neceſſity ſhould ariſe for profaning the day, by drying the ſtockings.

4. A Jew is not to wear a ſword, or any ſuch thing as a weapon or warlike accoutrement, on the ſabbath: nor is a taylor, at this time, to go out of his houſe with a needle ſticking on his clothes.

5. The paralytic, and the lame perſon, who cannot walk without a ſtick or cane, is permitted the uſe of one on the ſabbath: but the blind, who are not lame, muſt handle no ſuch thing. The uſe of ſtilts, for paſſing over water or dirt, is at this time unlawful; becauſe, ſay the Rabbins, very ſagaciouſly, though the ſtilts ſeem to carry a man, yet in fact 'tis the man who carries them: and no one muſt incumber himſelf with any thing, on the ſabbath, that hath but the ſmalleſt reſemblance to, or the leaſt nature of, a burden.

6. A plaiſter that is on a wound may be continued; but if it drops off, it is not to be put on again, nor any thing in its ſtead, till the ſabbath is gone.

7. A Jew ought not to carry either gold or ſilver, or any ſort of money about him on the ſabbath: and if at any time he finds a purſe of money, he is not to meddle with it.

8. While the dirt which is upon his coat, cloak, or ſtockings is moiſt, he may ſcrape it off with the nails of his fingers; but if it is dry, he muſt let it remain till the ſabbath is ended; becauſe, ſay the Rabbins, the ſcraping it off when it is dry, makes a duſt; which gives the matter the look of pounding or grinding. If his hands happen to be bedaubed with dirt, he may wipe them upon a cow's tail, or upon the mane or tail of a horſe, but not with a towel, or any linen whatever, leſt a neceſſity ſhould ariſe, of which he would be the cauſe, of waſhing it before the ſabbath is ſpent.

9. If a Jew ſpies a flea upon him on the ſabbath, he is not to catch it, unleſs it bites him; in which caſe he may lay hold of it, if he can, and throw it from him; but he muſt be ſure not to kill it; becauſe a flea, ſay the Rabbins, was created, like other creatures, out of the earth: but he may crack a louſe; becauſe, ſays the ſame learned gentleman, a louſe is generated, not of the earth, but of the ſweat of man's body. But in this latter caſe, the rabbinical body is oppoſed by Rabbi Eliezer, who in the Talmud maintains, that he who cracks a louſe on the ſabbath, is as guilty as he who on that day kills a camel. And there are many doubts upon the matter to this day.

10. A Jew is forbidden to climb a tree upon the ſabbath, leſt he ſhould rub or break any thing off; the ſtripping of the ſmalleſt twig at that time being judged a profanation.

11. If corn be thrown to poultry on the ſabbath, care muſt be taken that the feathered family pick it all up, or that it be thrown to them in a place to which no rain can come, leſt any of the grain ſhould take root and germinate; for, in ſuch caſe, this, ſay the Rabbins, would be ſowing on the ſabbath; a crime for which there is no expiation.

12. If, on the ſabbath, a Jew arrives from ſea at an harbour, he is not to go aſhore till the ſabbath is over, unleſs he is cloſely purſued, and his life is in danger.

We ſhall cloſe this ſubject, by adding a curious narrative concerning it, taken from a Jewiſh writer.

"Once upon a time three Jews, who were together upon a journey, being overtaken by the ſabbath in a wood, at a great diſtance from any houſe or cottage where they might lodge, one of them ſaid, What is to be done? The road is infeſted with robbers, and the wood is full of wild beaſts: is it not, therefore, more adviſeable for us to go forward, than to expoſe ourſelves to ſuch a hoſt of dangers, by ſtopping here, out of a ſcrupulous regard for the ſabbath? With two of them this queſtion paſſed in the affirmative; while the other ſaid, he was reſolved not to ſtir a ſtep further till the ſabbath was paſſed. "God," ſaid he, "who hath commanded us to reſt on the ſabbath, is able to preſerve me from danger in the very heart of this wood." And accordingly there he pitched his tent and ſtaid; while his companions purſued their way, and thereby violated the ſabbath.

"Being not without a viaticum and a little furniture for the table, he ſpread a napkin on the ground, and ſet out his ſupper; which having hallowed with the cuſtomary prayers and benedictions, he fell to with great chearfulneſs and appetite; when a fierce and frightful bear of monſtrous ſize preſented himſelf at the tree, and beheld him with ſuch looks of cruelty and famine, that the bones of the good Jew rattled with horror. But in an inſtant recovering his preſence of mind, and ſtrengthening his heart with this reflection, that God was able to preſerve him, he threw to the bear a lump of bread; and the bear ate it and kept his ſtation, without the leaſt attempt to plunder or moleſt him. The Jew, obſerving his viſitor to be ſo well diſpoſed, took courage, and finiſhed his ſupper without farther compliment; while the bear looked on, without any token of diſcoatent that he taſted no farther of the Jew's hoſpitality.

"Supper being over, the Jew betook himſelf to nocturnal prayer, and after that, to ſleep. The bear lay down by him, and the Jew ſlept ſoundly; and all went well during the whole night, the Jew not awaking till the morning; when finding the ſavage creature ſtretch'd at his repoſe hard by him, and conſidering how peaceably things had been carried, and the manifeſt tokens of friendſhip and good humour on the ſide of the bear, he lifted up his eyes to the heavens in raptures of gratitude, and betook himſelf with a joyful heart to the religious offices of the morning, praiſing God with a fervid boſom for ſo amazing an inſtance of his love and protection. In a word, there he dined and ſupped, and performed all the religious offices of the day; the bear attending him all the time as a guard, and behaving as upon duty, not once offering him the leaſt moleſtation.

"The ſabbath being over, the good Jew purſued his way; while the bear, who was not yet at the end of his commiſſion, marched behind him, keeping him company all that night. Before morning this bleſſed Iſraelite was met by his two fellow-travellers, who had left him in the wood, and who this night had fallen into the hands of villains who had robbed them of all they had. As ſoon as the bear beheld theſe violaters of the ſabbath, he flew upon them with all his fierceneſs, and tore them to pieces, to the great aſtoniſhment and terror of the good Jew, who now ſhook with apprehenſion that the bear would next fall upon him. While he was in this fright, he was accoſted by the villains who had robbed his companions. They aſked him who he was, and from whence he came? Truſting in God, and not being aſhamed of his nation or religion, he replied, that he was a Jew, and that he came from court (he meant the ſabbath, but they believed he meant the court of the ſovereign of the country). They then aſked him, how he came to be attended by the bear? for they obſerved the creature reſpected him. He anſwered, the king had commanded that the bear ſhould accompany him. Upon which, the robbers whiſpered to one another—This Jew muſt needs be a great favourite of the king, ſince his majeſty hath given him this bear for company. Let us, ſaid one of them, give him all our money, and ſee him ſafe out of the wood: it may be an obligation that will prevent his giving notice of us at court, and cauſing us to be apprehended." This being agreed to, they loaded the Jew with a preſent of all their wealth; and, having ſeen him ſafe out of the wood, they left him, as did likewiſe the bear, who then returned to his home. *Valete et plaudite.*

riſk

riſk your lives when your country demands them, aſſured that a reſtoration to your former liberty will be the recompence that God will beſtow. It is true, that our bodies are mortal; but great actions immortaliſe our memories; and to ſuch actions I would have you aſpire. I moſt earneſtly adviſe you to concord with each other, and to conſider how the abilities of each may beſt promote the intereſt of you all. For inſtance; Simon has a depth of judgment; let him be your counſellor. Maccabæus is diſtinguiſhed by his valour and military ſkill: appoint him your general. On the whole, attend to what you have in view, and rely on the ſupport of all men of honour and virtue."

This dying ſpeech of Matthias to his ſons being concluded, with his prayers that God would ſucceed their attempts to relieve their countrymen from their oppreſſions, he departed this life, and was interred at Modim. He was buried in a decent and honourable manner; and ſoon after his interment, the adminiſtration of affairs was placed in the hands of his ſon Judas, otherwiſe called Maccabæus, in the one hundred and forty-ſixth year from Seleucus the firſt. The brothers of Judas gave him ſuch aid, that they ſoon drove the enemy from the country, deſtroyed the principal delinquents, and cleared the land from all defilements.

The ſucceſſion of Judas to the command of the army being notified to Apollonius, governor of Samaria, he advanced againſt him: but Judas met and routed him, deſtroying great numbers of his people on the ſpot, killing Apollonius with his own hand, and carrying off his ſword. The ſpoil taken in the camp was very great.

Seron, governor of Cœlo-Syria, being informed of this victory, and that reinforcements were conſtantly coming to Judas, reſolved to give him battle; conſidering himſelf as bound to reduce thoſe whom he deemed rebels. Having joined a number of fugitive Jews with his own people, he marched and encamped at Bethoron, a village of Judæa. Judas prepared to defend himſelf: but finding his ſoldiers diſcouraged, addreſſed them as follows: "Brother ſoldiers; depend not on yourſelves, but on God for victory: confidence in him is ſuperior to that in multitudes of men. The hiſtory of our anceſtors confirms this truth; who, with ſmall numbers, have routed thouſands, in defence of their religion, freedom, laws, and families. Truth muſt prevail, and innocence ſhall remain unconquered." Thus ſaying, he led his people to the battle, in which they fought moſt courageouſly, killing Seron on the ſpot, and defeating the army of the Aſſyrians, who ſeeing their general fall, betook themſelves to flight; each man ſeeking his own ſafety. Judas purſued them to the plain, many eſcaping toward the ſea-ſide; but about eight hundred were ſlain in the field.

CHAP. V.

LYSIAS commands the Army of ANTIOCHUS. JUDAS MACCABÆUS defeats LYSIAS. JUDAS proceeds to JERUSALEM, and purifies the Temple. The GALILEANS demand his Aſſiſtance.

THESE repeated misfortunes induced Antiochus to raiſe an extraordinary army of his own people, joined with Greek forces, with which he propoſed to invade Judæa in the ſpring; but his natural benevolence, ſuperadded to the late troubles, had cauſed ſuch a deficiency in the ſupplies, that he found the expence of war would be more than proportioned to the revenue. Hereupon he reſolved to go firſt to Perſia, to collect caſh; and, during his abſence, left the command of the country between Ægypt and Euphrates, with the care of ſome of his troops and elephants, to Lyſias, a man of tried integrity; to whom he alſo committed the care of his ſon Antiochus, till he ſhould return: and he determined that when he had reduced Judæa, and ſold the inhabitants for ſlaves, the whole country ſhould be deſtroyed. On iſſuing theſe orders, he paſſed the Euphrates, in the year one hundred and forty-ſeven.

In order to execute this commiſſion, Lyſias placed Ptolemy, ſon of Dorymenes, with Gorgias and Nicanor, at the head of forty thouſand foot, and ſeven thouſand horſe, commanding them to march into Judæa. Having encamped on the plain of Emmaus, they were joined by numbers of Syrians, and thoſe of other countries, with vagabond Jews; likewiſe merchants, and traders, who brought fetters to ſecure their priſoners. Judas was provided with an army of force; but he bade them not truſt in their own ſtrength, but implore the protection of heaven, by wearing ſackcloth, by faſting and prayer. This being done, he divided his people into regiments, troops, and companies; having firſt diſmiſſed the men lately married, and ſuch as had made new purchaſes: Gorgias, with five thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe, conducted by ſome apoſtate Jews, intended to ſurpriſe Judas at night. Hereupon he thought of counteracting the enemy, by attempting to burn the camp, when part of the troops had left it. To effect this, he ordered ſeveral fires to be made in his own camp, and then marched in the night towards Emmaus, where the enemy was encamped. In the interim, Gorgias finding the Jews' camp deſerted, ſuppoſed he had little elſe to do than to diſcover and deſtroy them. At day-break Judas, with three thouſand men, arrived at the enemy's camp, and found them well provided: whereupon he told them, that they might ſafely engage, even if unarmed, for the Providence of God was their ſpecial protection. Thus ſaying, he ordered the charge to be ſounded, broke in on them, and put numbers of them to the ſword, purſuing them to Gadara, while the reſt flew to the plains of Jamnia, Idumæa, and Azotus. About three thouſand were ſlain; but Judas would not permit his troops to touch the ſpoil, becauſe Gorgias was yet unconquered; but he ſaid, when his troops were conquered, they might ſeize the booty. He had ſcarce ſpoke theſe words when the ſoldiers of Gorgias, who were ſtationed on an adjacent hill, ſaw their camp ſmoaking, and their

friends dead, while the enemy were ſtill able to renew the attack, on which they diſperſed in confuſion. The victory being thus eaſily obtained, Judas permitted his people to pillage the field, in which they found gold, ſilver, ſcarlet and purple veſtments, and other valuable booty, which they carried off in triumph, ſinging and praiſing God for the victory.

This defeat ſo mortified Lyſias, that in the following year he entered Judæa with an army of ſixty thouſand foot, and five thouſand horſe, and encamped at Bethſura. Judas, undiſmayed by ſuch numbers, advanced with only ten thouſand men, and having offered up a ſhort prayer for ſucceſs, attacked the enemy, forced their lines, and killed five hundred on the ſpot. The army of Lyſias was ſo ſtruck with this ſhock, that they determined to conquer or die: but the commander, marking this effort of deſpair, withdrew them to Antioch, where he obtained reinforcements, in hopes of greater ſucceſs on a future occaſion.

Animated by theſe ſucceſſes, Judas encouraged the Jews to rely on the continued protection of God, and to march to Jeruſalem, there to offer ſacrifices, and cleanſe the temple. Arriving there, they found the gates burnt, the temple abandoned, and weeds overſpreading the courts; ſo that they wept at the deplorable ſituation of the place. Judas ordered his people to attack the citadel, while he took care of the cleanſing of the temple; which he furniſhed with utenſils, veſſels, a candleſtick, a table, and an altar of incenſe, all of pure gold. He likewiſe ſupplied new doors, and put up veils and hangings on the walls. The altar, which had been profaned by ſacrifices and burnt-offerings to idols, was alſo removed; and a new one, of unhewn ſtone (agreeable to the directions of Moſes), placed in its ſtead. Lighted tapers were placed in the candleſtick, incenſe offered on the altar, ſhew-bread placed on the table, and burnt-offerings made, on the 25th of the month Caſleu, juſt three years after the temple had been profaned by Antiochus: and this ceremony of the purification was repeated on the ſame day, in the one hundred and forty-eighth year of the Olympiad, agreeable to a prediction of the prophet Daniel.

Judas continued this feſtival eight days, with ſacrifices, rejoicing, and feaſting, while the air reſounded with notes of thankſgiving and praiſe, and the people were indulged in all reaſonable gratifications. The public joy was ſo great on this reſtoration of religion and law, that an anniverſary, of eight days celebration, was appointed to be held for ever, and which is ſtill called the "Feaſt of Lights;" which, I preſume, alludes to that light which Heaven on this occaſion peculiarly granted. In the interim, Judas cauſed the walls of the city to be repaired, and fortified with towers; he alſo ſtationed a garriſon at Bethſura, and effectually fortified the place.

The increaſing power of the Jews inſtigated the neighbouring nations to do them every poſſible injury; and many of them they deſtroyed by artifice, while Judas did his utmoſt to defeat their machinations. At this period he attacked Acrabatan, where he got great booty, after deſtroying the Edomites, and blocking up the ſons of Baan (their commander) in fortified places, where they lay to attack the Jews; but theſe places were taken, and laid in aſhes, thoſe who protected them being deſtroyed. When Judas had routed theſe people, he attacked the Ammonites, commanded by Timotheus; conquered them, took the city of Jazar, ſet it on fire, made captives of the wives and children, and returned in triumph. As ſoon as he was gone, the people aſſembled at Galaad, and attempted to ſurpriſe the Jews in that diſtrict; who taking refuge in the fortreſs of Dametha, informed Judas that Timotheus meant to attack them, and begged his aſſiſtance. At this inſtant meſſengers from Galilee brought complaint to Judas, that a conſpiracy was formed againſt them by the inhabitants of Ptolemais, Tyre, and Sidon.

CHAP. VI.

GALILEE relieved by SIMON, Brother of JUDAS. A Victory obtained over the AMMONITES by JUDAS and JONATHAN. JUDAS tranſports the JEWS near GALAAD into JUDÆA. JUDAS takes EPHRON by Aſſault, and puts all the Men to the Sword. GORGIAS defeats JOSEPH and AZARIAS.

SIMON, the brother of Judas, was now ſent, with three hundred ſelect men, to aſſiſt the Jews at Galilee, while himſelf and Jonathan, his other brother, marched with eight thouſand, to Galaad; the reſt of the army being left to the care of Joſeph and Azarias, with orders not to fight till he came back again. When Simon arrived at Galilee he attacked the enemy, and deſtroyed three thouſand, purſuing them to the gates of Ptolemais. Having ſtripped the vanquiſhed, they redeemed the priſoners with the ſpoils, and returned to Jeruſalem with them.

Judas and his brother Jonathan having marched three days into the wilderneſs beyond Jordan, the Nabathites received them amicably, and informed them of the diſtreſs of their countrymen confined in Galaad, adviſing them to haſten to relieve them, by the way of the deſert. During this expedition they reduced the town of Baraſa, burnt it, and put to the ſword all who were capable of bearing arms. Night now advanced; but Judas proceeded to a caſtle, in which he had learnt ſome Jews were beſieged. Arriving there early in the morning, he found the enemy prepared to ſcale the place; on which he ſeparated his troops into three diviſions, and exhorted them to be valiant, in aid of their countrymen; whereupon, on the ſecond trumpet ſounding, the enemy was attacked in the rear. Timotheus finding that Judas was the commander, his men precipitately fled, being purſued by the

Jews, who killed eight thouſand of them. During the purſuit Judas took the city of Mallam, which was deſtroyed by fire, all the male inhabitants being put to death. This fate likewiſe attended Caſphan, Boſor, and other places, of which conqueſt was made.

Timotheus aſſembling a large army, aided by a band of Arabians and other forces, paſſed the river, and encamped near Raphan, where he animated his troops to behave courageouſly, and prevent the Jews paſſing that river, on which, he ſaid, the iſſue of the war depended. Judas finding that Timotheus was prepared for battle, paſſed the river, attacked and routed him, his people ſeeking their ſafety in flight. Some of them repaired to the temple of Carnaim, in hope of protection: but Judas deſtroyed the town, put the inhabitants to the ſword, and cauſed the temple to be burnt.

He now collected the Iſraelites in Galaad, and carried them into Judæa, with their families and effects. As the city of Ephron was in his direct road, he aſked for permiſſion to paſs through it; but this being denied, he prepared his troops to attack it; and conquered it in one day and night, putting all the men to the ſword, reducing the place to aſhes, and marching his army over the bodies of the dead. Having paſſed the river Jordan, he proceeded through the plain of Bethſan to Judæa, the people offering ſacrifices, and ſinging ſongs and hymns of joy, in gratitude for their ſafety; for not a ſingle Jew was loſt in all this expedition.

Simon having marched into Galilee againſt the people of Ptolemais; Judas and his brother Jonathan being gone againſt thoſe of Galaad; Joſeph and Azarias, who had been left as a guard in Judæa, in the abſence of Simon, thought it diſgraceful not to diſtinguiſh themſelves; they therefore proceeded to Jamnia, where Gorgias, the governor, encountered them, killed two thouſand of them, and purſued their ſhattered forces to the confines of Judæa. This misfortune befell them, in conſequence of diſobeying their commander, whoſe orders were "not to fight till he came back again."

In the interim, Judas carried on a vigorous war againſt the Edomites; for, beſides the deſtruction of Hebron, they demoliſhed Mariſſa, and plundered Azotus, returning to Jeruſalem in all the pride of conqueſt.

At this time Antiochus, proceeding through his higher provinces, was informed of a rich city in Perſia, named Elymais, in which was a grand temple dedicated to Diana, containing ſumptuous preſents of all kinds, and, among the reſt, the ſhields and breaſt-plates of Alexander, ſon of Philip, king of Macedon. This information ſo ſtruck Antiochus, that he proceeded with his army to aſſault the place; but the inhabitants reſiſted bravely, drove him off, and purſued his forces even to Babylon, deſtroying numbers of them in the purſuit. While he was lamenting this defeat, news arrived that his other troops, who had been deſtined to attack the Jews, were diſcomfited, and that the ſtrength of thoſe people increaſed daily. Oppreſſed with theſe repeated misfortunes, he fell ſick; and finding himſelf near death, ſummoned his friends to attend him, and told them the cauſe of his diſorder. "My puniſhment (ſaid he) is but juſt, for profaning the temple of the Jews, and deſpiſing the God of heaven;" and having ſaid theſe words, he departed this life. I am aſtoniſhed at Polybius (otherwiſe a writer of credit) who aſcribes this judgment on Antiochus, to his deſign of rifling the temple of Diana: whereas his ſacrilege on the temple of Jeruſalem was actually committed; and the imputation of his calamities and death to that act, would have been therefore more reaſonable and juſt.

CHAP. VII.

ANTIOCHUS EUPATOR, Son and Succeſſor of ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES, is proclaimed King by LYSIAS. JERUSALEM beſieged by JUDAS. ANTIOCHUS lays Siege to BETHSURA. The Death of ELEAZAR. JUDAS returns to the Siege of JERUSALEM. The Temple is bravely defended.

WHEN Antiochus found his death was approaching, he ſent for a confidential friend named Philip, to whom he committed the crown, royal robes, and ſignet, in truſt for his ſon Antiochus, then under age, adjuring him to ſuperintend the education of his ſon, and ſecure the crown till he ſhould be fit to govern. The event of his death, which happened in the year one hundred and forty-nine, was no ſooner announced, than Lyſias proclaimed his ſon king, by the name of Eupator.

Jeruſalem beſieged by Judas.

In the mean time, the Macedonians, who, with ſome revolted Jews, were ſtationed in Jeruſalem, ſallied out to prevent the Jews worſhipping in the temple, which was eaſily done, as it was commanded by the caſtle. Hereupon Judas ordered machines and battering-engines to be prepared, to aſſault the place; but while this was doing, ſundry perſons deſerted to Antiochus, and repreſented their unhappy ſituation, in obeying his commands, by which they were likely to become captives to Judas. On this the young prince ordered his troops to be collected, and diſciplined, and that new levies ſhould be raiſed, which ſoon produced an army of twenty thouſand horſe, one hundred thouſand foot, and thirty-two elephants. Thus provided, he marched from Antioch to Idumæa, and thence to Bethſura, a place fortified by art and nature. This place he aſſaulted in vain; for all his efforts were fruſtrated. In the interim Judas, hearing of his approach, raiſed the ſiege, marched to meet him, and pitched his tents about thirty furlongs from him, in the ſtreights of Bethzachariah. Antiochus leaving the Bethzarites, encamped near Judas, directing his army to march and arrange themſelves in order by day-

day-light; but the narrowneſs of the place obliged them to go in defiles, one elephant preceding a thouſand foot and five hundred horſe; the elephants having on their backs caſtles filled with archers; while the other troops aſcended the hills, under the command of officers of experienced valour. They made the attack from this height with the loudeſt acclamations, ſo that the vallies re-echoed with the noiſe: but Judas received them undauntedly, and killed ſix hundred on the firſt attack. During the engagement, Eleazar, brother of Judas, obſerving an elephant more gaily capariſoned than the reſt, and preſuming that the king rode this beaſt, forced himſelf through the guards, killed ſeveral of his opponents, got under the elephant's belly, and wounded him mortally; but was himſelf cruſhed to death by the weight of the beaſt in falling.

Valiant exploit of Eleazar.

Antiochus takes Bethſura.

At length Judas, finding the number of the enemy too great for him, returned to the ſiege of Jeruſalem, while part of the army of Antiochus went to the ſame place, and the reſt to Bethſura. The number of troops, ſuperadded to the want of proviſions, ſo diſcouraged the people of Bethſura, that they agreed to deliver up the place, on condition that no violence ſhould be offered to them. As far as preſerving their lives, Antiochus kept his engagement, but drove the inhabitants naked from the town, and placed his own people in their ſtead. The temple, however, was obſtinately defended, every attack of the enemy being counter-worked: but the people were diſtreſſed for want of bread; for this happening when the ſtores of the laſt year were eaten, and in the ſeventh year, when the Jews, by their laws, could neither plow nor ſow, many of them abandoned the place in want of proviſions; ſo that very few were left to defend it.

He retires from the ſiege of Jeruſalem.

At this time the king, and Lyſias his general, received information that the government was uſurped by Philip, who was marching out of Perſia towards them, at the head of his army: on which they reſolved to abandon the ſiege, and attack him; but to keep their intention ſo ſecret, that neither officers nor ſoldiers ſhould judge of their deſign. To effect which, the king bade Lyſias repreſent to them the ſtrength of the place, and how tedious a buſineſs it would be to take it: that corn grew ſcarce; that the king was wanted in another place; and the beſt way would be to yield the people the uſe of their religion and laws, which being all they contended for, the king might depart at his pleaſure. This propoſal was highly acceptable to the army.

The temple delivered up to Antiochus, who breaks his engagement, and cauſes Onias to be ſlain.

This plan being laid, Antiochus ſent a meſſenger to offer peace to the beſieged, with full liberty of conſcience and the enjoyment of their rights, which he bound himſelf by oath to protect; on which they delivered up the temple: but he immediately, contrary to his engagements, levelled the walls with the ground, and carried the high-prieſt Onias (otherwiſe Menelaus) with him to Antioch. This was done in conſequence of the advice of Lyſias, who ſaid that Onias muſt be deſtroyed if ever he wiſhed to live at eaſe, or ſee the Jews in peaceable ſubjection, for he had inſtigated his father to compel them to a religion contrary to their opinion. Hereupon Onias was ſent to Berrhœa in Syria, where he was ſlain, by the king's order, after being high-prieſt ten years. Onias was a bad man, who, to ſecure himſelf in power, had cauſed the Jews to depart from their laws and worſhip. Alcimus, otherwiſe called Jacimus, was his ſucceſſor.

Philip having now aſſumed the government, Antiochus marched againſt, conquered, made him priſoner, and ordered his being put to death. The king having given the prieſthood to Alcimus, who was not of the ſacerdotal line, the young ſon of Onias departed to Ptolemy, king of Ægypt, and was received favourably by him and his queen Cleopatra, who gave him a port in Heliopolis, where he built a temple, modelled after that at Jeruſalem.

CHAP. VIII.

TRIPOLIS ſeized by DEMETRIUS. ANTIOCHUS and LYSIAS put to Death. JUDAS complained of to DEMETRIUS, by ALCIMUS. An Army ſent againſt JUDAS, and the Prieſthood ſettled on ALCIMUS. He puts the Friends of JUDAS to Death, and then flies for Support to DEMETRIUS.

Demetrius ſeizes on Tripolis, aſſumes the crown, and puts Antiochus and Lyſias to death.

ABOUT this time, Demetrius, the ſon of Seleucus, having fled from Rome, ſeized Tripolis, in Syria, aſſumed the crown, and invaded the country, the people of which readily ſubmitted, and delivered to him Antiochus and Lyſias as priſoners, whom he ordered to inſtant death. In the train of Demetrius were great numbers of profligate Jews, who had been baniſhed for various offences. Theſe were headed by Alcimus, the high-prieſt; they bitterly inveighed againſt the Jews in general, but particularly againſt Judas and his brethren, whom they accuſed of deſtroying numbers of the king's friends, and driving the complainants out of the country: they therefore deſired Demetrius to ſend ſome perſon to Judæa, to witneſs what devaſtation Judas had been guilty of.

Bacchides enſnares and ill-treats the Jews.

Hereupon Demetrius joined Bacchides, governor of Meſopotamia, in a commiſſion with Alcimus, and diſpatched them with an army, to attack Judas and his adherents. Bacchides marched from Antioch to Judæa, where he invited Judas to treat on terms of friendſhip: but his deſign was only to enſnare him. Judas reflecting that with ſuch an army he could not come as a friend, ſtood on his guard, and gave no credit to his profeſſions; but ſome of his people went over to the oppoſite party, preſuming that their countryman, Alcimus,

Alcimus, would not injure them; eſpecially, as a ſolemn oath was ſworn that they ſhould be ſafe: but, in violation of this oath, Bacchides cauſed ſixty of them to be immediately ſlain; which perfidious act prevented any more from approaching him. This being done, Bacchides went to Bethſeth, where he cauſed ſeveral deſerters and other diſaffected people to be ſlain; and leaving part of his army to protect the province, he returned to Demetrius at Antioch, having firſt iſſued orders that Alcimus ſhould be obeyed in his abſence.

Alcimus inimical and cruel to the Jews.

During this period, the views of Alcimus were directed to ſecure himſelf in the office of high-prieſt; to effect which, he endeavoured to ingratiate himſelf with the people by fair words and obliging behaviour; by which he ſoon doubled the number of forces that had been left with him; but they conſiſted chiefly of renegades, deſtroying ſuch Jews as were friends to Judas, wherever they met them. Judas reflecting on this conduct of a ſet of abandoned wretches, had recourſe to the laws of retaliation againſt Alcimus, who finding himſelf unequal to the conteſt, retired haſtily to Demetrius, at Antioch, whom he irritated againſt Judas, ſetting forth the great miſchief he had already done, and the farther danger to be apprehended from him, unleſs an army was ſent to check his proceedings.

CHAP. IX.

NICANOR ſent with an Army againſt JUDAS, and endeavours by Treachery to inveigle him. NICANOR's Army conquered by JUDAS, and himſelf ſlain. ALCIMUS dies ſuddenly. The People chuſe JUDAS for his Succeſſor. JUDAS forms an Alliance with the ROMANS.

Nicanor commiſſioned to attack Judas, and deſtroy his forces.

DEMETRIUS, uneaſy at the growing power of Judas, and fearful of its conſequences, gave the command of a large army to Nicanor, whom he commiſſioned to attack Judas, and afford no quarter to his troops. Nicanor proceeded on this commiſſion; but conſidering that his opponent might poſſibly be ruined by the arts of treachery, he ſent for Judas, to whom he ſaid. "Wherefore ſhould we riſk all on the uncertain chance of war, when we may better adjuſt matters by negociation? I pledge my moſt ſolemn oath for your ſecurity. Peace alone is my object; which you may imagine by the number of friends I have brought with me, to teſtify our maſter's goodwill and affection to all the Jewiſh race." This ſpeech had ſuch an effect, that Nicanor and his friends were received with frankneſs; on which Nicanor gave a hint to ſeize Judas: but the latter had the happineſs to diſcover the plot, and retreated in time to his own people. This detection of treachery put an end to all thought of treaty, and a battle was fought near Capharſalama, in which Judas was routed, and retired to the caſtle of Jeruſalem for refuge.

His treachery detected.

Nicanor happening to paſs near the temple, a number of prieſts and elders met him, and ſhewed him the ſacrifices they were going to offer for the happineſs of Demetrius. On this, Nicanor profanely ſwore, that if Judas was not delivered up to him, he would ſoon return, deſtroy the temple, and leave it in utter ruin. The prieſts, in great dejection, prayed that God would protect his temple and his miniſters from the fury of the foe. Nicanor now left Jeruſalem and encamped at Bethoron, where a great force from Syria joined him. In the interim Judas pitched his tents at Adaſi, about thirty furlongs from the enemy, having only a thouſand men under his command. He encouraged his troops by ſaying, that though the number of the enemy was great, they fought in the cauſe of God, whoſe power could cruſh multitudes; and adviſed them rather to think on their own valour, than the numbers they were to encounter. "Attack them courageouſly (ſaid he) and leave the reſt to heaven." A battle enſued, at firſt vigorous on both ſides; but Nicanor (after performing wonders of valour) being killed, and many of his forces, his people threw away their arms, and fled with the utmoſt precipitation. In the interim Judas purſued the fugitives, to whom he gave no quarter; proclaiming his victory by ſound of trumpet in all the cities and towns he paſſed through. This brought together the country people, who attacked the fugitives with ſuch fury, that not a man eſcaped of the whole army, which had conſiſted of nine thouſand. This happened on the thirteenth of the month Adar, in the memory of which we to this day celebrate an annual thankſgiving. After this victory, the Jews had ſome reſpite from war, and hope of future peace; but this was of ſhort continuance.

Nicanor killed, and his army routed.

Death of Alcimus, the high-prieſt, who is ſucceeded by Judas.

The high-prieſt, Alcimus, now gave orders for pulling down the old wall of the ſanctuary, and demoliſhing the whole works of the ancient prophets: but had no ſooner ſpoken than he dropped down ſpeechleſs to the ground, languiſhed awhile, and then died, after having been high-prieſt four years. On his death, the people unanimouſly choſe Judas to ſucceed him. The new high-prieſt was diſpoſed to enter into a league with the Romans, from their fame in conquering the Gauls, Spaniards, Carthaginians, &c. Hereupon he diſpatched his friends, Eupolemus the ſon of John, and Jaſon the ſon of Eleazar, as embaſſadors to Rome, requeſting that they might be received as allies, and that Demetrius might be applied to, not to trouble the Jews any farther. This propoſal proved agreeable to the ſenate, who conſented to the league, cauſed this conſent to be engraved on tables of braſs, depoſited the original in the capitol, and ſent a copy of it to Jeruſalem. The purport of the articles was, "That no people ſubject to the Romans ſhould hereafter make war on the Jews, or ſupply their enemies with money, ſhipping, corn, &c. and that the Jews ſhould be

Treaty of alliance with the Romans.

be held to the ſame terms, in caſe the Romans ſhould be attacked. That if the Jews demanded any future alteration of their agreement, the conſent of the whole people ſhould be neceſſary to ratify it." Eupolemus the ſon of John, Jaſon ſon of Eleazar, Judas the high-prieſt, and Simon his brother, commander of the army, regiſtered this reſolution of the ſenate. This is the firſt alliance which the Jews and the Romans made.

CHAP. X.

DEMETRIUS ſends BACCHIDES into JUDEA, with an Army. JUDAS encounters him with only eight hundred Men. The Magnanimity of JUDAS.

Bacchides ſent into Judea with an army.

DEMETRIUS hearing of the death of Nicanor, and the defeat of the army, diſpatched Bacchides again into Judea, with freſh troops. This general encamped at Arbela, a town of Galilee, where he forced many Jews from the caves to which they had retreated. Hence he repaired to Jeruſalem, where he learnt that Judas and his aſſociates were at Bethſeth, to which place he marched with twenty-two thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe; while Judas had only a thouſand men, two hundred of whom deſerted him. Thus diſtreſſed for men, and having no opportunity of recruiting his forces, yet Judas reſolved to hazard a battle, and encouraged his people to ſtand by him in all extremities. They repreſented to him how vain an attempt it would be, to engage againſt ſuch ſuperior numbers; and adviſed him rather to retreat with caution, and recruit his forces. To this Judas replied, "It ſhall never be ſaid of me that I turn my back to an enemy. If it be the will of God that we now fall, let his will be done; but let us not, by an ignominious death, deſtroy all the credit of a life of glory." His ſoldiers were ſo animated by this ſpeech that they reſolved to abide the conteſt.

Battle between Judas and Bacchides, in which the former nobly dies in defence of his country.

The army of Bacchides was diſpoſed in the following manner. The front was compoſed of light armed men and archers, ſupported by a body of Macedonians, while there were two wings of horſe, the right wing being commanded by Bacchides. In this diſpoſition they advanced towards the enemy, ſounded a charge, gave a loud ſhout, and began the attack. The forces of Judas ſuſtained the ſhock bravely. The battle continued from morning till near ſun-ſet, when Judas ſeeing Bacchides with his right wing preſſing hard on his men, relieved them with a band of courageous youths, who broke their line, and purſued them as far as Aza. The left wing of the enemy now purſued Judas ſo cloſely, that, ſeeing no chance of eſcape, he and his adherents determined to ſell their lives dearly, and fought their enemies till they were overcome through mere fatigue. Judas being killed in the battle, his troops fled; but his brothers, Simon and Jonathan, having prevailed on the enemy to give them his body, carried it to Modim, where it was interred with great pomp, in the family ſepulchre, and a public mourning of ſeveral days appointed in honour of his memory. Thus died Judas Maccabæus, a brave and benevolent man, who forgot not the injunction of his father Matthias, who commanded him to decline no danger in defence of his countrymen; in compliance with which injunction, he obtained great honour while he was three years high-prieſt; and by relieving his friends from the hands of the Macedonians.

BOOK XIII.

Containing the HISTORY of the JEWISH TRANSACTIONS, from the YEAR of the WORLD 3804, to 3898.

CHAP. I.

JUDAS ſucceeded by JONATHAN, who, with SIMON, retires to the Wilderneſs, and they are purſued by BACCHIDES. JOHN and his Companions deſtroyed by the Sons of AMARÆUS. JONATHAN aſſaulted by BACCHIDES on the Sabbath. JONATHAN deſtroys Two Thouſand of the Enemy, and retreats. BACCHIDES fortifies the Citadel of JERUSALEM, and other Places. Revenge taken for the Death of JOHN. BACCHIDES puts to Death Fifty Jewiſh Deſerters. JONATHAN and SIMON fortify themſelves in BETHALAGA.

Malice of the apoſtate Jews.

IMMEDIATELY after the death of Judas, the apoſtate Jews reſumed their ancient enmity, and perſecuted their honeſt countrymen with more malice than before. A general famine now ſpread over the land; ſo that through diſtreſs for bread on one hand, and the difficulty of defending themſelves againſt their enemies

on the other, many of the Jews were in a manner compelled to adhere to the faction of the Macedonians. Bacchides now entrusted a principal share of the government to the apostate Jews, who seized the former friends of Judas, and delivered them to Bacchides, who tortured them to death. The Jews were never so deplorably miserable since the Babylonish captivity, as at this period: so that the late adherents of Judas entreated Jonathan to follow his brother's example, in risking his life for the liberties of his country; and besought him to assume the command, for without a leader they must be all lost. Jonathan replied, that he was ready to do or suffer any thing for the public welfare; on which he was elected general, by common consent.

Jonathan succeeding his brother Judas, Bacchides lays snares for him.

Bacchides hearing of this election, and considering that Jonathan was not less likely to give trouble to the Macedonians than his brother Judas, concerted how he might destroy him; but himself and his brother Simon having intelligence of such a design, collected what force he could, withdrew to a neighbouring desert, and pitched their tents near the pool of Asphar. Bacchides considering this retreat as a flight, marched his army after them, and encamped beyond Jordan. Jonathan being informed hereof, sent his brother John to the Arabian Nabathites, requesting permission to leave his baggage with them, till he had fought Bacchides; but the sons of Amaræus having notice of this embassy, sallied from Medaba, took the baggage and carriages, and killed John and all his people; but this outrage was afterwards properly revenged.

John, brother of Jonathan, slain by the enemy.

Jonathan attacked by Bacchides, whom he repulses.

Intelligence being given to Bacchides where Jonathan was encamped, he fixed on the sabbath to attack him, presuming that his people would not fight on that day; but Jonathan representing that, as the enemy was before, and the river behind, they had no chance of escape without fighting, they appealed to heaven for the success of their cause, and instantly attacked the enemy, of whom they killed great numbers. In the interim, Bacchides assailed Jonathan, and made a furious stroke at him, which he parried, and retreated with his people to the other side of the river, whither the enemy durst not follow them. Bacchides, having lost near two thousand men, retired to Jerusalem, which he fortified in the strongest manner, and kept in it as hostages the sons of the principal men of the country. He likewise fortified Jericho, Emmaus, Bethoron, Bethel, Thamnatha, Pharathon, Techoa, and Gazara; which places were supplied with garrisons, ready to make excursions on the Jews.

Jonathan and Simon fall upon the enemy, as they are celebrating a wedding.

About this time, Jonathan and Simon received intelligence of a pompous wedding to be celebrated between one of the sons of Amaræus, and the daughter of an Arabian of distinction. The wedding was to be attended by the sons of Amaræus, and the bride to be escorted from the city of Gabatha, in great splendor. This opportunity was seized to revenge the death of John; and the brothers, having placed an ambush in the mountains, hurried towards Madaba, to attack the people who were to attend the wedding. The bride and bridegroom, with four hundred friends, including wives and children, making their appearance, the party rushed out, destroyed them all, and carried off the whole booty; after which they retreated to their former station.

The apostates solicit Demetrius, that Jonathan and his party may be taken off.

Bacchides, having left garrisons in Judæa, returned home, and the Jews remained in some sort of peace for two years; a circumstance that gave great disturbance to the apostates, who solicited Demetrius to destroy Jonathan and his people, which they said might be effected by surprise in a single night. This proposition being acceded to by the king, he sent Bacchides on this business into Judæa, who, on his arrival, dispatched letters to the king's officers and friends in the country, to assist in making Jonathan captive. Hereupon they contrived how they might get him into their hands; but Jonathan having been forewarned, acted cautiously, so that several repeated trials failed; which so exasperated Bacchides, that he attributed the ill success of the undertaking to the treachery of the apostate Jews, who, he said, trifled with the royal orders; and he put fifty of their principal men to death, in the first transports of his rage. At length Jonathan and his brother, finding Bacchides too powerful for them, retired into the wilderness, and raised walls round the village of Bethalaga, to serve them for a retreat on an emergency.

Bacchides besieges Jonathan, in Bethalaga, who by stratagem defeats his design.

Bacchides being informed hereof, marched towards them with all his forces, and being joined by a body of Jews, began the attack of Bethalaga, which he continued for several days; during which it was obstinately defended. Matters being thus situated, Jonathan, having committed the defence of the place to his brother Simon, collected a number of forces in the neighbourhood, and marching privately in the night, attacked Bacchides in his encampment, killing great numbers of his people. Simon soon discovered that this havock was made by his brother; on which he sallied forth, burnt the enemy's works, destroyed many of their forces, and returned to his intrenchments. This double attack, and the failure of an attempt in which he thought himself sure of succeeding, almost distracted Bacchides; but he laid all the blame on the apostate Jews, who advised the king in this business. His only concern now was how to draw off his army without disgrace either to himself or his sovereign.

CHAP. II.

A League betwixt JONATHAN and BACCHIDES, the latter of whom quits JUDÆA. JONATHAN fixes on MACHMAS as the Place of his Residence.

Jonathan and Bacchides conclude a peace.

BACCHIDES was now deliberating how to act; when Jonathan having received an intimation of what was paſſing in his mind, diſpatched a meſſenger to him, with propoſals for a league of mutual friendſhip, on condition of the exchange of priſoners. Bacchides ſaw in this propoſal ſo fair an opportunity of his abandoning the ſiege without diſgrace, that he immediately acceded thereto: on which the priſoners were exchanged on both ſides, and the reſpective commanders bound themſelves by a ſolemn oath that no farther hoſtilities ſhould be committed. This agreement being ratified, Bacchides returned to Antioch to the king, and never again entered Judæa with his army. This ſtate of peace and ſafety was very acceptable to Jonathan, who retreated to Machmas, where he employed his time in the diſtribution of law and juſtice, and the other cares of government. He was zealous in aſſerting the laws, and clearing the country of falſe brethren, and falſe worſhip.

Alexander ſeizes Ptolemais in Syria, and Demetrius marches againſt him.

Alexander, the ſon of Antiochus Epiphanes, aided by a confederacy of the ſoldiers in garriſon at Ptolemais in Syria, took poſſeſſion of that place, in the year one hundred and ſixty. This confederacy aroſe from an averſion the ſoldiers had to Demetrius, whoſe pride and indolence were ſuch, that he immured himſelf in one of his fortified caſtles near Antioch, where he was excluded from all viſitors, and ſpent his time in the moſt indolent manner, wholly neglecting the cares of the government, a circumſtance that produced him many enemies: but on this news of Alexander having taken poſſeſſion of Ptolemais, he aſſembled his army, and marched to give him battle.

Alliance between Demetrius and Jonathan.

On the occaſion above-mentioned, Demetrius diſpatched meſſengers with letters to Jonathan, propoſing a firm alliance between them. This was done to prevent Alexander being firſt in a propoſal of the kind, in reſentment of the inſults and injuries he had formerly ſuſtained. Theſe letters intimated that Jonathan ſhould raiſe men, provide arms, and ſet at liberty thoſe hoſtages who had been committed priſoners to the caſtle by Bacchides. On receipt of the diſpatches Jonathan repaired to Jeruſalem, where he read them publicly to the ſoldiers and the people. The fugitives and profligates in the citadel were ſurpriſed at this ſudden return of Jonathan to favour: but he proceeded to make his levies, and gave liberty to the hoſtages, with orders for them to return in ſafety to their friends. Jonathan now took up his reſidence at Jeruſalem, which he altered, repaired and fortified, erecting for its defence ſtrong walls, compoſed of ſtones of a prodigious ſize. On this alteration of Jeruſalem, thoſe Macedonians who had been ſtationed in different garriſons through the country, retired to Antioch: while the Jewiſh deſerters, and others, who were at Bethſura, and in the tower of Jeruſalem, remained in their preſent ſituation, not thinking it ſafe for them to retreat.

Jonathan repairs and fortifies Jeruſalem.

The character of Jonathan, his valour and courageous actions againſt the Macedonians, and the inſults that had been offered him both by Demetrius and Bacchides, were not unknown to Alexander; who having been informed of the late offers and pretenſions of Demetrius, aſſembled his friends, and repreſented to them that nothing could be more prudent than an alliance with Jonathan. The council being of the ſame opinion, Alexander immediately diſpatched an embaſſy with a letter to the following purport:

Jonathan made high-prieſt.

"*ALEXANDER the King, to JONATHAN his Brother, greeting.*

"HAVING long ſince been informed of thy character for honour, faith and courage, and deeming thee every way worthy our beſt regards, we have diſpatched embaſſadors to offer thee our friendſhip and alliance, and have commiſſioned them to treat of the ſame: and by theſe preſents, and our royal authority, we conſtitute and ordain thee high-prieſt of the Jews, and rank thee in the number of the king's friends; and we likewiſe preſent thee with a crown of gold and a purple robe: entertaining no doubt of a proper return being made by thee for this inſtance of our regard and eſteem."

On the arrival of this embaſſy, which happened on the day of the feaſt of tabernacles, Jonathan put on the robe of the high-prieſt; preciſely at the end of four years from the death of his brother Judas, during which time the office had been vacant: and from henceforward Jonathan was diligent to increaſe his troops, and provide more arms.

Battle between Alexander and Demetrius, in which the latter is killed.

At this period Alexander aſſembled a large army, partly compoſed of ſuch as had gone over to him from Demetrius, in Syria, and partly of his own troops, with which he advanced to attack the enemy. Soon after the battle commenced, the right wing of Alexander's forces was preſſed hard by the left of Demetrius, who puſhed their advantage even to the plundering of the camp: but Alexander's troops forced the oppoſite column, where Demetrius fought in perſon, till it was totally routed. Demetrius acted wonders, killing, and purſuing his enemies, and defending himſelf; till at length his horſe plunged into a bog, and being oppreſſed by multitudes, he was obliged to yield; which, however, he diſdained for ſome time to do, fighting on foot till his body was covered with darts and arrows. Thus died Demetrius, at the end of a reign of eleven years.

CHAP. III.

ONIAS propoſes to build a Temple in EGYPT, like that in JERUSALEM. A Diſpute between the JEWS and SAMARITANS, concerning the true Temple.

Temple. The matter referred to the King, who declares in favour of JERUSALEM.

Propoſal of Onias to build a temple in Egypt.

AT this time Onias, the ſon of Onias the high-prieſt, dwelt in a kind of exile with Ptolemy Philometer at Alexandria. This Onias, conſidering how Judæa had been ravaged by the Macedonians, and with a view to acquire fame to himſelf, determined to try to obtain permiſſion of Ptolemy, and his queen Cleopatra, to build a temple in Ægypt ſimilar to that at Jeruſalem, in which he propoſed that prieſts and Levites of his own family ſhould officiate. He was inſpired with this idea by a prediction of the prophet Iſaiah, of ſix hundred years ſtanding, intimating, that in future ages a Jew ſhould erect a temple in Ægypt to the glory of God.

The grant being made, Onias began immediately to build the temple, and raiſe the altar, on the plan of that at Jeruſalem, though the dimenſions were much leſs. When the building was finiſhed, he found a number of prieſts and Levites of his own ſentiments, to perform the ſeveral parts of divine worſhip.

Diſpute between the Jews and Samaritans, concerning their temples, referred to the king;

About this period a moſt violent diſpute happened at Alexandria, between the Jews and Samaritans, the latter of whom had built a temple at Gerizim, in the time of Alexander the Great. This diſpute, which regarded the temple, and the mode of worſhipping, ſtood as follows: the Jews inſiſted that there was no temple authorized by the laws of Moſes, but that at Jeruſalem; while the Samaritans were equally ſanguine for the temple of Gerizim. Both parties agreed to refer the diſpute to the deciſion of the king and his miniſters, with allowance that counſel might be heard on each ſide, and that the party in the wrong ſhould ſuffer death. Andronicus, the ſon of Meſſalan, was appointed to plead for the Jews, and Sabbæus and Theodoſius for the Samaritans. Both parties were bound on oath before God and the king, to offer nothing contrary to law. The Jews of Alexandria were uneaſy for their advocate, and grieved to think that any doubt ſhould be made of the ſacred authority of the temple of Jeruſalem, the nobleſt ſtructure in the univerſe. The king having ſummoned his counſellors to try the iſſue, a debate aroſe who ſhould ſpeak firſt; when Sabbæus and Theodoſius yielding that point to Andronicus, he began by ſtating the antiquity and ſanctity of the temple at Jeruſalem; proved the legality of its original foundation: diſplayed the regular order of the prieſthood through a ſucceſſion of ages; adverted to the ſplendor and dignity of the place, as it had been at all times celebrated; and ſpoke of the magnificent bounty of the kings of Aſia towards it; whereas the temple of Gerizim had been little more noticed than if no ſuch place had ever been built. Theſe pleadings determined the king in favour of the temple of Jeruſalem, and he accordingly gave ſentence of death againſt Sabbæus and Theodoſius.

Who decides in favour of that in Jeruſalem.

Marriage of Alexander with Cleopatra.

Demetrius being dead (as hath been heretofore mentioned) Alexander aſſumed the government of Syria; ſoon after which he wrote a letter to Ptolemy Philometer, propoſing a match between himſelf and his daughter; and intimating that there would be no diſgrace in an alliance, after the conqueſt of Demetrius, and the recovery of a kingdom which was his own in right of his father. This propoſal was highly ſatisfactory to Ptolemy, who ſent a letter to Demetrius, congratulating him on his late ſucceſs, promiſing to beſtow his daughter on him in marriage. He farther promiſed to meet him at Ptolemais, with his daughter, where the wedding ſhould be celebrated. Soon after writing this letter, Ptolemy took his daughter to the appointed place, where Alexander attending, the parties were married, and he received as a wedding portion, a ſum becoming the dignity of the father.

High honours conferred on Jonathan.

Alexander invited the high-prieſt Jonathan to the wedding, where both the monarchs received him in a diſtinguiſhed manner, and made him large preſents; Alexander particularly directing him to wear a purple robe on the occaſion, and take a ſeat next himſelf on the throne; and giving orders to his principal officers to attend him into the city, and proclaim that no man ſhould inſult, abuſe, or otherwiſe ill-treat him, on pain of abiding the conſequences. Some enemies of Jonathan had come to the place, with a view to defame him; but on this gracious declaration they abſconded, in apprehenſion of the ill conſequences that might ariſe to themſelves.

CHAP. IV.

An Army conducted into CILICIA by DEMETRIUS NICANOR. JONATHAN routs APOLLONIUS, whom he purſues to AZOTUS, and fires the Temple of DAGON. PTOLEMY marches to join ALEXANDER. PTOLEMY takes his Daughter from ALEXANDER, and marries her to DEMETRIUS. ALEXANDER defeated by PTOLEMY and DEMETRIUS. The Citadel of JERUSALEM beſieged by JONATHAN. The Army of the latter diſcharged, and their Affections loſt.

Demetrius enters Cilicia with an army.

DEMETRIUS the younger, being ſupplied with a body of troops that Laſthenes had hired, embarked and ſailed with them from Crete into Cilicia, in the year 165. This alarmed Alexander, who inſtantly marched from Phœnicia to Antioch, to ſecure his affairs before the arrival of Demetrius; but Alexander leaving the care of Cœlo-Syria to Apollonius, he marched an army into Jamnia, where he ſent a challenge to the high-prieſt, Jonathan, accuſing him for living at eaſe, and withdrawing himſelf from the public ſervice: defying him to meet him with his ſword in the open field, and putting the iſſue on their ſingle conteſt: boaſting, likewiſe, that he was at the head of a number

number of the braveſt men in the empire, whoſe valour had frequently made the anceſtors of Jonathan yield.

Jonathan drives Apollonius from Joppa, and purſues him to Azotus.

On this defiance, Jonathan, with his brother Simon, and ten thouſand ſelect men, marched from Jeruſalem, and encamped at Joppa, the gates of which were ſhut by a garriſon of Apollonius, which ſoon ſurrendered, on Jonathan's preparing to attack the place. Apollonius hearing that Jonathan was in poſſeſſion of Joppa, marched, and encamped in the fields near that place. Hereupon Jonathan advanced, and purſued him towards Azotus; but when Apollonius found him on a particular ſpot, he faced about to engage, having firſt planted a thouſand horſe to attack Jonathan in the rear: but he being aware of this diſpoſition, formed his men in a ſquare figure, to fight every way. Jonathan ordered his brother Simon to charge the body of the enemy, while his own men ſhould only receive the darts and arrows which fell on their bucklers. In this ſituation they ſtood ſo cloſe, that nothing could penetrate them; and when the enemy was fatigued by this fruitleſs mode of attack, the troops of Simon broke in, and put the main body to flight. Jonathan purſued them to Azotus, killed numbers of the fugitives, and drove the reſt into the temple of Dagon, which he burnt to the ground: nor did he ſtop here; for he ſet fire to the city, and to ſeveral adjacent villages. It was reckoned that about eight thouſand men were either ſlain or burnt. Jonathan having defeated this army, advanced to Aſkalon, and encamped near that city, the inhabitants of which brought him preſents, as a teſtimony of their eſteem, which he gratefully received, and then went back in triumph to Jeruſalem, laden with ſpoils. Alexander pretended to be greatly pleaſed with this defeat of Apollonius, who, he ſaid, had undertaken the expedition againſt a friend and ally without his conſent; and in token of his approbation of Jonathan's conduct, he made him governor of Accaron, and preſented him with a golden buckle, a gift heretofore peculiar to the royal family.

He burns the temple of Dagon, and ſets fire to the city, &c.

Ptolemy kindly entertains Jonathan.

About this period Ptolemy Philometer arrived in Syria, with land and ſea-forces, to aſſiſt Alexander, his ſon-in-law. Agreeable to the king's order, he was received with univerſal reſpect, except at Azotus, where the people complained of the burning of the temple of Dagon, and reviled Jonathan, who had ravaged the country with fire and ſword. Jonathan met Ptolemy at Joppa, conducted him to the river Eleutherus, and then returned to Jeruſalem, having been received with great marks of diſtinction.

Alexander lays a ſnare for Ptolemy;

Ptolemy arriving at the city of Ptolemais, had nearly fallen a ſacrifice to the treachery of Alexander, on a plan concerted by Ammonius. The plot being diſcovered, Ptolemy wrote to Alexander, and demanded juſtice on the delinquent: but Alexander refuſed to deliver him, confeſſing that himſelf had a ſhare in the plot: on which Ptolemy conceived a mortal hatred to him. Ammonius afterwards loſt his life, while he was ſeeking his ſafety in the diſguiſe of a woman's dreſs.

who takes his daughter Cleopatra from Alexander.

The above-mentioned conduct of Alexander ſo diſguſted Ptolemy, that he took his daughter from him, and engaged in a league with Demetrius, on condition of being reſtored to his father's kingdom, and receiving the hand of Cleopatra in marriage. Demetrius was equally pleaſed with the wife, and the propoſed terms; but Ptolemy had no eaſy matter to procure the conſent of the people to receive, as a king, the man whom they deemed an enemy: but their hatred to Alexander was ſo great that they complied. Hereupon Ptolemy entered into Antioch, where the citizens and ſoldiers proclaimed him king of Aſia and Ægypt. He was a man of honour, diſcretion and temperance, and ſo conducted his affairs, as to afford ſatisfaction to his own people without giving diſguſt to the Romans. Having ſummoned a council of the people of Antioch, he adviſed them to receive Demetrius as king; hoped that all paſt enmity would be forgotten, on a ſenſe of the preſent obligation; ſaid that he would himſelf be bound for his faithful execution of the truſt repoſed, and that he would content himſelf with the government of Ægypt only. Theſe arguments procured the regal government to Demetrius, by conſent of the people.

Ptolemy and his ſon-in-law Demetrius overcome Alexander.

A vaſt army brought out of Cilicia, under the command of Alexander, was now ravaging Syria, and the country round Antioch, with fire and ſword. Hereupon Ptolemy and Demetrius attacked, routed him, and compelled him to fly to Arabia. During this battle, Ptolemy's horſe, being frightened by the braying of an elephant, threw him, and his enemies wounded him in many parts of the head, ſo that he muſt have died on the ſpot, but was reſcued by ſome of his guards. He lay ſpeechleſs four days; but on the fifth he began to recover, when the head of Alexander, which had been cut off by Zebelus, an Arabian prince, was preſented to him; but he died ſoon after he had pleaſed himſelf with the ſight. The above-mentioned Alexander reigned five years, and was ſucceeded by Demetrius, who appears to have been of a cruel diſpoſition, from his treatment of Ptolemy's ſoldiers, to whom he owed obligations on his marriage with Cleopatra. This conduct ſo diſguſted the ſoldiers, that they left their elephants behind them, and went to Alexandria.

Jeruſalem beſieged by Jonathan.

At this period, the high-prieſt Jonathan, having collected what forces he could in Judæa, laid ſiege to Jeruſalem, to expel the garriſon of Macedonians, and drive out the Jews who had taken ſanctuary. The people in the place at firſt defied Jonathan; but ſoon ſent out ſcouts to demand ſuccour of Demetrius, who inſtantly marched from Antioch, and arriving at Ptolemais, ſent to Jonathan to attend him. On this the latter took preſents of gold and ſilver, fine robes, and other valuable effects, which he gave to Demetrius, being attended by the prieſts and elders: but during this

time the ſiege went forward as before. The king, equally gratified by the preſents, and the behaviour of thoſe who offered them, confirmed Jonathan in the office of high-prieſt; and was ſo far from paying regard to the calumnious inſinuations of the apoſtate Jews, that upon Jonathan's requeſting an abatement of three hundred talents for the tribute of Judæa, with the dependent provinces of Samaria, Joppa, and Galilee, he ſent away the following diſpatches:

"*DEMETRIUS the King greets his Brother JONATHAN, and the reſt of the JEWISH Nation.*

"YOU are hereby to underſtand that we have lately written a letter to our truſty and well-beloved couſin Laſthenes, a copy of which is herewith tranſmitted.

"*DEMETRIUS the King, to his Father LASTHENES, greeting.*

"SUCH is the ſenſe we entertain of the return that our friends, the Jews, have from time to time made to our good will, that we are reſolved to give them ſome diſtinguiſhing teſtimony of our eſteem. Wherefore we hereby command that the governments of Aphereima, Lydda, and Ramatha, with all the lands dependent on them, which were taken from the Samaritans, be aſſigned to the uſe of Judæa: and we exempt the prieſts at Jeruſalem from all taxes heretofore paid to our anceſtors, as well thoſe called crown taxes, and on ſalt-pits, as thoſe on corn and fruit: and we command that for the future nothing of the kind be demanded. Take care that a copy of this letter be ſent to Jonathan, and let it be hung up in a diſtinguiſhed part of the holy temple."

All things being now in a peaceable train, Demetrius diſmiſſed his army without giving them their full pay; and retained only a number of mercenary troops, which had been collected in Crete, and other adjacent iſlands. This diſcharge of the troops, without gratuity, alienated the affections of his people; for his anceſtors had been accuſtomed to keep them in pay, in peace as well as in war.

CHAP. V.

TRYPHON's Revolt, and treacherous Conduct. The Citadel beſieged by JONATHAN. ANTIOCHUS crowned by TRYPHON. DEMETRIUS defeated. He encamps before CEDASA. JONATHAN's Troops deſert him; but are rallied, and obtain the Victory. His Embaſſy to ROME and LACEDÆMON. Account of the PHARISEES, SADDUCEES, and ESSENES. ARSACES defeats DEMETRIUS, and takes him Priſoner.

THE uneaſineſs which prevailed among the troops of Demetrius, being remarked by Tryphon, a native of Apamia, and heretofore one of Alexander's officers, he applied to Malchus, tutor to Antiochus, ſon of Alexander, repreſenting the diſpoſition of Demetrius's troops, and offering to reſtore Antiochus to the throne of his father. Malchus heſitated: but was at length induced to comply, and committed Antiochus to the care of Tryphon. Tryphon offers to reſtore Antiochus to the throne of his father.

During this period, Jonathan was beſieging the city of Jeruſalem; he reſolved to expel the fugitive Jews from the garriſon, as well as from other fortreſſes in the country. On this occaſion he ſent meſſengers with farther preſents to Demetrius, requeſting him to withdraw his men from the fortreſſes. Demetrius anſwered, that he was willing to oblige him in that, and more important concerns, as ſoon as the war ſhould be ended; and intreated him, by the rites of friendſhip, to ſend him a ſupply of forces, as his own people had fled to the enemy. Jonathan ſent him three thouſand men, in conſequence of this requeſt. Jonathan reinforces the army of Demetrius.

Demetrius, both on his father's account, and his own, was now become extremely obnoxious to the people of Antioch: inſomuch that, on hearing of the aid from Jonathan, they aſſembled in arms, and ſurrounded the palace, as if with a view to attack it: but their intention was to ſeize him on his coming out. Hereupon Demetrius drew up his hired troops, and thoſe ſent by Jonathan, and attacked the aſſailants; but ſuperior numbers obliged them to retreat into the palace, from the battlements of which they threw darts and arrows at the enemy, which obliged them to take ſhelter in different houſes. The Jews now fired the city, the houſes of which ſtanding cloſe, and the buildings being chiefly of wood, burnt with great fury. The inhabitants fled from houſe to houſe, the Jews purſuing and deſtroying them. Their whole care now was to ſave their wives and children: but ſtill the Jews, taking advantage of the confuſion, in obedience to the king's order, killed great numbers, and obliged the reſt to lay down their arms, and ſurrender at diſcretion. Thus ended the battle; Demetrius pardoned the rebels, and gave the ſpoils to the Jews, whom he ſent back to Jonathan, with acknowledgements that the victory was owing to their valour: but he did not long continue in this diſpoſition; but threatened to attack Jonathan, if the ſame tribute which the Jews had formerly paid to his anceſtors, were not paid to himſelf. This threat would have been made good, but that Tryphon arriving with young Antiochus, placed the crown on his head, and being aſſiſted by the ſoldiers, from whom Demetrius had with-held their accuſtomed pay, attacked the latter, conquered him in a ſea-engagement, ſeized on his elephants, made capture of the city of Antioch, and compelled him to retreat to Cilicia for ſafety. The diſcontented Antiochians attempt to ſeize on Demetrius. The Jews burn the city. Ingratitude of Demetrius to Jonathan.

Antiochus

Jonathan greatly honoured by Antiochus.

Antiochus now ſent an expreſs to Jonathan, confirming to him the office of high-prieſt, putting him in poſſeſſion of the four governments annexed to Judæa, and giving the command of his forces, from Tyre to Sidon, to his brother Simon. He likewiſe enrolled him in the liſt of his friends, and ſent him ſeveral drinking cups of gold, with a gold buckle, purple robes, &c. commiſſioning him to wear theſe badges of dignity. Theſe marks of diſtinction ſo ſtruck Jonathan, that he ſent a joint meſſage to Antiochus and Tryphon, offering to unite with them againſt Demetrius as a common enemy.

He brings over ſeveral cities to eſpouſe his cauſe.

Jonathan being commiſſioned to raiſe forces, attempted it in Syria, Phœnicia, and the towns and cities adjacent; but though he was received with reſpect, he got no troops. Hence he went to Aſkalon, where he was received in form, and had preſents made him: here he repreſented to the people, that it was their intereſt to aſſiſt Antiochus againſt Demetrius: and they promiſed to take arms. Proceeding to Gaza, on the ſame deſign, the gates were ſhut againſt him, and the people reſolved to adhere to Demetrius. Hereupon Jonathan divided his army, aſſaulting the town with one part, while the country was burnt and laid waſte by the other. The inhabitants neither finding relief, nor having hope of any from Demetrius, and ſeeing no proſpect but of deſtruction before them, ſent deputies to make ſubmiſſion to Jonathan, who received them in the moſt friendly manner; accepted their propoſals, and ſent their hoſtages to Jeruſalem, while he proceeded towards Damaſcus.

Simon takes the fortreſs of Bethſura.

In the interim Demetrius had a large army encamped near Cedaſa, bordering on Tyre and Galilee, with a view to entice Jonathan out of his way: but he continued his route, leaving the care of Judæa to his brother Simon; who, aſſembling what force he could, marched and attacked the ſtrong fortreſs of Bethſura, then in poſſeſſion of the partizans of Demetrius. The people in the garriſon, apprehenſive that they ſhould all be put to the ſword, requeſted Simon's permiſſion to march unmoleſted to Demetrius: which he granted; and placed another garriſon in their ſtead.

Jonathan defeats the army of Demetrius.

By this time Jonathan was advanced into the plain of Aſor, where he had no idea of any oppoſition: but one of Demetrius's parties, having notice of his march, lay in ambuſh behind a mountain, while the main body advanced to attack him on the plain. Jonathan gave the beſt orders the ſhortneſs of the time would permit: but the Jews, ſeeing the ambuſh, were afraid of being ſurrounded by two parties, and precipitately fled. So general was the terror, that only fifty gallant fellows remained with Jonathan, and the two captains, Mattathias, the ſon of Abſalom, and Judas, the ſon of Chapſæus. Theſe charged the enemy in front, in ſo deſperate a manner, that the forces of Demetrius heſitated; on which thoſe who had deſerted from Jonathan returned, attacked them, killed near two thouſand, and followed the reſt even to their tents at Cedaſa.

His embaſſy to Rome and Lacedæmon.

This victory being obtained, Jonathan returned to Jeruſalem, whence he diſpatched embaſſadors to Rome, to renew former alliances, with directions to come back by way of Lacedæmon, on buſineſs of a ſimilar nature. The Romans received the embaſſadors with high reſpect, and diſmiſſed them with letters, recommending that ſafe paſſage might be granted them by the kings of Europe and Aſia.

Sects among the Jews.

At this time the Jews were divided into three ſects, called Phariſees, Sadducees, and Eſſenes. The opinion of the Phariſees was, that, in ſome inſtances, men were left to their own will, and in others over-ruled by a particular fate. The Sadducees held that a man's condition was in all caſes determined by his own conduct, without any interference of providence; while the Eſſenes contended that an irreſiſtible fate over-ruled every action.

Various manœuvres of the adverſe armies

Jonathan being informed that the forces of Demetrius, which were now augmented, were advancing towards him, haſtened to meet them at Amathis, reſolved to oppoſe their entrance into Judæa. He encamped about fifty furlongs from them, whence he ſent ſpies to diſcover their deſign; who taking ſome priſoners, learnt from them that it was intended to ſurprize him in his encampment. Hereupon he arranged every thing for his defence, fixed centinels at the out-poſts, and kept his men under arms all night, previouſly acquainting them with what was intended. Demetrius's commanders learning that their plan had been divulged, were puzzled how to act, for they were not able to make an open attack: wherefore they decamped in the night, covering their retreat by a number of fires. At day-break Jonathan marched to attack them; when finding the camp abandoned, he purſued them with all expedition; but in vain, for they had retreated to a ſecure place beyond the river Eleutherus. He now therefore purſued his courſe to Arabia, plundered the country of the Nabathæans, took multitudes of their cattle, and made many priſoners, which he took to Damaſcus, and ſold.

Joppa taken by Simon.

Mean time Simon proceeded through Judæa and Palæſtine, and fortified all defenſible places, even to Aſkalon: which being done, he went forward to Joppa, which he poſſeſſed himſelf of, and placed a garriſon in it, to prevent the place being delivered to Demetrius by the inhabitants.

The city and temple fortified.

When things were in this ſituation, Jonathan and Simon retired to Jeruſalem, and the people being ſummoned to the temple by the high-prieſt, were directed to repair the walls of the city, fortify them with towers, and to cut off the communication betwixt the city and caſtle by another wall: likewiſe to put the whole country in a ſtate of defence by proper garriſons. This advice being approved, Jonathan committed to his brother's care the country department, taking that of the city on himſelf.

Arſaces defeats Demetrius, and takes him priſoner.

By this time Demetrius had got into Meſopotamia, propoſing to ravage that country, and reduce Babylon. His plan was, to fix the ſeat of war in the upper provinces,

provinces, the Greek and Macedonian inhabitants of which had invited him thither, with promiſes of obedience, and offers of aſſiſtance againſt Arſaces, king of Parthia. Encouraged hereby, and thinking that after he had beaten the Parthians, it would be eaſy to drive Tryphon out of Syria, Demetrius advanced towards them, and was chearfully received by a large army, at the head of which he attacked Arſaces, who totally routed him, took him priſoner, and deſtroyed almoſt all his forces.

CHAP. VI.

TRYPHON's Plot againſt JONATHAN, whom he infamouſly betrays, kills a Thouſand of his People, and makes him a Priſoner.

THE failure of Demetrius in the laſt attempt, induced Tryphon to abandon all allegiance to Antiochus, and reflect how he might poſſeſs himſelf of the crown; but as Jonathan was the firm and powerful friend of Antiochus, the ſcheme was to deſtroy him firſt. For this purpoſe Tryphon went to Bethſan, where he found Jonathan with forty thouſand men at his command. Finding his ſtrength unequal to the encounter of ſuch an army, he ſought to ſeduce him by preſents and compliments. He directed his officers to obey Jonathan as himſelf; and proceeded, with great artifice, from one ſubtlety to another. At length he inſinuated that, as the war was over, Jonathan might diſband his army, keeping only a proper body guard, and attend him to Ptolemais, which place, and all the adjacent fortreſſes, he was reſolved to put into his poſſeſſion. Lulled by theſe arguments and promiſes, Jonathan diſmiſſed all his army, except three thouſand men, two of which he left in Galilee, and went with Tryphon to Ptolemais, with the other thouſand. The inhabitants having been previouſly inſtructed, ſhut the gates on his firſt entering the town, killed all his thouſand men, and took him priſoner. Tryphon diſpatched a part of his army to Galilee, with a view to deſtroy Jonathan's two thouſand men left there; but theſe having information of the manner in which Jonathan had been treated, ſeized their arms, and effected their eſcape. Tryphon's troops were ſo convinced that theſe men would bid equal defiance to death and danger, that they returned without attempting to moleſt them.

Jonathan betrayed into Tryphon's hands.

The inhabitants of Jeruſalem were extremely afflicted on being informed of the maſſacre above-mentioned, and the impriſonment of Jonathan, for whom they had the ſincereſt regard; and in caſe of whoſe death, they apprehended the utmoſt danger from thoſe enemies of whom before they had no fear. Nor were they much miſtaken in their conjecture; for, upon the news that Jonathan was put to death (as will hereafter be mentioned), their neighbours combined againſt them, as men who had no commander; even Tryphon aſſembled an army to invade Judæa; but Simon, obſerving their fears, ſummoned them together, and addreſſed them to the following purport:

Grief at Jeruſalem on Jonathan's impriſonment.

"It is unneceſſary, friends and countrymen, for me to ſay that my father, brothers, and myſelf, have been always ready to expoſe ourſelves for the common liberty: the defence of law and religion, has been the buſineſs of our family; nor am I ſo loſt to the authority of example, as to think of preſerving my life by the forfeit of my honour. Seek not, therefore, for another commander, ſince I am willing to lead you wherever great and glorious actions ſhall call us. I count not myſelf greater than my brethren, nor value my life more than they did theirs. Never ſhall it be ſaid that I have departed from the dignity of my family. I have no doubt but God will, by my hands, avenge you of your enemies, deliver you, your wives and children, from thoſe who oppreſs you, and ſecure the holy temple from defilement. In a word, is it not becauſe you are conſidered as ſheep without a ſhepherd, that the preſent confederacy is in league againſt you?"

Simon ſucceeds Jonathan.

This ſpeech ſo animated the people, and diſpelled their fears, that they exclaimed, "Simon alone ought to ſucceed his brothers Judas and Jonathan: let Simon be our general, and we will obey his commands!" Simon now ordered the walls of the city to be repaired and fortified; which being done, he diſpatched his friend Jonathan, the ſon of Abſalom, to Joppa, to clear that town of its inhabitants, leſt they ſhould deliver it into the hands of Tryphon.

Tryphon marches to Judæa.

At this period Tryphon, at the head of an army, was marching from Ptolemais to Judæa, bringing Jonathan with him as a priſoner. Simon and his troops met him on a mountain that overlooks the plain, near the city of Addida. Tryphon finding that the Jews had elected Simon general, ſent him an expreſs, importing that, if he wiſhed his brother's releaſe, he ſhould ſend a hundred talents of ſilver, and two of Jonathan's ſons, as a ſecurity that, after he ſhould be ſet at liberty, he ſhould not ſeduce the people of Judæa from their allegiance. Simon had no doubt but a deception was intended; but he thought that if he refuſed the money as a ranſom, or the ſons as hoſtages, the death of his brother might be imputed to him: whereupon he ſummoned a council, to whom he intimated his ſuſpicion of treachery; but ſaid he thought it would be proper to diſpatch both the young men and the money, rather than be thought indifferent with reſpect to his brother's ſafety. Hereupon the hoſtages and money were ſent, yet Tryphon refuſed to give Jonathan his liberty, and continued to ravage the country with his army, till he arrived at Dora, a city of Idumæa, whence he propoſed to proceed to Jeruſalem: Simon ſtill cloſely watching his motions.

Intelligence was brought to Tryphon, while on his march, that the garriſon of Jeruſalem was diſtreſſed for proviſions, to the relief of which he was deſired

to haſten; on which he ordered his horſe to be ready to march; but ſo deep a ſnow fell in the night, that there was no poſſibility of proceeding. He now, therefore, returned to Cœlo-Syria, and paſſed through Galaad, near the city of Baſca, in which country he cauſed Jonathan to be put to death, and having buried him, went forward to Antioch. Simon, however, had the remains of Jonathan removed to the ſepulchre of his father at Modim, public mourning being made on the occaſion, and a ſuperb monument of poliſhed white marble erected to the family. This was on an eminence, and encompaſſed with arched walks, and reſting on pillars each of an entire ſtone. Simon cauſed ſeven pyramids to be erected, viz. for his father, mother, four brothers, and himſelf; and theſe were ſo extraordinary, that they are ſtill celebrated for their beauty and magnificence.

Simon buries honourably his brother Jonathan, whom Tryphon had baſely murdered.

Jonathan had now governed, as prince and high-prieſt, four* years, and was ſucceeded by his brother Simon, as above-mentioned. Simon, in his firſt year, relieved the people from the tribute heretofore paid to the Macedonians; and he ſtood ſo high in their opinion, that they dated their writings, both public and private, from the years of his government, with the addition of "moſt worthy patron of the nation." Every public buſineſs flouriſhed in his hands. He obtained a victory over the common enemy; deſtroyed the cities of Gazara, Joppa, and Jamnia; levelled the citadel of Jeruſalem with the ground, and ſo ordered, that it could not afford a refuge for rebels and fugitives, nor be in a condition to annoy the city. To effect this, he adviſed the digging the mountain on which the caſtle ſtood, ſo that the temple ſhould be left on the higher ground. He aſſembled the people on this buſineſs, to whom he repreſented the miſchiefs already ſuſtained by this caſtle, and the probable conſequences, if an enemy ſhould get poſſeſſion of it. This argument had ſuch an effect, that they univerſally agreed to deſtroy the mountain; and the people worked on it for three years, day and night (relieving each other), till at length the temple had the advantage in point of ſituation.

Simon demoliſhes Gazara, &c.

CHAP. VII.

ANTIOCHUS murdered by TRYPHON, who ſucceeds to the Crown. His Soldiers deſert to CLEOPATRA, who married ANTIOCHUS SOTER. He attacks and conquers TRYPHON, who is ſlain at APAMIA.

DEMETRIUS Nicanor had not been long made priſoner, when Tryphon privately murdered Antiochus, the ſon of Alexander, and propagated a report that he loſt his life by an accident, which happened in his exerciſes. While the public were intent on this report, Tryphon exerted his utmoſt influence, and employed both money and friends, to induce them to chuſe him king. The friends of Tryphon urged that Demetrius was a captive with the Parthians; and that Antiochus would never forgive thoſe who had deſerted his brother. By theſe inſinuations Tryphon paved his way to the throne: but there did not need much artifice in the caſe; for the people readily combined towards his elevation, from an idea that they who voted for making him king, would be in a fair way to make their own fortunes; ſo that there was no difficulty in his advancement. Tryphon no ſooner became king, than he began to diſplay that turpitude of heart by which he had been diſtinguiſhed while a private man. His point was no ſooner gained, than he threw off the maſk, and proved that the name of Tryphon (which ſignifies a diſſolute wretch) very well became him. His diſpoſition proved ſo diſagreeable to the ſoldiers, that they deſerted, and fled to Cleopatra, the wife of Demetrius, who was at that time in retirement with her children at Seleucia, while Antiochus Soter (the brother of Demetrius) was ranging from place to place, the fear of Tryphon preventing almoſt every one from affording him aſſiſtance. Cleopatra, encouraged by advice of her friends, and the appearance of the ſoldiers who had deſerted from Tryphon, and urged by the fears ſhe had left the people of Seleucia ſhould deliver the place to the uſurper, diſpatched a meſſage to Antiochus, offering her kingdom to his diſpoſal, and herſelf in marriage. This propoſal being embraced by Antiochus, the people flocked to him in ſuch crouds, that he ſoon found himſelf at the head of a large army, with which he marched againſt Tryphon, conquered him in battle, drove him from Syria to Phœnicia, and at length pent him up in the ſtrong fortreſs of Dora. Antiochus now diſpatched embaſſadors to the high-prieſt Simon, on a treaty of friendſhip and alliance; and the propoſal being accepted, Simon ſent him money and proviſions towards the maintaining of the ſiege; articles at that time highly acceptable to Antiochus, who was very grateful for this inſtance of his friendſhip. After a while Tryphon eſcaped from Dora, and fled to a town called Apamia; but the place was taken, and himſelf put to the ſword, before the fourth year of his reign was ended.

Defeat of Tryphon's army.

His death.

Antiochus, being naturally covetous and ungrateful, was ſo far from making a proper acknowledgment of the favours Simon had conferred on him, that he ſent Cendebæus with an army to ravage Judæa, and take him priſoner. The idea of this diſhonourable perfidy ſo enraged the venerable man, that in deſpite of age and infirmity, and with all the ardour of youth, he aſſembled his army, and marched at the head of it to engage the enemy. Having diſpatched his ſon with a number of ſelect troops, he followed in a different direction with the reſt, ſtationing part of his forces in ambuſh at every proper place. Thus he had the advantage in every encounter, ſucceeded

* Scaliger ſays that Jonathan died after governing the nation eighteen years, and in the fourteenth year of his prieſthood.

to his utmoſt wiſhes, and having renewed his league with the Romans, ſpent the remainder of his days in peace.

CHAP. VIII.

SIMON treacherouſly murdered by his Son-in-law PTOLEMY. The Wife and Two of the Children of SIMON made Priſoners: but the Third Son, being appriſed of his Danger, eſcapes to JERUSALEM.

Simon murdered by Ptolemy.

AFTER Simon had held the government of Judæa eight years, he was invited to an entertainment by Ptolemy his ſon-in-law, and there cruelly murdered by him. Ptolemy made priſoners of the wife and two of the ſons of Simon, and employed ruffians to ſurpriſe and take away the life of John, the third ſon, who was called Hyrcanus; but receiving timely information of the treachery, he fled to Jeruſalem, where he experienced the moſt friendly behaviour from the people, who entertained a great veneration for the memory of Simon, and a deadly abhorrence of Ptolemy, whom they courageouſly repulſed upon his attempting to enter at one gate of the city, after Hyrcanus had gained admittance at another.

Hyrcanus beſieges Ptolemy in the caſtle of Dagon.

Ptolemy retired to the caſtle of Dagon, which was ſituated in the neighbourhood of Jericho. As the ſucceſſor of his father, Hyrcanus aſſumed the pontifical dignity. He marched to attack the caſtle to which Ptolemy had retreated. In the proſecution of this enterprize, the greateſt difficulty he had to ſurmount, was a natural tenderneſs towards his mother and brethren, whom Ptolemy cauſed to be whipped and otherwiſe publickly tormented upon the battlements, threatening, to caſt them down unleſs Hyrcanus immediately raiſed the ſiege. This terrible menace abated the reſolution of Hyrcanus, who judged, that if he proceeded in his firſt deſign, the conſequence would be an aggravation of cruelty to his relations. His mother obſerving his embarraſſment, called to him aloud, urging him, without conſidering the ſufferings of herſelf and her ſons, to avenge the injuries his family had received, and expreſſing a willingneſs to expire under the moſt excruciating torments, on condition that the barbarous and unnatural tyrant Ptolemy ſhould meet a puniſhment proportioned to the enormity of his guilt. This inſtance of generoſity and fortitude animated Hyrcanus to make a vigorous aſſault; but he obſerved, that in proportion to the force he exerted for reducing the fort, additional cruelty was exerciſed upon his mother; and his deſire of revenge yielding to filial tenderneſs, the ſiege was protracted, till the arrival of the ſabbatical year, which put a period to the war. Every ſeventh year, as well as every ſeventh day, is obſerved by the Jews as a time of reſt. Upon the concluſion of the war, Ptolemy put the mother and brothers of Hyrcanus to death, and then retired for ſafety to Philadelphia, the government of which place had been uſurped by the tyrant Zeno, who was ſurnamed Cotyla.

CONCLUSION of the HISTORY of the BIBLE.

CHAP. IX.

JERUSALEM beſieged by ANTIOCHUS, who grants a Truce of ſeven Days. HYRCANUS intercedes for a Compromiſe; the Siege is raiſed, and the Parties form an Alliance. The Death of ANTIOCHUS, and the Succeſſion of his Brother DEMETRIUS.

Antiochus lays ſiege to Jeruſalem, which he is compelled to quit.

STIMULATED by the diſgraces he had been ſubjected to by Simon, the father of Hyrcanus, Antiochus, in the fourth year of his reign, in the firſt of that of Hyrcanus, and in the hundredth * and ſecond Olympiad, made an incurſion into Judæa; and having committed great devaſtation in the country, obliged Hyrcanus to take refuge within the city, which he encompaſſed with his troops, divided into ſeven bodies. The great ſtrength of the walls, and the intrepidity with which the place was defended, prevented any conſiderable advantage being gained by the aſſailants for ſome time. During a ſhort interval the camp was diſtreſſed for water; but this inconvenience was removed by a plentiful fall of rain. The northern quarter of the city being judged the leaſt difficult of acceſs, againſt that part Antiochus directed his greateſt force. He erected an hundred turrets, each conſiſting of three ſtories, in which he ſtationed a great number of men for proſecuting the aſſault. To prevent a reinforcement or communication, he formed a double circumvallation of conſiderable extent. But notwithſtanding theſe operations, the troops made frequent ſallies from the fort to annoy the enemy, at ſuch times as they appeared to be the leaſt prepared for defence; and when theſe attempts were not likely to ſucceed, they had the advantage of a ſafe retreat into the city. Such of the inhabitants as conſumed the proviſions without bearing arms in ſupport of the common cauſe, Hyrcanus compelled to evacuate the city; and Antiochus preventing their retreat to the open country, many of them periſhed under the walls for want of food.

On

* The 2d of 161ſt Olympiad, vide Petitus, Eclog. Chronolog. lib. 1. cap. 6.; and Scaliger's notes upon Euſebius, p. 135. Ed. Commelin.

On the arrival of the feaſt of the Tabernacles, the above-mentioned miſerable people were again received into the town; and on occaſion of this feſtival, the people applied to Antiochus for a truce of ſeven days. This requeſt he granted with the utmoſt readineſs; and ſent them bulls with gilded horns, and other beaſts for ſacrifice, gold and ſilver cups repleniſhed with a variety of the moſt eſteemed perfumes and ſpices, beſides a large ſupply of proviſions. His conduct in every inſtance was contrary to that of Antiochus Epiphanes, who, upon conquering the city, proved his contempt of the inſtitutions and ceremonies of the Jews, by ſacrificing hogs upon the altar, and polluting the holy place with liquor in which the fleſh of thoſe animals had been boiled. This affront produced an irreconcileable animoſity. The piety of the preſent Antiochus obtained him the ſurname of the Pious, and he was held in the higheſt eſtimation by all ranks of people.

Hyrcanus ſends an embaſſy to Antiochus.

The generoſity of Antiochus encouraged Hyrcanus to diſpatch an embaſſy, requeſting that he would permit the Jews to live agreeable to the eſtabliſhed laws and cuſtoms of their nation. Antiochus, in oppoſition to the court-faction, complied, on the condition that the Jews ſhould lay down their arms, ſecure to him the tribute of Joppa and other cities, and admit a garriſon into Jeruſalem. The garriſon was objected to, on the plea of the neceſſary inconvenience of mixing with ſtrangers; and to compound this matter, an offer was made of five hundred talents, and hoſtages for a due performance of the treaty. Three hundred talents being paid in part, and the hoſtages, one of which was the brother of Hyrcanus, being delivered, the ſiege was raiſed.

An alliance concluded between them.

Hyrcanus cauſed to be opened the ſepulchre of David, a very rich and powerful ſovereign, and thence took three thouſand talents, whereby he was enabled to hire reinforcements to his army: he was the firſt among the Jews who entertained foreign troops. He now formed an alliance with Antiochus, and invited that king and his army into the city, where he received and entertained them with the utmoſt magnificence. As it is recorded by Nicholas Damaſcenus, he afterwards accompanied Antiochus to the Parthian war. This hiſtorian ſays, "After Antiochus had ſubdued the Parthian army under the command of Indates, he conſtructed a triumphal arch upon the banks of the river Lycus; and that at the interceſſion of Hyrcanus, a Jew, he remained at this place two days: the Jews being forbid by their laws to travel on the feſtival, which happened to occur at that time." This feſtival was the feaſt of Pentecoſt, which immediately followed the ſabbath; and on neither of thoſe days were the people of our nation allowed to travel.

Death of Antiochus.

Antiochus gave battle to Arſaces, king of the Parthians, and in this encounter he loſt both his life and his army. Upon his kingdom being invaded, Arſaces ſet at liberty his captive Demetrius, who ſucceeded his brother Antiochus in the government of Syria.

CHAP. X.

HYRCANUS conquers IDUMEA, and reconciles the Inhabitants to the Jewiſh Inſtitutions. He negociates a freſh Treaty with the ROMANS. The Army of DEMETRIUS being entirely routed, he flies to PTOLEMAIS for Shelter: He is ſeized at TYRE, and put to Death. ALEXANDER ſlain in Battle.

Idumea conquered by Hyrcanus.

UPON receiving information of the death of Antiochus, Hyrcanus led his army into Syria, expecting to find that country greatly depopulated; and this conjecture proved to be juſtly founded. After a ſiege of ſix months, he ſubdued Madaba; and he ſoon after made himſelf maſter of Samega, and other places in that neighbourhood; he then proceeded to the conqueſt of Sichem, Gerizim, and the land of the Chuthites, where one of the governors, named Sanballat, in compliment to his ſon-in-law Manaſſeh, the brother of Jaddus, the high-prieſt, having obtained the permiſſion of Alexander, conſtructed a temple on the model of that at Jeruſalem, as we have before related: this temple was deſtroyed about two hundred years after it had been built. He reduced Adora, Mariſſa, and other places of ſtrength in Idumæa, and proſecuted his ſucceſſes till he had ſubdued the whole province. He then iſſued a proclamation, enjoining the departure of thoſe who would not ſubmit to circumciſion. Rather than abandon the land, the people acquieſced in this, and every other Jewiſh inſtitution: and ſince that period, they have been numbered among the people denominated Jews.

The treaty with Rome renewed.

Hyrcanus, the high-prieſt now diſpatched an embaſſy to the ſenate of Rome, with letters on the ſubject of a renewal of the league of amity. In conſequence of theſe letters, Fanius, ſon of Marcus Prætor, aſſembled a ſenate in the field of Mars, on the eighth of the ides of March, Lucius Manlius, ſon of Lucius Mentina, and Caius Sempronius, ſon of Caius Falerna, being preſent to deliberate on the propoſed treaty, and other public buſineſs which Simon the ſon of Doſitheus, Apollonius ſon of Alexander, and Diodorous ſon of Jaſon, were commiſſioned to negociate with the ſenate. It was ſtipulated, that reſtoration ſhould be made of the city and ports of Joppa, Gazara, the fountains, and other places which, in violation of a decree of the ſenate, had been uſurped by Antiochus; that the king's troops ſhould not paſs through that or any other part of the Roman territories without permiſſion; and that commiſſioners ſhould be appointed for eſtimating the loſſes conſequent on his devaſtations, for which full reparation ſhould be made. On theſe conditions, the propoſed treaty was accepted by the ſenate, who aſſured the honourable deputies on the part of the Jews, that on the firſt opportunity an anſwer in form ſhould be returned, and that no injury ſhould in future be offered to them. Fanius was commiſſioned to ſupply the embaſſadors with money

from

from the public treasury, for defraying the charge of their return; and they were likewise furnished with letters of recommendation to the governors and officers of the several places through which they were to pass.

Flight and death of Demetrius.

During these transactions, Demetrius was heartily disposed to commence hostilities against Hyrcanus: but he was not in a condition to effect this design, being generally detested by the Syrians and his own soldiers, who uniting in a confederacy against him, requested Ptolemy, otherwise Physcon, king of Egypt, to send to them a descendant of the house of Seleucus, whom they would invest with the sovereignty. Ptolemy sent Alexander surnamed Zebina, attended by a numerous army. An engagement ensued, and Demetrius being defeated, fled to Ptolemais, where Cleopatra, his wife, then resided: but being denied entrance into the city, he repaired to Tyre, where he was seized by his enemies, who, after keeping him some time in a miserable existence, deprived him of life.

Alexander slain in battle.

The kingdom of Syria being now under the sovereignty of Alexander Zebina, a league was formed between this new king and Hyrcanus, the high-priest, who soon after was engaged in hostilities with Antiochus Gryphus, son of Demetrius. Alexander supported his ally in this war; and when the armies joined battle, it was his fortune to be slain. Upon the death of Alexander, Antiochus succeeded to the throne of Syria: but he checked his desire of proceeding against the Jews, in consequence of intelligence being communicated to him, that his brother and name-sake Antiochus, who was surnamed Cyzicenus, was raising an army at the town of Cyzicus, for the purpose of opposing his operations. Antiochus Cyzicenus derived his last appellation from the place where he was educated; he was the son of Antiochus Soter, who was slain by the Parthians. We have before observed that Cleopatra was married to two brothers. Upon the arrival of Cyzicenus in Syria, an engagement ensued between him and his brother; and, indeed, they lived in a perpetual state of animosity and warfare.

Prosperous condition of Hyrcanus.

In the mean time, Hyrcanus enjoyed an uninterrupted tranquillity; for, upon the decease of Antiochus Soter, he no longer acknowledged himself to be either a subject or ally of the Macedonians. The affairs of Hyrcanus were in a flourishing state during the time of Alexander Zebina, but still more so in the sovereignty of the brothers; for while they were harrassing each other to destruction, Cyzicenus was committing devastations in the country, and the other having no assistance from Egypt, he enjoyed perfect ease and safety in Judæa, where he amassed immense wealth.

CHAP. XI.

SAMARIA besieged by HYRCANUS. ANTIOCHUS CYZICENUS marches to the Relief of the City, but is repulsed by ARISTOBULUS. SAMARIA is utterly destroyed. HYRCANUS abandons the Principles of the PHARISEES, and adopts those of the SADDUCEES. The Death of HYRCANUS.

Hyrcanus besieges Samaria.

THE people of Marissa, though subjects to the king of Syria, were inhabitants of Judæa, and in alliance with the Jews. The indignities they had received from the Samaritans so greatly incensed Hyrcanus, that he determined to direct the whole force of his arms against the strongly fortified city of Samaria: which was rebuilt, and called Sebaste, by Herod. He begirt the town with a ditch of considerable width, and a double wall of great strength, appointing his sons Antigonus and Aristobulus to prosecute the siege; which was conducted with such vigour, that in a short time a terrible famine raged in the city, the inhabitants being reduced to the necessity of supporting themselves on carrion. In this extremity they solicited relief from Antiochus Cyzicenus, who directly marched to their assistance; but was repulsed by Aristobulus, who being joined by Antigonus, they pursued him to Scythopolis.

Cyzicenus, attempting to release Samaria, is obliged to retire.

The brothers returned to Samaria, and renewed the siege; in consequence of which, the people again requested assistance from Cyzicenus; and he prevailed upon Ptolemy, surnamed Lathurus, to supply him with six thousand men. The grant of these troops so greatly offended the mother of Ptolemy, that he was in the most imminent danger of losing his kingdom. With these Egyptian forces Antiochus ravaged part of the country of Hyrcanus; his motive being to entice the troops from the siege by a diversion, as he was not in a condition to oppose the whole force of his antagonist. But, from desertions, many of his troops falling into ambushes, and other accidents, he despaired of success; and appointing Callimander and Epicrates to the conduct of the war, he retired to Tripoli. Callimander engaged in a rash expedition, wherein his army was destroyed and himself slain. The Jews bribed Epicrates to surrender Scythopolis and other places. After a siege which continued a year, Hyrcanus became master of Samaria, which he utterly destroyed, and by forming watercourses, and other measures, the appearance of the spot was entirely changed, and no vestige remained of the buildings. There is a surprising, and perhaps an incredible tradition respecting Hyrcanus. It is related, that being alone offering incense in the temple, a voice from heaven informed him, that his sons had obtained a victory over Antiochus Cyzicenus; and that he immediately went forth to the people, and communicated to them the revelation, which was soon after confirmed. This extraordinary incident is said to have happened at the precise time in which Cyzicenus was defeated.

Hyrcanus takes and destroys Samaria.

Not only the Jews of Jerusalem and Alexandria, but those also of Egypt, Cyprus, and other places were now in a flourishing situation: for in consequence of a disagreement between Cleopatra and her son

ſon Ptolemy Lathurus, the queen had committed the command of her army to Chelcias, and Ananias the ſon of Onias, by whom a temple, after the model of that at Jeruſalem, had been built in the territory of Heliopolis. The queen was wholly influenced by the advice of theſe men. Strabo, the Cappadocian, ſays, "Great numbers of thoſe who came with us to Cyprus, as well as thoſe who were afterwards ſent thither by Cleopatra, abandoned the queen, and attached themſelves to the intereſt of Ptolemy; but the Jews of Onias's party continued in allegiance to her, in gratitude for the diſtinction ſhe had beſtowed upon their friends and countrymen, Chelcias and Ananias.

The ſucceſs of Hyrcanus attracted the envy of the Jews, and particularly of that ſect called Phariſees †. The influence of this faction was ſo great, as conſtantly to prevail over the multitude, even in oppoſition to the ſentiments of the king and the high-prieſt. Hyrcanus, who had been educated among the Phariſees, invited them to an entertainment; and when his hoſpitality had cauſed a circulation of good humour, he addreſſed them to the following effect: "Since I profeſs your own principles, it is ſcarcely neceſſary to obſerve, my friends, that my moſt ſanguine wiſh is to render myſelf acceptable to the Almighty, and to obſerve a ſtrict juſtice to my neighbour. If I have violated my duty, it is your buſineſs to admoniſh me, and it ſhall be mine to effect a reformation of my conduct." This ſpeech was received with great applauſe, which afforded Hyrcanus conſiderable pleaſure.

Hyrcanus renounces the Pharaſaic principles, and adopts thoſe of the Sadducees.

Soon after this, Eleazar, a Phariſee, having brought a falſe and ſcandalous charge againſt Hyrcanus, his friend Jonathan, who was a zealous Sadducee, took that opportunity to prejudice Hyrcanus againſt the whole ſect of the Phariſees, inſinuating, that they were all concerned in the defamation. The leaders of the Phariſees being conſulted, to know what puniſhment ſhould be inflicted on the calumniator, they gave it as their opinion, that impriſonment and ſcourging would be ſufficient. This anſwer fully convinced Hyrcanus, that what Jonathan had ſuggeſted was true; and therefore, being greatly incenſed againſt the Phariſees, he abrogated their traditional conſtitutions, ſubjected ſuch as ſhould obſerve them to ſevere penalties, and ever afterwards attached himſelf to the Sadducees. During the remaining part of his life, he enjoyed uninterrupted peace and happineſs, and died in the thirty-firſt year of his government, leaving five ſons. The Almighty was pleaſed to beſtow upon him three eminent diſtinctions, viz. the civil government, the high-prieſthood, and the ſpirit of prophecy. He predicted, by a divine revelation, that his two eldeſt ſons would not long enjoy the government; and the prophecy was verified, as will appear in the following chapter.

† Theſe diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their zeal for the traditions of the elders, which they derived from the ſame origin as the written word itſelf, pretending that both wete delivered to Moſes from mount Sinai, and were therefore both of equal authority. From their rigorous obſervance of theſe traditions, they looked upon themſelves as more holy than other men, and therefore ſeparated themſelves from thoſe whom they thought ſinners or profane, ſo as not to eat or drink with them; and hence, from the Hebrew word *pharis*, which ſignifies to ſeparate, they had the name of *Phariſees*, or ſeparatiſts.—Their pretences to extraordinary piety drew after them the common people, who held them in the higheſt eſteem and veneration. They held the exiſtence of angels and ſpirits; and a reſurrection from the dead, that is, of the ſoul only, by its tranſmigration into another body, and being born anew with it. See further concerning them in book xviii. c. 2.

CHAP. XII.

ARISTOBULUS eſtabliſhes a Monarchical Government. His Cruelty towards his Mother and Brethren. The Death of ARISTOBULUS.

A monarchical government eſtabliſhed by Ariſtobulus.

ARISTOBULUS, the eldeſt ſon of Hyrcanus, determined to aboliſh the principality, and eſtabliſh an abſolute government: and the period at which he effected this was four hundred and eighty-one years after the emancipation of the Jews from captivity in Babylon. He had a particular regard for his next brother, whoſe name was Antigonus, and he admitted him to ſome ſhare in the government; but his mother, whom he conſidered as his rival to ſovereignty, Hyrcanus having bequeathed to her all that was in his power to leave, he ordered into cloſe confinement, and his three younger brethren he conſigned to the ſame fate. So horribly unnatural was his cruelty, as actually to ſtarve his mother in her priſon, and, on ſome equally malignant and groundleſs inſinuations, to ſacrifice the life of his favourite brother Antigonus. It was ſome time before Ariſtobulus would attend to the malevolent ſuggeſtions againſt his brother. On the approach of the feaſt of the Tabernacles, Ariſtobulus was confined to his bed by ſickneſs: and at this time Antigonus came from the army in great martial pomp, and, attended by his guards, repaired to the temple, in order to ſupplicate heaven for the reſtoration of his brother's health. The enemies of Antigonus inſinuated to the king, that the magnificence and ſtate which his brother had aſſumed, was an evidence that he aſpired to the ſovereignty. Ariſtobulus did not give credit to all that was reported concerning his brother, but ſuppoſing there to be ſome foundation for a part, he determined to provide for his own ſafety, without appearing to be apprehenſive of his danger. The king ſtationed a guard in a ſubterraneous place in the tower, which has ſince received the name of Antonia, and commanded them, that if Antigonus came that way unarmed, they ſhould not moleſt him; but that if they obſerved him provided for defence, they

His cruelties.

ſhould take away his life. Ariſtobulus diſpatched a meſſenger to requeſt the preſence of Antigonus in his apartment, and ſtrictly to enjoin him to come unarmed: but the queen and other of his enemies prevailed upon the meſſenger to ſay, that the king deſired to ſee him equipped in an extraordinary fine ſuit of armour which, it had been told him, he poſſeſſed. Unſuſpecting the treachery, Antigonus immediately went forth completely armed; and he was ſlain by the ſoldiers poſted in the dark paſſage of the tower of Straton. Judas, whoſe prophecies had been conſtantly verified, upon obſerving Antigonus go to the temple, ſaid to his diſciples that he was weary of exiſtence, ſince his reputation as a prophet was entirely loſt; for that he had predicted the death of Antigonus ſhould happen on that day at Straton's tower; but that he was ſtill alive, the place fix hundred furlongs diſtance, and the day more than half elapſed. Preſently after this, news was brought that Antigonus was ſlain under the tower, according to his preſage. This tower was called Straton's tower, as well as that upon the coaſt, which was afterwards diſtinguiſhed by the name of Cæſarea.

Laſt illneſs and death of Ariſtobulus.

The ſevere upbraidings of conſcience for the barbarous murder of his brother greatly increaſed the diſtemper of Ariſtobulus, and a vomiting of blood enſued: as an attendant was conveying ſome of it away in a veſſel, he ſpilt a part, ſeemingly by the direction of Providence, on the ſpot where the marks of Antigonus's blood were yet to be ſeen. This event, which was ſuppoſed to have happened from deſign, produced ſome diſorder, the cauſe of which the king anxiouſly enquired; and having extorted it from his attendants by entreaties and threats, he ſaid, "The all-ſeeing Power hath detected my iniquity, and my brother's murder hath called down the vengeance of heaven upon me. How long ſhall I hold that life which is forfeited to the blood of a mother and a brother? Rather why do I not expire on a ſudden, than thus yield my life drop by drop, as if the ſevereſt puniſhment was inadequate to my guilt?" Upon uttering theſe words, Ariſtobulus, who was ſurnamed Philellen, ſignifying "a lover of the Greeks," inſtantly died, having reigned only one year.

His acts and character.

He ſubdued and annexed a conſiderable part of Ituræa to the territory of Judæa, and compelled the people to ſubmit to circumciſion and other Jewiſh inſtitutions, on the penalty of baniſhment: and he performed other important ſervices to his country. Excepting in reſpect to the matters already urged againſt him, he was conſidered as a man of modeſty and juſtice. On the authority of Timagenes, Strabo ſpeaks of him to this effect. "He was of a good diſpoſition, and in many inſtances proved himſelf a friend to the Jews: he extended their juriſdiction over a great part of Ituræa, and united the people in the common bond of circumciſion.

CHAP. XIII.

JANNÆUS ALEXANDER advanced to the Sovereignty: He puts one of his Brothers to Death, and lays Siege to PTOLEMAIS, but abandons the Enterpriſe. PTOLEMY of ASOCHIS takes the Town by Aſſault.

Jannæus, called alſo Alexander, made king.

SALOME, called Alexandra by the Greeks, reſtored the three brothers of Ariſtobulus, her late huſband, to liberty; and Jannæus, otherwiſe called Alexander, who was the eldeſt, and of a diſpoſition leſs violent than the others, ſhe raiſed to the throne. It was the fortune of Alexander to incur his father's averſion ſoon after his birth; and this is ſaid to be the reaſon of his diſpleaſure: Hyrcanus had a dream that the Almighty appeared to him, and that upon aſking who ſhould be his ſucceſſor, the reſemblance of Alexander was immediately repreſented to him. This circumſtance prejudiced him ſo much againſt Alexander, that he ſent him to be brought up in Galilee. Alexander cauſed one of his brothers to be put to death for attempting to ſupplant him in the government: but he made a generous proviſion for the other brother, who contented himſelf in a private ſtation.

He lays ſiege to Ptolemais.

Alexander led an army to Ptolemais, and gave battle to a body of the enemy's forces, whom he compelled to retreat into the city, where he kept them blocked up. Gaza, another ſea-coaſt town, remained at this time unſubdued, as did Dora and the tower of Straton, which were in poſſeſſion of Zoilus. Antiochus Philometer and his brother Antiochus Cyzicenus, were ſo exhauſted in the wars they had maintained againſt each other, that the people of Ptolemais expected no relief from them. Zoilus, who had been waiting for the opportunity of making advantage of the prevailing diviſions, afforded ſome relief to Ptolemais, but the force he ſent was not ſufficient to be of any conſiderable ſervice. The people of Ptolemais had no hope of relief but from Egypt, and their principal dependence was upon Ptolemy Lathurus, who having been compelled to evacuate his kingdom by his mother Cleopatra, had retired to Cyprus. They ſent to him an embaſſy, commiſſioned to ſolicit his aſſiſtance againſt Alexander, and to aſſure him there was every reaſon to believe the people of Gaza and Ptolemais would declare in his favour immediately upon his entering Syria, and that he would be ſupported by Zoilus, the Sidonians, and other neighbouring people. Ptolemy ordered all poſſible diſpatch in the equipment of a fleet for this enterpriſe.

The people refuſe to treat with him.

Ptolemy diſembarked at Sicamin, and thence marched, at the head of about thirty thouſand horſe and foot, to Ptolemais. On his arrival before the city, he diſpatched an embaſſy to the people, but they refuſed to receive the meſſage, and to hold any intercourſe with either the king or his agents. This diſappointment ſo greatly embarraſſed him, that he knew not what meaſures to purſue. Zoilus and ſome commiſſioners from Gaza repreſented to Ptolemy, that the Jews and Alexander were committing great devaſtations in their territories, and

and requeſted his aſſiſtance, to repel them. Upon the appearance of Ptolemy, Alexander judged it prudent to raiſe the ſiege. He engaged in a ſecret treaty with Cleopatra to ſubdue Ptolemy, whom he, at the ſame time, treated as a friend and ally, offering him four hundred talents of ſilver, on condition of ſurrendering to him the uſurper Zoilus, and reſtored to the Jews the lands which he poſſeſſed, and had formerly belonged to them. Ptolemy readily embraced the propoſal, and ſeized Zoilus; but upon diſcovering that Alexander had privately made propoſals to Cleopatra, he conſidered the treaty to be violated, and therefore laid ſiege to Ptolemais. He appointed one part of his army to proſecute the ſiege, and led the other to ravage the country of Judæa. Alexander aſſembled an army, which ſome aſſert was compoſed of fifty, and others of eighty thouſand troops, to oppoſe the operations of Ptolemy, who, taking advantage of the ſabbath-day, reduced Aſochis, a city in Galilee, by aſſault, acquired an immenſe booty, and made about ten thouſand of the people priſoners.

Ptolemy takes Aſochis by aſſault.

CHAP. XIV.

ALEXANDER defeated by PTOLEMY LATHURUS. PTOLEMAIS ſubdued by CLEOPATRA, who enters into Treaty with ALEXANDER. The Siege of GAZA. APPOLLODOTUS murdered by LYSIMACHUS, who treacherouſly ſurrenders the City. ANTIOCHUS CYZICENUS vanquiſhed and put to Death by SELEUCUS. DEMETRIUS EUCÆUS aſcends the Throne of DAMASCUS. ANTIOCHUS ſlain by the PARTHIANS. He is ſucceeded by PHILIP and DEMETRIUS. Fifty Thouſand JEWS killed in a Rebellion.

Ptolemy defeats the army of Alexander, with great ſlaughter.

HAVING ſubdued Aſochis, Ptolemy made an aſſault upon Sopphoris, but in this attempt he was defeated, and ſuſtained great loſs. He then led his army againſt Alexander, whom he met with in the neighbourhood† of Aſſophus, adjacent to the river of Jordan, and pitched his camp oppoſite to that of the enemy. The van of Alexander's army was compoſed of eight thouſand of the ſoldiers called Hecatontomachi, who were provided with braſen bucklers. In the front of his forces Ptolemy had ſome warriors equipped in the ſame manner, but his followers were not in general ſo well armed as their adverſaries, and they were therefore the leſs anxious for an engagement. Philoſtephanus, an officer of great ſkill and experience, encouraged them to expect ſucceſs. They croſſed the river; and to this movement Alexander, who was ſtationed on the oppoſite ſhore, made no oppoſition, judging that he ſhould with leſs difficulty obtain a conqueſt if he could attack the enemy while they were in a ſituation from which the river behind them would render a retreat impracticable. The battle was ſuſtained with great bravery on both ſides: upon a body of Ptolemy's troops giving way, victory ſeemed to favour Alexander; but upon the arrival of Philoſtephanus with a reinforcement, the Jews were entirely routed, and purſued by Ptolemy till his ſoldiers were fatigued, and their weapons blunted by the havock they made. It is recorded, that thirty thouſand men were ſlain in the encounter; and Timagenes ſays, in his hiſtory, that the number was fifty thouſand. Great numbers were made priſoners, and the reſt eſcaped by flight.

Cruel act of Ptolemy.

After this terrible carnage, Ptolemy went to ſome villages belonging to the Jews, and commanded his ſoldiers to murder the women and children, and then to put the parts of their bodies into veſſels of water which were to be placed over fires. He had recourſe to this bloody ſtratagem, in order to ſtrike terror into thoſe who had eſcaped by flight, by inſpiring the idea that his army was addicted to feed upon the fleſh of an enemy. This ſhocking barbarity is mentioned both by Strabo and Nicolaus.

Cleopatra endeavours to check him.

Judæa being ravaged, and Gaza ſubdued, Cleopatra judged it neceſſary to give a check to the enterpriſing ſpirit of her ſon Ptolemy; and ſhe was farther induced to this, as he had already advanced to the gates of Egypt, and had formed a deſign of uſurping the government. She muſtered both her military and naval forces with all poſſible diſpatch, and appointed for her generals two Jews named Chelcias and Ananias. She tranſported her moſt valuable treaſure, her grand-children, and her laſt will, to the iſland of Coas. She ſent a ſtrong naval force and her ſon Alexander to preſerve peace in Phœnicia, in which province a revolt was threatened; and ſhe went herſelf to Ptolemais, where being refuſed admittance, ſhe ordered the city to be aſſaulted. Hereupon Ptolemy evacuated Syria, and repaired to Egypt, in the flattering expectation that he ſhould find that country in a defenceleſs ſtate: but in this attempt he was defeated; and in purſuing Ptolemy, Chelcias, one of the generals of Cleopatra, loſt his life in Cœlo-Syria.

Renews a league of friendſhip with Alexander;

The queen detached a body of troops in purſuit of Ptolemy, who was again driven out of his own country, and under the neceſſity of eſtabliſhing his winter quarters in Gaza. In the interim ſhe became miſtreſs of Ptolemais, which was taken by aſſault. The queen received preſents from Alexander, whom ſhe treated in a moſt gracious manner, conſidering him as a prince violently perſecuted, and as having no reſource for relief but in herſelf. The impolicy of ſuffering ſuch numbers of Jews to remain dependent on the will of one man was urged to Cleopatra, and ſhe was adviſed to ſeize Alexander and his kingdom: but this was oppoſed by Ananias, who pleaded the iniquity of the meaſure, which would render her an object of the moſt violent deteſtation to the honeſt part

† In the Theſaurus Geograph. of Ortelius, this place is denominated Aſochis, or Aſſophus.

part of the Jewiſh people. The conduct of Ananias proved highly agreeable to the queen; and ſhe afterwards renewed a league of amity with Alexander, at a city of Cœlo-Syria called Scythopolis.

who beſieges and takes Gadara.

Alexander being no longer in dread of the power of Ptolemy, led his army againſt Gadara, in Cœlo-Syria, which after a ſiege of ten months he ſubdued; he then proceeded to Amathon, the ſtrongeſt fort on the river Jordan, where Theodotus, the ſon of Zeno, had depoſited his treaſure, and this place he reduced. Theodotus, in revenge for the injury he had received, attacked the Jews by ſurprize, deſtroyed ten thouſand of them, and made booty of Alexander's baggage. Notwithſtanding this misfortune, the king attacked and ſubdued the ſea-coaſt towns called Raphia and Anthedon, to which Herod afterwards gave the name of Agrippiades. Cleopatra had now returned to Egypt, as had Ptolemy from Gaza to Cyprus. Alexander availed himſelf of this opportunity to lay ſiege to the city of Gaza and ravage the country, in order to revenge himſelf upon the people for having formerly ſolicited Ptolemy to join in repulſing him. Appollodotus, attended by ten thouſand citizens and two thouſand mercenaries, made an intrepid ſally one night upon the camp of the enemy, who ſuppoſing Ptolemy had come to the relief of the beſieged were greatly diſconcerted: but when day-light diſcovered their miſtake, they rallied and charged Appollodotus with ſo much fury as to kill ten thouſand of his party. Notwithſtanding their defeat and being threatened by famine, the people of Gaza determined to encounter all difficulties rather than ſubmit to the enemy: and they were encouraged to perſiſt in this reſolution by Aretas, an Arabian king; but he did not afford the timely aſſiſtance he had promiſed them.

Gaza ſurrendered to Alexander, who makes great ſlaughter of the citizens.

Lyſimachus being envious of his own brother for the great reputation he had acquired, barbarouſly murdered him; and then with the concurrence of his adherents, treacherouſly ſurrendered the city to Alexander. Upon entering the town, he ſeemed inclined to moderation: but he ſoon gave his troops unlimited liberty for deſtruction, and a terrible carnage enſued, in which, however, as many of the Jews as of the people of Gaza were ſlain. Some of the inhabitants fired their own houſes, that they might not be plundered by the enemy; and ſome killed their wives and children, preferring that they ſhould die in freedom rather than live in bondage. The ſenators were in council when Alexander entered the city, and five hundred of them fled to the temple of Apollo for ſanctuary, but they were all ſlain, and the city was pillaged, and entirely deſtroyed. Alexander now returned to Babylon, after having employed a year in the expedition againſt Gaza.

Antiochus Gryphus dies, and is ſucceeded by Seleucus.

Nearly at this period Antiochus Gryphus fell a ſacrifice to the treachery of Heraclean in the nine-and-twentieth year of his ſovereignty, and in the forty-fifth year of his age. He was ſucceeded in the government by his ſon Seleucus, who commenced war againſt his uncle Antiochus Cyzicenus, whom he ſubdued in an engagement, and afterwards put to death. Some time after the deceaſe of Cyzicenus, his ſon Antiochus, ſurnamed Euſebes, was crowned at Arad. He declared war againſt Seleucus, whom he defeated and drove out of Syria. Seleucus fled to Cilicia; and notwithſtanding he was received in a moſt friendly manner, he impoſed upon the Mopſeates the moſt oppreſſive taxes, which ſo greatly incenſed them againſt him that they ſet fire to the palace, wherein Seleucus and his attendants were conſumed.

Antiochus Cyzicenus ſlain.

During the government of Antiochus Cyzicenus in Syria, a brother of Seleucus, who was alſo named Antiochus, declared war againſt him, in which Cyzicenus loſt his life. He was ſucceeded in the ſovereignty by his brother Philip, who reigned over a part of Syria. Hereupon Ptolemy Lathurus advanced Demetrius Eucærus, his fourth brother, to the throne of Damaſcus. Antiochus defended himſelf with ſingular bravery againſt his brothers: but he eſpouſed the cauſe of Laodice, queen of the Galadenes, in the war againſt the Parthians, by whom he was * ſlain in battle, after having manifeſted himſelf a man of great intrepidity. His own brothers, Philip and Demetrius, ſucceeded to the government of Syria, as before obſerved.

Alexander, being inſulted by the Jews, ſlays ſix thouſand of them.

About this time Alexander was highly enraged againſt the people under his command. On the celebration of the feaſt of the Tabernacles, it was a cuſtom among the Jews to march in proceſſion, carrying boughs of palm and citron. While Alexander was preparing to aſſiſt in the uſual ſolemnities, the people threw citrons at him, called him ſlave, and applied to him other inſulting terms. Highly incenſed at this conduct, he cauſed ſix thouſand of the multitude to be ſlain: and he had a partition of wood fixed up to keep the crowd from the altar. He entertained no eſteem for the Syrians, and judged it not prudent to rely on them: but he choſe the Piſidians and Cilicians as mercenaries for proſecuting his ſchemes. He ſubdued the Arabians, rendered the Moabites and Galaadites tributaries, and deſtroyed Amathus, without oppoſition from Theodorus. He declared war againſt Obed, king of Arabia, during which he was ſurprized by an ambuſh in the neighbourhood of Gadara, in Galilee, and forced into a craggy and narrow paſſage, whence, with infinite difficulty, he retreated to Jeruſalem. A rebellion now enſued, which continued for the ſpace of ſix years, in the courſe of which no leſs than fifty thouſand lives were loſt. The king became extremely deſirous to effect a reconciliation: but the more anxiety he expreſſed on the ſubject, the more averſe were the people to a compliance. At length he aſked, by what means he could ſatisfy them: and the reply was, that he

* Vaillant, in his *Nummi Seleucidorum*, endeavours to prove this an error of Joſephus.

would

would do it by cutting his own throat. They ſolicited the aſſiſtance of Demetrius Eucærus againſt Alexander.

CHAP. XV.

ALEXANDER is defeated by DEMETRIUS EUCÆRUS. ALEXANDER ſubdues BETHAMA. He maſſacres Eight Hundred JEWS with their Wives and Children. DEMETRIUS is carried Priſoner to PARTHIA, where he dies.

DEMETRIUS Eucærus led an army conſiſting of three thouſand horſe, and forty thouſand foot, including auxiliaries, and pitched his camp in the neighbourhood of Sichem. Alexander marched againſt him at the head of about twenty thouſand of his adherents, and about ſix thouſand Greek mercenaries. Alexander employed every ſtratagem his imagination could ſuggeſt, to ſeduce the troops of his adverſary to join him; and a like conduct was purſued by Demetrius towards the Greek mercenaries: but neither of them was able to ſucceed.

The army of Alexander overcome and put to flight by Demetrius.

The armies joined battle, and Demetrius proved victorious. Great havock was made on both ſides: and the auxiliaries of Alexander fought with aſtoniſhing bravery, every man of them yielding his life ſword in hand. Alexander fled to the mountains, and compaſſion for his misfortunes ſoon after induced ſix thouſand Jews to join him. This reinforcement proved ſo alarming a circumſtance to Demetrius, that he retired. The reſt of the Jews continued the war againſt Alexander, notwithſtanding they were vanquiſhed, and great ſlaughter was made among them in every engagement. At length they were compelled to ſeek refuge; and moſt of the Jews, and among them the principal men, fled to Bethama, where they were beſieged by Alexander, who, after he had ſubdued the town, carried them priſoners to Jeruſalem, where he exerciſed upon them the

Horrid cruelties of Alexander.

moſt ſhocking cruelty. He gave a treat to his concubines in a turret which commanded an extenſive proſpect, and for the entertainment of his company he cauſed eight hundred Jews to be crucified, and the throats of their wives and children to be cut at the ſame time. Thus were the tortures of theſe unhappy victims aggravated, by being witneſſes to the barbarity executed upon thoſe to whom they were connected by the tendereſt bonds. They had revolted againſt their lawful ſovereign, invited foreign powers to ſupport them in rebellion, put his crown and life to the moſt imminent danger, and drove him to the neceſſity of relinquiſhing the poſſeſſions he had obtained in the wars againſt the Moabites and Galaadites, as a gratuity to the king of Arabia, for declining to eſpouſe the cauſe of his refractory ſubjects: theſe, not to mention other circumſtances of a ſimilar kind, were certainly an high provocation to ſeverity of puniſhment: but yet by no means ſufficient to juſtify his unnatural rigour. The above inſtance of cruelty rendered Alexander ſo obnoxious to the Jews, that they diſtinguiſhed him by the appellation of * Thracidas. About eight-thouſand of the ſoldiers who had taken up arms againſt the king, eſcaped by night, and lived in retirement during the remaining part of Alexander's reign, which he enjoyed peaceably after the inſurrection above-mentioned had been quelled.

Demetrius beſieges Berœa; but is afterwards taken priſoner, and ſent to Parthia, where he dies.

From Judæa, Demetrius marched with ten thouſand foot and one thouſand horſe to beſiege his brother Philip in the town of Berœa. Straton, the friend of Philip, who held the government of the place, applied to Zizus, a prince of Arabia, and Mithridates Sinaces, king of Parthia, for aſſiſtance. They ſupplied a formidable army to repulſe Demetrius, whoſe people being greatly diſtreſſed for water, and perpetually annoyed by the darts and arrows of the confederate powers, at length ſurrendered, Demetrius being taken priſoner, and ſent as a preſent to Mithridates, king of Parthia. The Antiochians who were found in the camp were allowed to return to Antioch. Mithridates behaved to his priſoner with a degree of liberality and reſpect that acquired him great honour; but being ſeized with illneſs, Demetrius did not long ſurvive. In a ſhort time after Demetrius had been made priſoner, Philip repaired to Antioch, and aſſumed the government of the Syrian dominions. While he was engaged in an expedition againſt the Parthians, his brother Antiochus, otherwiſe called Dionyſius, procured himſelf to be inveſted with the ſovereignty of Damaſcus. Upon receiving intelligence of this event, Philip immediately repaired to the city, where he gained admittance by means of Mileſius, who was governor of the fort, and depoſed Antiochus. He offered no gratuity to Mileſius, leſt it ſhould be imagined that he had been admitted into the town through bribery, rather than the authority of his name and character: and for this neglect that officer ſeized an opportunity of revenge. While Philip was engaged in his uſual exerciſes and diverſions at the circus, Mileſius ſhut the gates of the city againſt him, and determined again to receive Antiochus; who upon gaining information of what had happened, marched out of Arabia, and entered Judæa with an army of eight thouſand foot, and eight hundred horſe. Hereupon Alexander cauſed a ditch to be cut of conſiderable depth, extending from Caparſaba, which is now called Antipatris, to the ſea of Joppa, which was the only paſſage whereby acceſs could be gained to the town. He alſo erected a wall of conſiderable length, and

A terrible encounter between Alexander and Antiochus; wherein the army of the latter is routed, and himſelf ſlain.

* The Thracians being remarkable for a cruelty of diſpoſition, according to Thucydides, and other hiſtorical writers.

a number of towers, compoſed of wood. Antiochus ſet fire to theſe wooden fortifications, by which means he gained a paſſage into Arabia. He proceeded to engage the enemy, who gave way on his firſt attack; but they ſoon after advanced with ten thouſand horſe, and Antiochus encountered them with great vigour, and a bloody conteſt enſued. Antiochus had ſo greatly the advantage, that he conſidered himſelf ſecure of victory: but obſerving one of the wings in danger of being overpowered, he eagerly preſſed to its relief, but in the attempt it was his fortune to be ſlain. The troops were ſo diſpirited by the death of their leader, that they fled in confuſion to Cana, where the majority of them periſhed for want of food. Merely from a principle of oppoſition to Ptolemy, the ſon of Mennæus, the people of Damaſcus elected Aretus to ſucceed Antiochus Dionyſius in the government of Cœlo-Syria. He led an army into Judæa, vanquiſhed Alexander in the neighbourhood of Addida, and after having concluded a treaty with him, returned to Damaſcus.

Alexander ſubdues ſeveral places.

Alexander ſubdued the city of Dion by aſſault. After this enterprize he proceeded to Eſſa, where Zeno had depoſited all his valuable treaſure: he environed the place with three walls, after which he reduced it by aſſault. He then marched againſt Gaulana, Seleucia, the Vale of Antiochus, and the fortreſs of Gamala, which places he alſo conquered by ſtorm. Many accuſations of mal-adminiſtration having been exhibited againſt Demetrius, Alexander deprived him of the regal authority. After having employed three years in the above expeditions, Alexander conducted his army back to Jeruſalem; and the Jews received him with the warmeſt congratulations, expreſſing a perfect ſatisfaction in his conduct, which had brought their affairs into ſo proſperous a train.

Extenſive dominions of the Jews.

At this period the Jews were in poſſeſſion of many conſiderable places in Syria, Idumæa, and Phœnicia: as Apollonia, Joppa, Jamnia, Azotus, Gaza, Anthedon, Raphia, Roinocura, and the tower of Straton, on the ſea-coaſt. In the inland part of Idumæa, they had Adora, Mariſſa, Samaria, and the mountains of Carmel and Itabyr, Scythopolis, Gadara, Gaulanitis, Seleucia, and *Gabala: in the country of the Moabites, Eſſebon, Medaba, Lemba, Oron, Thelithon, and Zara: and in Cilicia, Aulon, and Pella. The laſt-mentioned city was deſtroyed in conſequence of the inhabitants having refuſed to adopt the laws and cuſtoms of the Jews, who poſſeſſed many places in Syria, which we have not particularized.

Alexander's ſickneſs and death.

Towards the concluſion of his reign, Alexander became violently addicted to intemperance, the conſequence of which was a quartan ague. He was afflicted with this diſtemper for three years, during which ſpace he ſtill continued his attention to the affairs of government and the army: but his exceſſes, and the cares annexed to his ſtation, at length produced his death, which happened on the frontiers of the Geraſens, during the ſiege of the caſtle of Ragaba, ſituated on the other ſide the river Jordan.

His queen's lamentation thereupon.

The queen Alexandra judging her conſort beyond the poſſibility of recovery, gave way to the violence of grief, and lamented the miſerable ſituation to which herſelf and children would be reduced by his death. "My beloved huſband, (ſaid ſhe) what will be the fate of your wife and children if we are deprived of your protection, and left to the mercy of your moſt inveterate foes!" To this Alexander replied, "I particularly requeſt that you follow the advice I am about to give: as the only effectual means to ſecure a peaceable ſucceſſion to yourſelf and children, keep my deceaſe profoundly ſecret from the army till the caſtle ſhall be ſubdued; then repair in triumph to Jeruſalem with the news of victory; and let your principal care be to ingratiate yourſelf into the eſteem of the Phariſees; for your character will receive its colour from the intereſt you form with that ſect, to whoſe opinions thoſe of the multitude are entirely ſubſervient. The popular clamour againſt me has been raiſed by an oppoſition to them. On your arrival at Jeruſalem, ſend for the principal men among the Phariſees, expoſe my corpſe before them, and ſay, that from a veneration of their piety and juſtice, you reſign the body either to be allowed the ceremony of interment, or be treated with contempt and indignity in return for my paſt unworthy conduct, as their diſcretion ſhall dictate; and aſſure them, that in this, and all other matters of a public nature, you will obſerve an implicit obedience to their authority. Follow this counſel, and my remains will infallibly receive the honours of a magnificent funeral; and yourſelf and your offſpring will be eſtabliſhed in the dignities of the royal ſtation." Having concluded this ſpeech, Alexander expired, in the twenty-ſeventh year of his ſovereignty, and in the forty-ninth of his age.

* Card. Noris, in his book de Epocha Syromaced. calls this place Gamala.

CHAP. XVI.

HYRCANUS, the eldeſt Son of ALEXANDER, is advanced to the pontificate. ARISTOBULUS leads an Army againſt PTOLEMY. The Siege of PTOLEMAIS by TIGRANES, King of ARMENIA. MITHRIDATES vanquiſhed by LUCULLUS. The Forts belonging to Queen ALEXANDRA ſubmit to ARISTOBULUS, whoſe Wife and Children ſhe impriſons. ALEXANDRA dies.

Alexandra obtains the good will of the Phariſees.

THE caſtle being ſubdued, the queen, in conformity to the direction of her late huſband, delivered the body to the Phariſees, to be diſpoſed of as they ſhould judge expedient, and ſubmitted the adminiſtration entirely

entirely to their direction. This conduct acquired Alexandra the warmest friendship of the Pharisees, who had hitherto been her most inveterate enemies: they harangued the multitude, highly extolling the merits of Alexander, and lamenting the loss of so excellent a sovereign; and their discourse had such an effect upon the people, that they determined to observe his funeral with a magnificence superior to what had been known on any former occasion.

Hyrcanus raised to the high-priesthood.

Alexander left two sons, the elder of whom was named Hyrcanus, and the other Aristobulus; but the regal dignity he bequeathed to his queen Alexandra. Hyrcanus was not qualified for affairs of state, being naturally disposed to a life of ease. Aristobulus was of an active and intrepid disposition. The disapprobation which the queen expressed of the administration during the life of her husband, obtained her the favour of the people. Through her interest Hyrcanus was appointed to the office of high-priest: this distinction was not given him on account of his seniority to Aristobulus, but on the consideration that he might be governed with the least difficulty. Though the government was conducted under the authority of the queen's name, she was a mere instrument to the Pharisees, to whose will she exacted a strict obedience in her subjects. The traditions and ordinances of the Pharisees, which had been suppressed by her father-in-law, she caused to be revived, at the instance of this sect, who also obtained her concurrence to the return of exiles, and such other measures as they were inclined to effect. She considerably augmented her own troops, and had a mercenary army in constant pay.

Intrigues and severities of the Pharisees.

In this last, and some other particular instances, she acted independent of the Pharisees. Her great power rendered her so formidable to the neighbouring states, that they sent her hostages as a security for not committing acts of hostility. The Pharisees were perpetually urging the queen to acts which fomented disorders in the government. They became exceedingly importunate for vengeance to be executed upon those who had advised taking away the lives of the eight hundred Jews, of whom we have already spoken. In compliance with their request, Diogenes was put to death, and after him many others. At length the leading men among those who were prosecuted by the Pharisees repaired to the queen, Aristobulus being at their head; and his countenance manifested the abhorrence he entertained of the public measures. The adherents of Aristobulus represented to the queen, that in the utmost extremity of danger they had preserved an uniform loyalty to their late sovereign, who had generously rewarded their services: and they supplicated, that since they had escaped the perils of war, they might not be sacrificed to the malevolence and treachery of their domestic enemies. They added, that if their persecutors would proceed no further in their sanguinary purpose, from a respect to their superiors, they would suppress future complaints on what had been already perpetrated. They requested that if their adversaries were permitted to continue their cruelties, the queen would allow them to withdraw, saying they would rather yield their lives in the palace than retire from her jurisdiction without her consent. They observed, that to countenance the declared enemies of her deceased consort, at the expence of his approved friends, would be a severe reproach upon her majesty's honour; and Aretas, the Arabian king, and other hostile powers, would enjoy a peculiar pleasure upon learning that she had driven from her court the men who had been so formidable, that their very names had formerly struck them with terror. They said, that if she was determined to yield every consideration to the ambition of the Pharisees, they had only to solicit her majesty to grant them permission to retire into castles and garrisons, where they would terminate a miserable existence, honourably sharing the common calamities which seemed to await the friends of the deceased king.

Remonstrance of Aristobulus and his adherents against them.

These expostulations drew tears from the auditors, who invoked the ghost of Alexander to compassionate those who had been slain, and those whom it was apprehended would experience a similar fate. Aristobulus spoke with the most freedom on the public cause, and he was the least reserved in uttering reproaches upon his mother. The people who were so heavily oppressed were themselves the cause of the calamities they experienced, by vesting the government in the hands of an impetuous and vindictive woman, notwithstanding the empire might have been legally consigned to a successor of the male line.

The queen gives the discontented Pharisees several strong places, reserving others to herself.

Being greatly embarrassed by the conduct of the malecontents, the queen judged she could not adopt a more expedient measure than that of appointing them to retire to several garrisons and places of strength: but it was stipulated that they should not enter Hyrcania, Alexandrias, and Machæras, in which places she had deposited her jewels and other valuable treasure. Soon after this she sent Aristobulus at the head of an army to oppose Ptolemy, surnamed Mennæus, near Damascus, he being a turbulent prince, and exceedingly vexatious to his neighbours: but he returned without effecting any considerable enterprise.

Expedition of Tigranes against the Syrians and Jews.

While affairs remained in this situation, Alexandra received intelligence that Tigranes, king of Armenia, had marched an immense army into Syria, and that his design was to penetrate into Judæa. In consequence of this alarming intelligence, the queen dispatched an embassy, charged to make compliments and present gifts to Tigranes, who was then encamped before Ptolemais. The queen Selene, otherwise named Cleopatra, who held the government of Syria, animated her subjects to oppose the operations of Tigranes. The ambassadors sent by Alexandra

Alexandra on the part of the whole Jewiſh people, were favourably received, and Tigranes aſſured them of a friendly diſpoſition, acknowledging that he conſidered himſelf highly honoured by the queen's ſending an embaſſy to him at ſo great a diſtance. Tigranes ſubdued Ptolemais, and immediately after that enterprize received information that Mithridates having been routed and purſued by Lucullus, had fled into Siberia; and that Lucullus being unable to overtake him, had marched into Armenia, where he was then committing great devaſtation. Hereupon Tigranes drew off his army, and reſolved to provide for the ſafety of his own dominions.

Ariſtobulus forms a deſign of obtaining the government.

Alexandra being ſeized with a dangerous illneſs, Ariſtobulus judged that he ſhould not meet a more favourable opportunity for executing the deſigns he had formed. Accompanied only by one attendant, he went privately by night to the forts and caſtles where the friends of his late father reſided. He was greatly diſſatisfied with the conduct of his mother; and he became uneaſy upon reflecting, that if death ſhould be the conſequence of her preſent indiſpoſition, the whole family would be at the mercy of the Phariſees, who had an abſolute authority over their creature Hyrcanus, the next in ſucceſſion to the government, and that he was totally unqualified for executing a public truſt. He communicated his purpoſe only to his wife, whom leaving, with his children, at Jeruſalem, he repaired to Agada, where an inhabitant of diſtinguiſhed rank, named Galates, gave him a liberal reception. On the day after that of his departure, his abſence was obſerved by Alexandra, who, however, entertained no idea of his intention, till ſhe was informed that ſeveral fortreſſes had ſubmitted to him. For when one place had accepted his propoſals, the example was immediately followed by the reſt. The queen and her party were thrown into the utmoſt conſternation, judging Ariſtobulus to be a man qualified to ſucceed in the enterpriſe he had undertaken; and they were further alarmed by the dreadful apprehenſion that they ſhould be called to a ſevere account for the barbarities they had exerciſed upon his friends. The wife and children of Ariſtobulus were ſeized, and confined under a ſtrong guard in the citadel adjacent to the temple. The people repaired in great bodies to the prince, who in fifteen days was maſter of two and twenty caſtles. He ſpeedily aſſembled an army from Mount Libanus, Trachonitis, and the neighbouring powers, who were readily inclined to ſupport the ſtronger party, from the expectation of the advantage they ſhould derive by aſſiſting in the eſtabliſhment of a new king. Hyrcanus and the elders requeſted that the queen would give directions as to the meaſures they were to purſue. They informed her of the great power of Ariſtobulus, ſaying their ſituation was deſperate, but that though ruin was to enſue, they could not act without her concurrence. She replied, that the ſtate of her mind and body rendered her wholly incapable of the cares of government, which ſhe reſigned entirely to their management: adding, that there was no deficiency either of men or money. Having delivered theſe words, ſhe expired, in the ſeventy-third year of her age, and in the ninth of her reign.

The rapid increaſe of his intereſt.

Death of Alexandra.

Alexandra was a woman highly ambitious of honour and command, and ſo particularly aſſiduous in the diſpatch of public buſineſs, that ſhe may ſerve as a worthy example to rulers of the other ſex. She attended to preſent circumſtances, without vainly endeavouring to penetrate into futurity. She was moderate in the exerciſe of her authority, and lived in high reputation for juſtice and integrity. After her deceaſe, the errors of her government were conſpicuous in the calamities experienced by the royal family. The queen having choſen the enemies of her houſe for her adviſers, is to be juſtly attributed as the cauſe of the misfortunes which followed. During her reign, however, ſhe preſerved the government in uninterrupted tranquillity.

Her character.

BOOK XIV.

Containing the HISTORY of the TRANSACTIONS, from the YEAR of the WORLD 3898, to 3929.

CHAP. I.

HYRCANUS defeated by ARISTOBULUS. An Accommodation between them.

HYRCANUS entered on the office of high-prieſt in the third year of the Olympiad one hundred and ſeventy-ſeven, when Q. Hortenſius, and Q. Metellus Creticus were conſuls. Ariſtobulus inſtantly prepared to attack him, and a battle was fought near Jericho, in which Hyrcanus was routed, many of his troops deſerting to the oppoſite party, and himſelf obliged to take refuge in the citadel, where, by the command of the mother of Ariſtobulus, his wife and children were impriſoned: the reſt of Hyrcanus's troops fought for ſafety within the

the verge of the temple, but in a little while were induced to submit. The paſſions of the brothers being at length cooled, they mutually agreed that the poſſeſſion of the government ſhould be ſecured to Ariſtobulus, while Hyrcanus ſhould enjoy his private fortune in the manner moſt agreeable to himſelf. This agreement was ſigned in the temple, and validated by the ceremonies of joining hands, pledging their public faith, and embracing each other in the ſight of all the aſſembly: and this being done, Ariſtobulus departed to his palace, and Hyrcanus to his private apartments in the ſame building.

Antipater ſtirs up the Jews againſt Ariſtobulus.

Among the adherents of Hyrcanus was a certain Idumæan, named Antipater, who was a mortal foe to Ariſtobulus. He was a man of fortune, of an active but litigious diſpoſition; and from an enmity which had long ſubſiſted between him and Ariſtobulus, he ſought to degrade the latter in the opinion of the people, by every poſſible method of calumny and detraction; and at length ſo far prevailed, as to excite their jealouſy and fear of him. Antipater uſed to inſinuate how unreaſonable it was that the elder brother ſhould be ſuperſeded by the younger, to the excluding him from his government and birthright; and hinted, that it was a diſgrace to the many noble Jews who permitted ſuch an aſſumption of power. In the ſame manner he talked to Hyrcanus, whom he adviſed to ſecrete himſelf, ſince the oppoſite party could not but have a deſign on his life, knowing that his brother was not ſafe while he lived. Hyrcanus was a man of an unſuſpecting diſpoſition, on whom this diſcourſe appeared to have little effect; but his brother Ariſtobulus was of warm and violent paſſions.

He applies to Aretas in behalf of Hyrcanus.

Antipater perceived that his inſinuations did not operate on Hyrcanus as he wiſhed: but he ſtill urged him to avoid his brother, till at length he prevailed on him to offer his friendſhip and ſervices to Aretas, king of Arabia, and claim his protection in return; and this advice appeared the more reaſonable, as Arabia was adjacent to Judæa. This reſolution being made, Antipater repaired to Aretas, and having obtained his oath not to deliver Hyrcanus into the hands of his enemies, he returned to him with an account of the ſucceſs of his expedition. Having remained a little while at Jeruſalem, he conducted Hyrcanus out of the city by night, and, making long journies, brought him ſafe to the city of Petra, where the court of Aretas was kept. He now exerted all his influence with the king to eſtabliſh Hyrcanus in his

Aretas promiſes him aſſiſtance.

paternal right; and, at length, by preſents and arguments, induced him to conſent. At the ſame time Hyrcanus promiſed that if, through the king's means, he ſhould be ſettled in his government, he would reſtore the twelve cities which his father had taken from the Arabians.

CHAP. II.

ARISTOBULUS defeated by ARETAS, who drives him to the Temple, and aſſaults him there. The JEWS retire to EGYPT, to celebrate the Feaſt of unleavened Bread. ONIAS ſtoned to Death.

Aretas overcomes Ariſtobulus, and aſſaults him in the temple.

ARETAS, encouraged by the promiſes of Hyrcanus, collected an army of fifty thouſand cavalry and infantry, with which he marched againſt Ariſtobulus, whom he ſoon overcame; and many of his troops deſerting to Hyrcanus, he retreated to Jeruſalem, to which place Aretas purſued him, and attacked him in the temple; moſt of the people, except the prieſts, now taking the part of Hyrcanus; while Aretas, with his Jewiſh, as well as Arabian forces, preſſed on with the utmoſt alacrity. As the feaſt of unleavened bread approached, at the time this war was depending, the principal Jews retired into Egypt; and at this period Onias, a holy man, ſecreted himſelf, in the expectation of a civil war. The Jews, impreſſed with an idea of the piety of Onias, intreated him, that, as his prayers had formerly delivered them from famine, he would now denounce a curſe on Ariſtobulus and his people, that they might be freed from the miſeries of war. Onias heſitated; but the people repeatedly urging him, he ſtood up in the midſt of them, and ſaid, "Thou, O God, art the King of kings; and ſince it ſo happens, that we who now ſtand before thee are thy people, and thy prieſts are thoſe who are beſieged in the temple, I humbly intreat that thou wouldeſt not liſten to the prayers of either party to deſtroy the other!" Thus ſaying, a ſet of villainous Jews ſtoned him to death; and his barbarous murder was avenged in the following manner. During the attack

Onias, for his piety and philanthropy, put to death.

of the temple, the time of the feaſt of unleavened bread arrived, when it was cuſtomary for the Jews to offer a number of ſacrifices: but the parties beſieged being deficient, deſired the others to ſupply them; and a thouſand drachmas, ready money, for each beaſt, was the agreed price. The prieſts and Ariſtobulus let down this money in a bag, from the wall of the temple: but when the aſſailants had received it, they refuſed to deliver the beaſts for ſacrifice, thus not only robbing men, but defrauding God of the ſacrifice intended for his ſervice. On this infamous conduct the prieſts united in prayer, that God would not permit the crime to eſcape without puniſhment. An immediate judgment was the conſequence of their prayers: a violent tempeſt deſcended, which cut off the fruits of the earth throughout the province: ſo that fifteen drachmas was the price of a ſingle meaſure of wheat.

Scaurus, the Roman general, ſent into Judea, and eſpouſes the intereſt of Ariſtobulus.

At this period Pompey being kept in Armenia, in conſequence of a war with Tigranes, diſpatched Scaurus into Syria, who arriving at Damaſcus, found that Metellus and Lollius had lately made capture of that city, and therefore proceeded towards Judæa. While he was on his way thither, an embaſſador arrived from Hyrcanus, and another from Ariſtobulus, each to treat of an alliance offen-

ſive and defenſive: and they each offered four hundred talents as the terms. Scaurus, on conſideration of the whole matter, accepted the offer of Ariſtobulus, and directed Aretas to retire from the ſiege of Jeruſalem, upon pain of being deemed an enemy to Rome. Scaurus now returned to Damaſcus, while Ariſtobulus advanced with his army againſt Aretas and Hyrcanus, whom he attacked and conquered in a place called Papyron, killing ſeven thouſand of their men, among whom was Cæphalis, the brother of Antipater.

CHAP. III.

The Acceptance of Bribes charged on GABINIUS and SCAURUS. The Diſpute between HYRCANUS and ARISTOBULUS heard before POMPEY, who poſtpones the Settlement of it: and ARISTOBULUS retires to JUDÆA.

Ariſtobulus ſends valuable preſents to Pompey.

WHEN Pompey was on his way to Damaſcus and Cœlo-Syria, embaſſadors attended him with preſents from Syria, Judæa, and Egypt. In particular, Ariſtobulus ſent him a golden vine, valued at five hundred talents, of which Strabo gives the following account: "A preſent was made to Pompey, from Egypt, of a crown weighing four hundred pieces of gold; and from Judæa another preſent, of a golden vine or garden, which received the name of *Delight*. Embaſſadors made theſe preſents; and in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, at Rome, I ſaw the vine, inſcribed 'Alexander, king of the Jews.' It was allowed to have been ſent by Ariſtobulus, prince of the Jews, and was eſtimated at five hundred talents."

Pompey hears the cauſe between the two brothers.

Pompey was now attended by other embaſſadors, viz. Antipater from Hyrcanus, and Nicodemus from Ariſtobulus, who charged Gabinius and Scaurus, the former with embezzling three, and the latter four hundred talents. Pompey undertook to hear this cauſe, and appointed the parties to attend him. The ſpring advancing, Pompey marched towards Damaſcus, in his way to which he deſtroyed Apamia, a fort belonging to Antiochus Cyzicenus. He likewiſe adverted to the conduct of Ptolemy Mennæus, a bad man; who was, however, permitted to redeem his life by paying a thouſand talents, which were diſtributed among the troops of Pompey. This prince next razed the fort of Lycias (poſſeſſed by Silas the Jew), and proceeded through Heliopolis and Chalcis, to Cœlo-Syria, and thence from Bella to Damaſcus, where the diſpute between the Jews and their princes was to be heard. Hyrcanus and Ariſtobulus charged each other, and the common people oppoſed both; ſaying, "They ought not to be governed by kings, but prieſts, agreeable to the laws of their country." They acknowledged that the two brothers were deſcended from the line of prieſthood; but inſiſted, that their view was to overturn the government and enſlave the people.

Plea of Hyrcanus.

Hyrcanus pleaded, that, though he was the elder brother, Ariſtobulus had uſurped his rank and eſtate, contrary to juſtice, had robbed him of his birth-right, and reduced him to a dependence on his own bounty. He repreſented him as a man diſpoſed to haraſs his neighbours both by land and ſea; and inſiſted, that the violence of his diſpoſition was what enraged the people againſt him.

Defence of Ariſtobulus.

The plea of Ariſtobulus was, that no view to uſurp the authority had deprived Hyrcanus of his title or dignity: but that he was ſet aſide from ruling, on the ſcore of incapacity for government, the people in general holding him in contempt. "For my part (ſaid Ariſtobulus) I had no choice but to aſſume the government, or venture its being transferred to another family; and with regard to the title of king, I held it only as I received it from my father Alexander." Theſe things he offered to prove by the teſtimony of a ſet of gaudy courtiers, whoſe evidence ſeemed fit only to be rejected by men of calm and temperate diſpoſitions.

The matter referred by Pompey to a future deciſion.

On hearing both ſides, Pompey ſeemed to be of opinion, that Ariſtobulus had been too haſty in his proceedings; but, for the preſent, he diſmiſſed both parties, promiſing that when he had reduced the Nabathæans, he would return and conſider the buſineſs farther; but he enjoined them to behave peaceably in the mean time, and, leſt Ariſtobulus ſhould interrupt him in his journey, diſmiſſed him with reſpectful compliments: but the latter, regardleſs of what Pompey had promiſed, departed to Delion, and from thence to Judæa.

CHAP. IV.

POMPEY in a rage marches againſt ARISTOBULUS, who delivers up the Caſtles in his Poſſeſſion, and retreats to JERUSALEM, towards which place POMPEY follows him.

Revenge of Pompey againſt Ariſtobulus, whom he purſues to Judæa.

POMPEY was ſo exaſperated at the proceedings of Ariſtobulus, that he combined the army he had deſtined againſt the Nabathæans, with thoſe forces he had raiſed in Damaſcus and other parts of Syria, and his Roman legions, and purſued him through Pella and Scythopolis, till he arrived at Coroe, in the center of Judæa, where he learnt that Ariſtobulus was retired to a ſtrong caſtle named Alexandrion, at the ſummit of a mountain. From this place he ſummoned him to come down, which, in dread of a war with the Romans, his friends adviſed him to comply with. They now held a conference on the ſubject of the diſpute between the brothers, after which Ariſtobulus obtained Pompey's permiſſion to retire to the caſtle; a favour which he frequently aſked, by way of

of obtaining his end, by keeping on good terms with Pompey: yet this did not prevent his putting himself in the best posture of defence, lest the latter should declare for his brother. Some time afterwards Pompey commanded him to deliver up his castles, and to signify to the governor thereof, the royal will, that no hesitation might be made. Aristobulus obeyed this order, but was so chagrined thereat, that he departed immediately to Jerusalem, to make preparations for a war which he now thought inevitable. In a little time Pompey followed him at the head of his army; but, while on his march, received an express from Pontus, informing him that Pharnaces had slain his father Mithridates.

Aristobulus delivers up his castles to Pompey.

The terms of Aristobulus accepted, but are not complied with.

The first place Pompey encamped at was Jericho, and the next day he proceeded towards Jerusalem. By this time Aristobulus, who had regretted his former conduct, went out to meet Pompey, to whom he offered a sum of money, with the command of the city, and whatever other gratification he might wish, so that a war could but be prevented. These terms were accepted by Pompey, who dispatched Gabinius, with some troops, to the city, to receive the offered money: but his endeavours were fruitless; for the gates of the city were shut on his approach, and it was urged, that the soldiers would not abide by the stipulation. This behaviour so enraged Pompey, that he advanced to Jerusalem, and directed that Aristobulus should be guarded in the strictest manner.

CHAP. V.

The Citizens of JERUSALEM divided. A Peace proposed, but rejected. The Temple assaulted and taken. JERUSALEM made tributary to the ROMANS. ARISTOBULUS carried Prisoner to ROME by POMPEY.

Opposite parties in the city.

DURING the time that Pompey lay before the town, the citizens were divided in opinion how to act. The friends of Aristobulus broke down the bridge between the temple and the city, having first possessed themselves of the former; while the adherents of Pompey admitted his army, and gave the city and palace into his hands. Piso, his lieutenant, being sent to take possession of them, fortified the buildings near the temple. This being done, Pompey made an offer of peace, which being rejected, he prepared for an assault; Hyrcanus supplying him with all things that were necessary. Pompey proposed to begin on the north side of the temple, which was the weakest part: but this was encompassed by a ditch, and guarded by high towers. Crags and precipices prevented all passage on the city-side, as the bridge was down: but the Romans, with amazing labour, filled the ditch with timber and other materials, and raised ramparts so high, that they played large stones on the walls of the temple. But the sabbath of the Jews intervening, gave the Romans an advantage; for on that day, though the law allowed them to repel force by force, yet they durst not work, even to hinder the operations of their enemies. The Romans observing that no opposition was made on the sabbath, employed that day in preparation for the attack on the following. This will serve to prove the high veneration the Jews have for their religion and laws, from which even the dread of death cannot induce them to depart.

The temple taken by assault, and a general massacre ensues.

When the siege had continued about two months, the temple was taken on a fast-day, in the hundred and seventy-ninth Olympiad, during the consulship of C. Antonius, and M. T. Cicero. On entering the place the enemy made a general massacre; but even this cruelty did not deter those at the altar from proceeding in their devotions, as they deemed it preferable to fall into the hands of an inveterate foe, than to abandon the rights of their religion. These facts are attested by Strabo, Nicolaus of Damascus, the Roman historian Livy, and others who have written of the life and actions of Pompey. The enemy attacked the great tower with engines and batteries, and having made a breach in a wall adjacent to it, the tower fell to the ground. The breach being made, the enemy crouded in at it; among the first of whom were Cornelius Faustus, the son of Sylla, Furius and Fabius, each with distinct parties. The place was covered with dead bodies, some of which were slain by the Romans, while many of the Jews killed each other: some threw themselves from the walls, others fired the houses, rather than be witness to the barbarities that were practised. About twelve thousand Jews fell in this action, though but few of the Romans. Among the prisoners was Absalom, the uncle and father-in-law of Aristobulus. A number of persons now entered the holy places, where none but the priests had ever been before; among whom were Pompey and his attendants, who found a table of gold, cups and a candlestick of the same metal; perfumes, incense, and, in the treasury, about two thousand talents. These things, however, he deemed holy, and from motives of piety forbore to touch them, but ordered the officers of the temple to cleanse the place on the following day, and offered sacrifices in the accustomed manner. He reinstated Hyrcanus in the office of high-priest, caused the incendiaries who promoted the war to be executed, and rewarded, according to their merits, Faustus, and others who had behaved valiantly in the attack. He rendered Jerusalem tributary to the Romans, and reduced to allegiance those towns in Cœlo-Syria which were possessed by the Jews, whom he confined to their antient boundaries. Gadara he caused to be rebuilt, in compliment to his freedman, Demetrius, who was born there, and gave up to their former inhabitants the towns of Hippon, Scythopolis, Dian, Samaria, Marissa,

Pious behaviour of Pompey.

Jerusalem made tributary to the Romans.

Mariſſa, Azotus, Jamnia, Arethuſa, and other places in the interior parts of the country: but Gaza, Joppa, Dora, and Straton's-Tower, being all on the coaſt, he made them free ports, and added them to the province. In future time Straton's-Tower took the name of Cæſarea, on its being rebuilt by Herod.

The feud between the two brothers the cauſe of the Jewiſh ſlavery and misfortune.

The ruin of Jeruſalem, and the loſs of the liberty of the Jews to the Romans, is to be dated from the quarrel between Hyrcanus and Ariſtobulus; as the Jews were compelled to reſtore to the Syrians what they had taken in war, to pay above ten thouſand talents to the Romans, and had the mortification to ſee the ſovereign authority tranſferred to the meaneſt of the people, which had hitherto remained with the prieſts.

The war being ended, Pompey aſſigned the government of Cœlo-Syria, even to Euphrates, and the borders of Egypt, to Scaurus, with whom he left two legions of Roman troops; departing himſelf to Rome, having Ariſtobulus, with his ſons Alexander and Antigonus, and two of his daughters priſoners: but Alexander found means to effect his eſcape.

Treaty concluded between Scaurus and the Jews.

Scaurus marching towards Petra, the chief place in Arabia, found the country ſo ſtony and deſolate, that he was compelled to commit great ravages in order to furniſh his ſoldiers with bread. Agreeable to an order of Hyrcanus, Antipater ſupplied Scaurus with corn and other neceſſaries from Judæa; and Antipater being known to Aretas, Scaurus commiſſioned him to go and treat with him; and he ſucceeded ſo well in his commiſſion, that Aretas agreed to pay three hundred talents to prevent the ruin of his country. Thus an apprehended war terminated to the equal ſatisfaction of both parties.

CHAP. VI.

ALEXANDER attacked and routed by GABINIUS, who offers an Amneſty, and orders the damaged Cities to be repaired. ALEXANDER delivers up his Caſtles. HYRCANUS reſtored to the Prieſthood. Five Courts of Juſtice conſtituted.

Gabinius marches againſt Alexander;

FREQUENT incurſions being made into Judæa, and much miſchief done by Alexander the ſon of Ariſtobulus, a command was given to Gabinius, who went from Rome to Syria againſt him, and performed many actions of bravery. At this time Hyrcanus the high-prieſt, though unable to reſiſt an enemy, propoſed to repair the walls of Jeruſalem, which Pompey had demoliſhed; but the Romans prevented his proceeding in this buſineſs. Alexander now collected through the country ten thouſand foot, and fifteen hundred horſe, conſiſting of Jews and others, and fortified the caſtle of Alexandrion, after having ſupplied it with ſtores. Gabinius proceeded to attack him; but ſent forward Marcus Antonius, and other officers, who being joined by Antipater's auxiliary forces, and the honeſt Jews commanded by Pitholaus and Malichus, came up with Alexander, who hereupon retreating towards Jeruſalem, a battle enſued, in which Alexander had three thouſand men ſlain, and the ſame number taken priſoners. Gabinius now beſieged Alexandrion, but offered pardon to the beſieged, on their ſurrender: but they ſtrongly guarded the walls of the caſtle, which the Romans bravely attacked, and killed many of them; Marcus Antonius, on this occaſion, behaving with diſtinguiſhed valour. Gabinius now left his army to proſecute the ſiege, and proceeded to a ſurvey of the country, and to give orders for the rebuilding thoſe cities which had been deſtroyed; in conſequence of which, after having been long deſerted, they ſoon became places of convenient reſidence. This being done, Gabinius repaired to the ſiege of Alexandrion, from whence Alexander ſent embaſſadors, offering to deliver that place, and the caſtles of Hyrcania and Machæras, on the condition of his pardon; which Gabinius granted, but razed the places to the ground. The mother of Alexander (whoſe huſband and children were priſoners at Rome) now viſited him, and he complied with all her propoſals. Hyrcanus was now conducted to Jeruſalem, and reinſtated in his office of high-prieſt. Five courts of juſtice were now eſtabliſhed, viz. at Jeruſalem, Gadara, Amathus, Jericho, and Saphora, the whole province being ſeparated into five equal diviſions: the people of each applying for the adminiſtration of juſtice in their own diſtrict.

who is defeated with great loſs of men.

Alexander delivers up to Gabinius the city and caſtles.

Ariſtobulus quits Rome, is purſued, and his army defeated.

Ariſtobulus eſcaping from Rome to Judæa, with a view to repair and fortify Alexandrion, after the deſtruction cauſed by the late ſiege, Gabinius diſpatched after him Siſenna, Antonius, and Servilius, to ſecure the place, and take him priſoner. His fame had brought many Jews to his intereſt, among whom was Pitholaus, governor of Jeruſalem, with a thouſand men well armed: many unarmed likewiſe attended, but thoſe he diſmiſſed. Marching with eight thouſand men to attack Machæras, the Romans overtook, fought, and conquered him, killing about five thouſand on the ſpot, while the reſt fled for ſafety. After being thus routed, Ariſtobulus, with about a thouſand men, fortified the caſtle as well as he was able; but in two days it was conquered by aſſault, and himſelf, and his ſon Antigonus made captives, and conducted to Gabinius, who ſent him a ſecond time priſoner to Rome, after he had poſſeſſed the offices of king and high-prieſt for three years and a half. Gabinius having intimated to the ſenate of Rome that he had promiſed their mother that the children of Ariſtobulus ſhould be ſet at liberty, on the giving up certain caſtles, they were ſent back to Jeruſalem in freedom.

He is ſent back priſoner to Rome.

An expedition againſt the Parthians was now undertaken by Gabinius, who, altering his intention, proceeded towards Egypt to reſtore Ptolemy. For this

this expedition Antipater assisted him with money, arms, and corn, and induced many of the Jews near Pelusium to enter into an alliance with him.

Alexander, ravaging Syria, is overcome by the Romans.

When Gabinius returned, he found that Alexander, son of Aristobulus, had ravaged Syria with a large army, compelled many Jews into his service, killed numbers of the Romans, and pursued the inhabitants to mount Gerizim, whither they had fled for refuge. Hereupon Gabinius sent Antipater, a man of honour and skill, to treat with the Syrians; by which many of the revolters were brought to a sense of their duty: but Alexander was inflexible; for having collected an army of thirty thousand Jews, he resolved to hazard a battle with Gabinius. This battle was fought on mount Itabyr; and Gabinius conquered them, killing ten thousand Jews.

Gabinius defeats the Nabathæans.

After this victory Gabinius, in consequence of Antipater's advice, proceeded to attack the Nabathæans, whom he totally routed, and gave liberty to Mithridates and Orsones, two noble Parthians, who sued for his protection, and whom he reported to have fled into their own country. Gabinius, having honourably discharged all that he had in trust, retired to Rome, and was succeeded in his command by Crassus.

CHAP. VII.

The PARTHIANS destroy CRASSUS and his Army. PITHOLAUS made Captive, and put to Death. Character of ANTIPATER.

The temple pillaged by Crassus.

WHILE Crassus was preparing to make war with the Parthians, he went to Judæa, and plundered the temple of eight thousand talents, exclusive of the two thousand which Pompey refused to touch. He took likewise a bar of gold of three hundred minas, each mina computed at two pounds and a half. This bar was secreted in a beam made hollow to receive it, and delivered to Crassus by Eleazar, who observing his avidity, gave him this as a composition for the rest; for adjoining to this timber were hangings of immense value; and Eleazar had likewise the care of the other rich ornaments of the temple: nor was this bar of gold delivered till Crassus had solemnly sworn he would be content with it, and take no more: but he stripped all the temple, in violation of his oath.

How great soever this treasure deposited in the temple may appear, it will not seem so extraordinary, when it is considered how long the Jews were in amassing it, and that it was sent from all parts of the world where the true God was worshipped. That this account of its immense value is not exaggerated, appears by the testimony of various historians, among whom Strabo says, "Some money which Cleopatra had deposited at the Isle of Coos, with eight hundred talents of the Jews, was sent for to that island by Mithridates." Now as the Jews have no public treasure but what is sacred, it is evident that the Jews of Asia, fearing a war with Mithridates, sent this treasure to Coos: for those of Judæa would rather have lodged it in the temple of Jerusalem. In another place Strabo says, "Sylla going through Greece, to attack Mithridates, dispatched Lucullus to Cyrene, which was then distracted by the quarrels of the Jews, who had spread themselves all over the world." Again, he says, "The Cyrenians consisted of burghers, husbandmen, strangers and Jews, the last of whom are so dispersed, that they are found in every habitable part of the earth. Egypt and Cyrene, while governed by one prince, and several other countries, embraced the laws, rites and customs of the Jews; allowed them religious assemblies, and even educated their own children in the Jewish mode. In Egypt were great numbers of them, to whom a part of the city of Alexandria was assigned, and they were allowed magistrates and courts of justice. The Egyptians corresponded well with the Jews, who had formerly come from that country, and were easily united with the people."

Testimonies of Strabo.

Crassus now proceeded to give battle to the Parthians; but himself and most of his army were cut to pieces. In the interim Cassius went to Syria, where he stopped the progress of the Parthians, whose success had rendered them insolent. He then proceeded, by the way of Tyre, to Judæa, where he assaulted Taricheæ, and took it, making thirty thousand prisoners, among whom were Pitholaus, the friend of Aristobulus, who was put to death by the advice of Antipater. This Antipater married Cypron, an Arabian lady of high rank, by whom he had four sons, Phasael, Herod (afterwards king) and a daughter named Salome. Antipater was a man of such obliging deportment, that he conciliated the affections of the princes and nobles who knew him; particularly of the king of Arabia, who entrusted the government of his children to his care, while he waged war with Aristobulus. By this time Cassius, having reinforced his army, proceeded to the river Euphrates, to oppose the progress of the Parthians.

Crassus worsted by the Parthians, whom Cassius repulses.

Antipater's progeny, and character.

CHAP. VIII.

CÆSAR liberates ARISTOBULUS, who is poisoned by the Partizans of POMPEY. ALEXANDER beheaded. His sister married to PHILIPPION, who being slain, she is then married to PTOLEMY.

Pompey flies from Rome.

SOME time after this, Cæsar having conquered Rome, found that Pompey and all the senate had fled from the city, and retired beyond the seas. Cæsar, therefore, gave Aristobulus his freedom, and placing two legions under his command, sent him into Syria, to keep that country in

ſubjection: but the ſatisfaction he had reaſon to hope from this diſtinction was of very ſhort duration; for the adherents of Pompey ſoon found means to deſtroy him by poiſon: but the friends of Cæſar took care of his funeral. For a conſiderable time his body was embalmed in honey, till at length Antony ſent it for interment in the royal vault.

Alexander put to death by Pompey.

Pompey having given orders to Scipio that Alexander, the ſon of Ariſtobulus, ſhould be beheaded for former ſeditious practices againſt the Romans, the ſentence was executed at Antioch. Hereupon Ptolemy Menæus, governor of Chalcis near Libanus, ſent his ſon Philippion to Aſkalon, requeſting that the widow of Ariſtobulus would ſend to him her ſon Antigonus, and her daughters. With one of theſe daughters, named Alexandra, Philippion became enamoured, and was married to her; but he being afterwards killed, Ptolemy his father eſpouſed her, and made proviſion for the family.

Antipater aſſiſts Cæſar in conquering Egypt.

The influence that Antipater had in Judæa was very conſiderable. After the conqueſt and death of Pompey, by the advice of Hyrcanus, he rendered great ſervice to Cæſar in his war in Egypt: for Mithridates bringing troops to the aid of Cæſar, being compelled to ſtop at Aſkalon, as he could not proceed to Peluſium, Antipater reinforced him with three thouſand Jews, and induced the principal people of Arabia, and all Syria, to give him their aid: among the aſſiſtant princes was Jamblicus and his ſon Ptolemy; and Tholomy of Libanus, the ſon of Sohemus: in fact, the people were ambitious who ſhould be foremoſt in their ſervices. Hereupon Mithridates proceeded to Peluſium, the inhabitants of which refuſing him admittance, he attacked the place, and broke down part of the wall. Antipater firſt entered at the breach; and the troops ſo well ſeconded him, that the town ſoon ſurrendered.

Peluſium taken by Mithridates.

After this Antipater and Mithridates being on their way to join Cæſar, were oppoſed by the Egyptian Jews in the country of Onias: but Antipater, whoſe credit as their countryman was not ſmall, produced a letter from Hyrcanus the high prieſt; on which the opponents afforded them ſuch ſupplies as might be neceſſary on their march; and the inhabitants of Memphis chearfully came into the ſame intereſt.

CHAP. IX.

ANTIPATER relieves MITHRIDATES when near loſing a Battle. CÆSAR honours HYRCANUS and ANTIPATER. ANTIGONUS complains againſt them to CÆSAR, who determines in their Favour.

Antipater reſcues Mithridates, and overcomes the enemy.

MITHRIDATES and Antipater attacked the enemy at a place called Delta, diſtinguiſhed by the name of the camp of the Jews. Mithridates was puſhed ſo hard, as to endanger a general rout, when Antipater, advancing by the bank of the river, relieved him, put the enemy to flight, took poſſeſſion of their camp, and ſent for Mithridates to ſhare in the booty. In this action Antipater loſt about fifty men, and Mithridates eight hundred. When Cæſar was informed what had happened, he confeſſed that the honour of the victory was due to Antipater, whom he employed in poſts of honour during the war, in conſequence of which he received a number of wounds.

Antipater and Hyrcanus highly honoured by Cæſar.

This war being over, Cæſar went by ſea to Syria, paying all poſſible reſpect to Hyrcanus and Antipater, the former of whom he confirmed in his office of high-prieſt, and made the other a freeman of Rome. Some writers affirm, that Hyrcanus was in the above war: Strabo ſays, "Hyrcanus the high-prieſt came with Mithridates into Egypt:" and, in another place, he tells us that "Mithridates having gone thither by himſelf, ſent for Antipater, governor of Judæa, to come to him at Aſkalon, who brought three thouſand men with him: and that in conſequence of his advice, many princes and great men, among whom was Hyrcanus the high-prieſt, went over to Mithridates."

Antigonus in vain accuſes them to Cæſar.

At this period Antigonus, the ſon of Ariſtobulus, repreſented to Cæſar, that his father had been poiſoned for ſerving him in the wars; that Scipio had cut off his brother's head; that himſelf was diſinherited, and an object of commiſeration. He accuſed Hyrcanus and Antipater with having injured him in particular, and violated the rights of the people in general. Antipater, being preſent, obviated theſe reflections, ſpoke of the ungovernable ſpirit of Antigonus, ever ready to deſtroy the public peace, and modeſtly hinted his own merits to Cæſar, to whom he appealed on his own declaration reſpecting the late war. Ariſtobulus (it was ſaid) was always a profeſſed foe to Rome; ſo that the treatment he had received at the hands of the Romans, was no more than what the law of nations, and common prudence, would warrant. With regard to Scipio's beheading his brother; he had been convicted of ſeveral robberies, and was only puniſhed according to his demerits. Cæſar, having heard the whole merits of the caſe, confirmed Hyrcanus high-prieſt, offered Antipater the choice of any command, and made him governor of Judæa.

At this period the walls of Jeruſalem lying in the ſame ſtate of ruin in which Pompey had left them, Hyrcanus ſolicited Cæſar's permiſſion to rebuild them, which he readily granted, with every token of reſpect: and he likewiſe diſpatched an expreſs to the conſuls at Rome, to enter on the records of the capitol, his reſolution for that purpoſe.

This happened in the month of Panemus, in the ninth year of Hyrcanus's office of high-prieſt and prince. This governor of the Jews was likewiſe ſingularly honoured by the republic of Athens, who tranſmitted to him a decree in favour of the Jews.

Cæſar

Antipater repairs the walls of Jeruſalem.

Cæſar having diſpatched his affairs in Syria, returned immediately by ſea to Jeruſalem, taking with him Antipater, who, on his arrival, gave immediate orders for repairing the walls which Pompey had thrown down. Antipater likewiſe made a tour through the province, exhorting a turbulent people to peace and quietneſs. He repreſented to them the virtues of obedience to their prince, by the peaceable enjoyment of their poſſeſſions; explained what danger would reſult from ſeditious practices and innovations, which would compel their governors to perſecute them, force Hyrcanus to acts of tyranny, and even produce enmity from their beſt patrons and allies the Cæſars, and the ſenate of Rome, "who (ſaid he,) will exact a rigid obedience."

CHAP. X.

JERUSALEM and GALILEE governed by PHASAEL and HEROD. ANTIPATER envied for his Reputation. He is complained of to HYRCANUS, and HEROD is ordered to appear before the Judges. HEROD exaſperated againſt HYRCANUS.

Promotion of Phaſael and Herod.

HYRCANUS being of an eaſy diſpoſition, Antipater ſeized the opportunity of promoting his ſons, Phaſael and Herod, to poſts of eminence. To the former he gave the government of Jeruſalem and the adjacent country; and to the latter that of Galilee. Herod, at this time, was only fifteen years of age; but of a genius ſo great and enterpriſing, that he ſought every opportunity to diſtinguiſh himſelf. The borders of Syria were at that time much infeſted with robbers, and Herod took the whole band, and put them to death, with Ezechias, their commander. This heroic deed ſo raiſed his fame among the people, that he was deemed the author of their repoſe in every town and village: it alſo brought him to the knowledge of Sextus (kinſman of Cæſar) who had then the government of Syria. Phaſael was likewiſe inſpired, by his example, to ſeek for popularity. He was a man of patriotic diſpoſition, calculated for buſineſs, of admirable addreſs, temperate in the uſe of power, and never abuſing it. This diſpoſal of his ſons rendered Antipater an object of regard to the whole nation, which conſidered him rather as a prince than a deputy; and he was ſingularly diſtinguiſhed by his faith and friendſhip, and for remaining unaltered in his proſperity.

Antipater incurs the envy of the Jews.

The wealth, power, and grandeur of Antipater, the dignity of his family, and the veneration in which the people held him and his children, together with the vaſt revenue he received from Hyrcanus, cauſed him to be viewed with an eye of jealouſy by the principal Jews, eſpecially when they found he was a favourite with the emperor, as well as with the common people of Rome. They inſinuated that he received money of Hyrcanus, for the uſe of the Romans, and took the credit of it to himſelf, as if he had advanced it. This being hinted in malice to Hyrcanus, he appeared rather pleaſed with the circumſtance. But the people were chiefly chagrined by the ambitious diſpoſition of Herod, which induced them to make the following complaint to Hyrcanus: "Why will you be negligent while every thing is going to deſtruction? Perceive you not that Antipater and his ſons divide the prerogatives and emoluments of the royal power, while you are a prince only in title and name? Be cautious ere matters proceed too far; for depend on it, your government and life are equally endangered. If you conſider thoſe youths as your deputies, you are miſtaken; for, in fact, they are maſters. Herod's treatment of Ezechias and his companions was a violation of public juſtice: for it is murder to put a man to death without the ceremony of trial, however atrocious his crimes may have been: but Herod has exerciſed an arbitrary power, without the leaſt pretence of authority for ſo doing."

Herod, being accuſed, is cited to judgment.

The mothers of thoſe who had been ſlain now continued day after day in the temple, calling on prince and people for juſtice on Herod, for the murder of their children: till at length Hyrcanus appointed a day when a bench of judges ſhould determine between Herod and his accuſers. Herod came into court at the firſt call; but, in conſequence of his father's advice, only with ſuch attendants as might appear neceſſary to ſecure him without offending the court. At this time Sextus Cæſar, who commanded in Syria, wrote in favour of Herod to Hyrcanus, with threats, if he were not acquitted: but theſe were needleſs; for Hyrcanus was extravagantly fond of him. Herod and his attendants having waited a while, without a ſingle charge againſt him, the company were wondering at the event, when Sameas, a man of incorruptible integrity, ſpoke as follows:

Speech of Sameas againſt him.

"I never before ſaw a priſoner at the bar behave in ſo bold and vain a manner; and I believe your obſervation and experience will hardly furniſh you with ſuch another inſtance. It has been formerly cuſtomary for people, in ſuch a ſituation, to appear, by their dreſs and behaviour, reſigned to the legal enquiry that awaits them: but here is a culprit who ſeems to pride himſelf in his dreſs and attendants, and looks as if public juſtice was more to be dreaded by the court than the criminal. Yet I cenſure not him for conſulting his own ſafety, rather than the reſpect due to the laws, ſo much as I do the king and judges, who have permitted him to act in this manner. But remember that God is juſt and powerful; and the time is advancing, when this man, whom, in favour of Hyrcanus, you are ſeeking to diſcharge, ſhall ruin you, the judges and the king." It will appear, in the ſequel of the work, that his prediction was verified.

Herod withdraws, and goes to Sextus Cæſar.

As it now appeared to Hyrcanus that Herod was in danger, he adjourned the court till the following day, and adviſed him to ſave himſelf by a private retreat.

Hereupon

Hereupon Herod retired to Damaſcus, under pretence of being in fear of Hyrcanus; and, in conference with Sextus Cæſar, declared that he would diſclaim the juriſdiction of the court, if ever he ſhould be again ſummoned. This enraged the judges, who told Hyrcanus that his ruin was concerted: but though the matter was evident, and himſelf convinced of it, yet he had not courage to take the neceſſary advantage of the circumſtance. By this time Herod was ſafe in the protection of Sextus Cæſar, and had purchaſed part of the government of Cœlo-Syria. Hyrcanus now ſaw the danger that might be dreaded. Herod, enraged at being expoſed to a trial, drew forth an army, and would have attacked Jeruſalem, but for the entreaties of his father and brother: on their interceſſion, however, he abſtained from farther violence to the man who had raiſed him to fortune and honour. They ſaid, that though he had been cited to trial, he lay under obligation for his diſcharge. They mentioned the uncertain chance of war, and that victory often decided againſt all human expectations: ſaid he could hope nothing from divine juſtice, when fighting againſt the prince who had nouriſhed and protected, but never injured him: yet if, at preſent, he conceived an ill opinion of Hyrcanus, he ſhould attribute his conduct to evil counſellors. By this time Cæſar was returned to Rome, and preparing for an expedition into Africa, againſt Scipio and Cato; having been congratulated on his way by embaſſadors from Hyrcanus, who ſolicited with ſucceſs the renewal of antient leagues of friendſhip.

CHAP. XI.

A Sedition in SYRIA. CÆSAR murdered, and a Civil War enſues. The People greatly oppreſſed, and even ſold by Auction. MALICHUS enters into a Plot againſt ANTIPATER, but ſaves himſelf by Perjury.

Sedition in Syria.

A VIOLENT ſedition now happened in Syria. Cæcilius Baſſus engaging in a plot againſt the life of Sextus Cæſar, procured him to be murdered, withdrew his troops from the province, and took poſſeſſion of it. To this ſucceeded a war on the borders of Apamia. The friends of Cæſar marched againſt Baſſus, and were joined by Antipater and his ſons, who deemed themſelves bound to revenge the murder of their friend. During the progreſs of this war, Marcus offered himſelf to ſucceed Sextus; and, in the interim, Cæſar was murdered in the ſenate-houſe, by Brutus, Caſſius, and their fellow conſpirators, after having governed three years and a half.

Aſſaſſination of Cæſar by Brutus, &c.

Commencement of the Roman civil war.

Cæſar being dead, dreadful commotions happened among the principal men of Rome, each conſulting his apparent intereſt, till a civil war was the reſult. Caſſius taking poſſeſſion of the army in Syria, which then lay before Apamia, raiſed the ſiege, and induced Marcus and Baſſus to join him; which being done, he proceeded from place to place, collecting arms, money, and men: but in Judæa he impoſed a rate of between ſeven and eight hundred talents of ſilver, oppreſſing that diſtrict beyond any other. During this confuſion Antipater committed the care of levying part of his money to his two ſons, while Malichus (who was ſecretly his enemy) was concerned with others in collecting the reſt. Herod, ready to oblige the Romans at the expence of other people, gave Caſſius an early proof of his zeal, by valuable preſents collected in Galilee: but cities under the command of other governors, not being equally ready with their offers, were publickly ſold, with their inhabitants, to the beſt bidder, by order of Caſſius; as was the caſe with Gophna, Emmaus, Lydda, and Thamma. Malichus would, on this occaſion, have fallen a ſacrifice to the rage of Caſſius, had not Hyrcanus compounded for his life by the payment of a hundred talents. Caſſius had no ſooner departed with the treaſure he had collected, than Malichus concerted a plot againſt Antipater, conceiving that if he was deſtroyed, Hyrcanus would govern with more ſecurity. Antipater was aware of this deſign on him, and, for the prevention of its effects, croſſed the river Jordan, and placed himſelf at the head of as large an army of Jews and Arabians as he could collect: but Malichus, who was a man of equal artifice and courage, went immediately to Antipater and his ſons, and ſolemnly ſwore to his innocence. "Can it be imagined (ſaid he) that I ſhould be ſo weak as to think of a plot or conſpiracy, when I knew that Herod had the command of the arms and magazines, and that Phaſael had the government of Jeruſalem?" Thus, failing in his principal view, he obtained pardon of Antipater. At this period Syria was governed by Marcus, who, hearing of other deſigns that Malichus had in Judæa, would certainly have put him to death, but that he was ſaved by the mediation of Antipater.

Judæa greatly oppreſſed under Herod and Caſſius.

Malichus plots againſt Antipater, but artfully evades puniſhment.

CHAP. XII.

The Government of LOWER-SYRIA beſtowed on HEROD, by MARCUS and CASSIUS. ANTIPATER poiſoned through the Contrivance of MALICHUS, who forſwears the Deed.

THE pardon of Malichus procured the deſtruction of Antipater. Marcus and Caſſius having collected an army, committed the command of it by ſea and land to Herod, whom they appointed to the government of the Lower-Syria, with the promiſe of that of Judæa, when a war in which they were engaged with Antony, and the younger Cæſar (afterwards Auguſtus) ſhould be ended.

Great preferment of Herod

ended. Herod's advancement made Malichus so jealous of Antipater, that he bribed Hyrcanus's butler to poison him while he was at dinner with his master: which being done, he took possession of the city with a guard of soldiers. This murder of their father enraged Herod and Phasael: but Malichus confidently swore to his innocence. The brothers were resolved to be revenged, but differed in the mode. Herod was for taking the field with an army; but Phasael, dreading a civil war, proposed rather to act by stratagem; wherefore he behaved with civility to Malichus, never hinting his suspicions of the murder: and employed himself in erecting a superb monument to the memory of his father. About this period Herod went to Samaria, where finding all things in great confusion, he endeavoured, by the rules of law and justice, to adjust the differences that had arisen among the inhabitants.

Dissimulation of Malichus.

On the approach of a solemn feast at Jerusalem, Herod marched his army towards the city; which terrifying Malichus, he persuaded Hyrcanus not to admit him; and accordingly he complied, on the pretence that a communication of their worship with strangers would defile their holy religion. Herod, however, in contempt of this order, got into the city by night; which alarmed Malichus; but he had the artifice to provide a guard for the security of his person, and to conceal his real sentiments by tears and lamentations for the loss of his honoured friend Antipater. On the other hand, the friends of Herod pretended to have the greatest friendship for, and confidence in him, as a counterbalance to the weight of his grief.

Herod and Cassius unite to revenge the murder of Antipater.

Cassius was so well acquainted with the character of Malichus, that hearing of Antipater's death, he commanded Herod to take vengeance on the murderer, and issued private orders to his troops at Tyre to assist him. Some time afterwards, when Cassius took Laodicea, and the people crouded to him with money and other effects, Herod thought that would be the proper opportunity to effect his purpose: but as Malichus was advancing to Tyre, his spirits failed him, and he had recourse to a different plan. Having then a son who was an hostage in Tyre, he conceived that if he could privately carry him off to Judæa, the Jews might be induced to revolt, and himself take possession of the government, while Cassius was at war with Antony. This scheme might have answered the proposed end, but that Herod prevented it: for he sent out a number of officers to meet Malichus and his party, and invite them to a treat: which being done, they attacked him on the side of the town next the sea, and slew him with their daggers. Hyrcanus was struck with astonishment at hearing of this affair: but Herod immediately informed him, that it was done in consequence of Cassius's command; on which Hyrcanus appeared satisfied with the vengeance that had been taken for so foul a murder, on a notorious enemy to his country.

Malichus dispatched with daggers.

A tumult raised in Judæa.

Cassius having quitted Syria, great commotions happened in Judæa. The troops in Jerusalem under the command of Felix, attacked Phasael, in whose defence the people betook themselves to arms. Hereupon Herod applied to Fabius, governor of Damascus, for aid to assist his brother; but being seized with a fit of illness, was unable to carry his generous design into execution. However, Phasael was happy enough to complete his business without assistance, compelling Felix to retreat to a fortress, and submit on conditions. Phasael now reproached Hyrcanus with ingratitude for taking part with his enemy, after such a number of obligations received; for at this period the brother of Malichus had possessed himself of many fortified places, among which was Massada, hitherto deemed almost impregnable: but Herod, recovering of his illness, retook the places that had been reduced by Felix, after having obliged him to submit to terms of agreement.

CHAP. XIII.

The Generosity of HEROD to the TYRIANS. HEROD encounters ANTIGONUS, defeats him, and is married to MARIAMNE.

AT this time Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, paid a sum of money to Fabius, to assist him in raising an army; and they procured the confederacy of Marion, to whom Cassius had given the command of Tyre, and all Syria, in which several garrisons were placed, and three even in Galilee. These places, however, were soon reduced by Herod, who not only treated the Tyrians that defended them, with fair quarter, but shewed them respect, and made them presents, to testify the regard that he had for them. This being done, he marched to Antigonus, attacked and routed him on the confines of Judæa; and then returned to Jerusalem in triumph, where Hyrcanus and all the people received him with every testimony of respect. Herod was now on the point of marriage with Mariamne, daughter of Alexander; and the marriage being soon after consummated, he had by her three sons and two daughters. Antipater, his eldest son, was by the daughter of Dores, a former wife of his own country.

Herod's generosity to the Tyrians; and defeats Antigonus.

Antony and Augustus having conquered Cassius at the battle of Philippi, Cæsar departed into Gaul, and Antony proceeded into Asia. Marching through Bithynia, the latter received several embassies, and among them one from many Jews of distinction; complaining of Phasael and Herod, and insisting that, though Hyrcanus was the nominal governor, yet the brothers had usurped the authority and administration. Herod pleaded his own cause, and backed his arguments with presents of such value, that his enemies could

Cassius routed by Antony and Augustus.

obtain no advantage. When Antony arrived at Epheſus, embaſſadors waited on him from Hyrcanus, and the body of the Jews, with a crown of gold, and various preſents, entreating, that ſuch of their countrymen as Caſſius had made priſoners, contrary to the laws of war, might have their freedom reſtored, and be put in poſſeſſion of their lands, of which they had been deprived: and for this purpoſe, they ſolicited Antony's letters to the provinces. There was ſo much reaſon in this requeſt, that Antony granted their deſire.

Inſtructions to this effect were written to the people of Sidon, Antioch, and Arad; as well as to Hyrcanus and the people of Tyre, which is mentioned to prove what reſpect the Romans conſtantly paid to the Jews.

On Antony's going toward Syria, Cleopatra met him in Cilicia, to pay her reſpects; on which he became moſt violently enamoured of her. At this period near a hundred perſons of rank amongſt the Jews complained to him of the conduct of Herod and Phaſael, bringing with them a number of good orators, to act as counſellors. Antony heard the cauſe at Daphne: Meſſala pleaded for the brothers, and was ſupported by Hyrcanus. When the pleadings were ended, Antony aſked Hyrcanus which of the young men was beſt qualified for a governor. He replied, Herod: but Antony had ſuch regard to them both, (in remembrance of the kindneſs of their father Antipater, who protected him when Gabinius invaded Judæa), that he made them tetrarchs, and committed that country to their government. He wrote many letters in their favour, threw fifteen of their moſt implacable enemies into priſon, and had reſolved to have them executed, but that Herod interfered, and obtained their pardon. Herod's benevolence, however, had no weight with his enemies; who were no ſooner diſmiſſed, than they concerted new ſchemes to deſtroy him. Having ſelected a band of a thouſand people, they went towards Tyre, to wait the arrival of Antony. In the mean time Herod and his brother had made ſuch an intereſt by valuable preſents, that Antony diſpatched orders to the magiſtrates of Tyre, commanding them to ſupport the authority of Herod, and to puniſh the Jewiſh meſſengers, as people whoſe wiſh was to fruſtrate the ſchemes of government. Herod now gave a ſecond proof of his benevolence, by going out to meet the deputies, whom he adviſed to retire. Hyrcanus ſeconded this advice, repreſenting the miſchief that might ariſe from their perſeverance: but in defiance of all danger, and in contempt of advice, they obſtinately perſiſted in going forwards, till being met by numbers, both Jews and Tyrians, many of them were ſlain, many wounded, and the reſt fled; which put an end to all open oppoſition; but the vulgar continued to revile the proceedings of Herod, till Antony was ſo exaſperated, that he ordered judgment of death on the priſoners.

Accuſations of the Jews againſt Herod and Phaſael.

Malevolence of Herod's accuſers,

who are ſeverally puniſhed.

Syria was conquered in the following year, by Pacorus, ſon of the king of Parthia, and Barzaphanes, a prince of the country. At this period died Ptolemy Mennæus; who was ſucceeded by his ſon Lyſanias, who, through the intereſt of Barzaphanes, contracted an intimate friendſhip with Antigonus, the ſon of Ariſtobulus.

CHAP. XIV.

The JEWS of MOUNT CARMEL take part with ANTIGONUS. PHASAEL betrayed by PACORUS. BARZAPHANES denies the Treachery with which he is charged.

THE people of Parthia were offered a thouſand talents, and five hundred women, by Antigonus, on condition of their killing Herod and his adherents, depoſing Hyrcanus, and accepting Antigonus governor in his place. Hereupon the Parthians marched againſt Judæa; Barzaphanes going through the inland country, and Pacorus by the ſea-coaſt. The people of Tyre refuſed to admit Pacorus into the city; but thoſe of Sidon and Ptolemais received him readily. On this he entruſted a party of horſe to the king's cup-bearer, whoſe name likewiſe was Pacorus, to obſerve the ſituation of the country, and aſſiſt Antigonus, if it ſhould be neceſſary. The Jews of Mount Carmel aſſociated with Antigonus, who expected to conquer that part of the country called Drymæ, by their aſſiſtance. Many reinforcements joining him, he was induced to advance to Jeruſalem, to attack Herod and Phaſael in the royal palace; but as he was proceeding to put his deſign in execution, the brothers attacked him in the market-place, and compelled the partizans to retreat to the temple. Herod placed a guard of ſoldiers in the adjacent houſes; but the croud ruſhing violently in upon them, ſet fire to the houſes, which were conſumed, with thoſe that were in them. Herod ſoon revenged this action, by ſlaying a great number of them in battle. There were now almoſt daily ſkirmiſhes, till near the feaſt of Pentecoſt, which Antigonus anxiouſly expected, on account of the number of people then reſorting to the city. The time arriving, thouſands, both armed and unarmed, crouded round the temple, and every part of the city was thronged but the palace, which Herod guarded, while Phaſael took charge of the walls and outworks. The enemy being now ſtationed in the ſuburbs, Herod ſallied out on them, killed many, and routed thouſands, ſome of whom fled to the city, ſome to the temple, while numbers ſought refuge behind an adjacent rampart. In this attack Phaſael likewiſe behaved nobly.

Antigonus tampers with the Parthians, to depoſe Hyrcanus, and put to death the brothers.

Pacorus now, by the perſuaſion of Antigonus, entered the city with a ſmall party, under pretence of reſtoring peace; but in fact to promote Antigonus to the government.

Pacorus gains admiſſion into Jeruſalem.

They

They were, however, treated reſpectfully by Phaſael; but in return Pacorus laid a plot againſt his life, under pretence of an embaſſy to Barzaphanes. Phaſael, naturally unſuſpicious, agreed to undertake this embaſſy, though much againſt the opinion of Herod, who adviſed deſtroying Pacorus and his people, knowing how little confidence was to be repoſed in them. Hyrcanus and Phaſael, however, proceeded on their journey, leaving behind them two hundred horſe, and ten of the people called freemen, with Herod, and being conducted by Pacorus. When they arrived in Galilee, the governors of the adjacent garriſons came in arms, and with preſents, to meet them; and among the foremoſt of theſe was Barzaphanes, notwithſtanding the latent treachery of his heart. Phaſael and his attendants being conducted to a ſtation near the ſea-ſide, were there informed that Antigonus was to give the Parthians a thouſand talents, and five hundred women, for this ſervice. Phaſael now ſuſpected treachery; and the ſame night he had information that a band of ſoldiers were ready to ſeize him. This plot would have been certainly executed, but that they waited for advice of Herod's being ſeized at Jeruſalem, agreeable to a pre-concerted plan: for if the others had been firſt ſeized, it was thought that Herod might have had time enough to eſcape. The arrival of guards that were to take them into cuſtody, proved the reality of this contrivance. Hereupon Phaſael's friends adviſed him to take horſe, and ſeek his ſafety; particularly Ophellius, who had detected the conſpiracy through the information of Saramella, one of the richeſt men in Syria, who living near the ſea-coaſt, offered him the convenience of ſhipping from his houſe. But Phaſael diſdained to leave his friends in diſtreſs; and going to Barzaphanes, directly accuſed him with the baſeneſs of his conduct: "If money (ſaid he) had been your object, I ſhould have conceived that Phaſael might have more amply gratified you than Antigonus; to ſay nothing of the intended infamous inſult to be offered to the perſons of embaſſadors, in violation of the laws of nations, and the rights of hoſpitality." Barzaphanes departed to Pacorus, having firſt denied the whole fact.

Barzaphanes charged with perfidy, but denies it.

CHAP. XV.

The PARTHIANS ſeize HYRCANUS and PHASAEL. A Scheme to take HEROD, who accuſes PACORUS. He eſcapes, and builds HERODIUM. The beſieging of JERUSALEM, and Demolition of MARISSA. The Government given to ANTIGONUS. PHASAEL deſtroys himſelf. HEROD's Preſence of Mind. He applies to MALCHUS, King of ARABIA, who ordering him to leave the Country, he departs for EGYPT and ROME.

BARZAPHANES had no ſooner retired, than a party of ſoldiers ſeized Hyrcanus and Phaſael, who exclaimed againſt the villainy of ſuch treatment: at this inſtant an eunuch was ſent to take Herod, if he could be enticed out of his palace; but his correſpondence with his brother having been intercepted, he ſuſpected their deſign, and went to Pacorus, and the chiefs of the Parthians, to expoſtulate with them. They anſwered, that they were unacquainted with the matter, but if he doubted of his brother's welfare, his beſt way would be to go out of the town, and receive his letters, leſt they ſhould fall into improper hands. But Herod, having heard how his brother had been treated, was ſuſpicious; and his ſuſpicions were confirmed by Alexandra, daughter of Hyrcanus, to whoſe daughter Herod was to be eſpouſed; and by her advice he governed himſelf. The Parthians now took till the following day to conſult how they ſhould act with Herod, for they were afraid to ſeize him openly; but Herod, knowing how violently they had acted towards his brother, and conſidering how dangerous it might be to remain longer among them, reſolved to attempt an eſcape in the night. Hereupon he provided waggons, horſes, and other beaſts of carriage for the women; among whom were his mother, ſiſter, and Mariamne, the niece of Ariſtobulus, and daughter of Alexander, to whom he was to be married. There were likewiſe the mother of his intended wife, with his own youngeſt brother, and all the family. Having collected his troops, they departed towards Idumæa, and were conſiderably advanced before their enemies had notice of their deſign. It was melancholy to think of women, with children at their breaſts, being thus hurried from their country, while their friends were in bonds, and themſelves in apprehenſion of a ſimilar fate.

Hyrcanus and Phaſael apprehended by the Parthians.

Herod flies by night.

At this period, however, Herod remained immoveable, animating his companions both by example and advice; he ſaid that neither their lives nor perſons were ſecure but in flight; and adviſed them not to loſe that time in lamentation, which they ought to uſe for their ſafety: on which they reſolved to act with a becoming degree of reſolution. At this inſtant a waggon being overturned, endangered the life of Herod's mother; which ſo affected him, that, partly through tenderneſs to her, and partly through apprehenſion that the loſs of time might occaſion his being overtaken by the enemy, he would have thrown himſelf on his ſword, had not his attendants prevented him. They urged that he ought not to ſacrifice his friends to the fear of his enemies, and that a brave man ſhould diſdain to injure the public by his own deſtruction. Being reduced to the power of recollection, he took all poſſible care of his mother, and haſtened his journey to Maſſada: the Parthians frequently preſſing on him in ſmall parties, but he was ſtill victorious. When he was about ſixty furlongs from Jeruſalem, the Jews who had purſued, attacked him; but he routed them, ſhewing admirable diſcipline in the fight,

Caſualties on his journey.

fight, notwithſtanding his hurry and confuſion. On his ſubſequent advancement to the throne, Herod built a palace on the ſpot where this victory was obtained, and near it a village which he called Herodium.

Herod and his brother diſmiſs the uſeleſs people.

Proceeding to Reſa in Idumæa, Herod's brother Joſeph met him, and they conſulted how to get rid of great numbers of uſeleſs people that were with them, excluſive of their troops: and conſidering that the caſtle of Maſſada, to which they intended to retire, was too ſmall to contain them all, they diſcharged about nine thouſand perſons, to ſeek ſubſiſtence in Idumæa, till they could find a regular ſettlement. Thoſe who were fit for war he kept; and having placed in the caſtle his near relations, with the women and children, in all about eight hundred people, he left them ſufficient proviſions, and proceeded to Petra, the chief city of Arabia.

The Parthians plunder the city and palace.

On Herod's leaving Jeruſalem, the Parthians, the next morning early, ravaged the city and palace, ſeizing every thing therein, except three hundred talents belonging to Hyrcanus, and a few valuable articles the property of Herod. Nor were the Parthians ſatisfied with plundering the city, but ravaged the adjacent country, and totally demoliſhed the city of Mariſſa, which was famous for its ſtrength and riches.

Antigonus obtains the government.

The king of Parthia having given the government to Antigonus, Hyrcanus and Phaſael were delivered to him as priſoners: but he regretted the loſs of the women, who, as well as the money, were to be delivered to him by contract. Antigonus now ordered that Hyrcanus's ears ſhould be cut off, to incapacitate him for the office of high-prieſt; preſuming that the people might otherwiſe, at ſome future period, reſtore him.

Phaſael deſtroys himſelf.

Phaſael, finding that he was deſtined to death, determined that his enemies ſhould not deſtroy him, but, as his hands were fettered, daſhed out his brains againſt a wall. It has been ſaid that the hurt was not mortal; but that the ſurgeons employed by Antigonus put a period to his life, by dreſſing his wounds with poiſon. However, he lived to learn that Herod was ſafe from the hands of his enemies, which enabled him to die in peace.

Herod applies to the king of Arabia.

Mean time Herod, ſo far from ſinking under his misfortunes, ſeemed but the better diſpoſed to encounter them. He applied to Malchus, king of Arabia, for a loan of money, either on paying intereſt for it, or in mere friendſhip, having no doubt that a prince who owed him ſo many obligations would be glad to repay them. At this time he had not heard of his brother's death, and his intention was only to raiſe three hundred talents for his ranſom; and he took a ſon of Phaſael, of ſeven years of age, to pledge for the money. Meſſengers now arrived from Malchus, directing Herod to quit the country, for the Parthians would not admit his ſtay. He replied, that he came not to give trouble, but to adjuſt his own buſineſs: but he conceived this treatment aroſe from a wiſh of ſome powerful people to avoid paying a juſt debt, and defraud him of money that had been lodged in the hands of Antipater.

Herod goes for Egypt.

Herod now retired towards Egypt, calling, in his way, at a temple where he had left a number of his friends. At Rhynocura, on the following day, he was told of his brother's death. By this time Malchus, repenting of his ingratitude, went after Herod, to make reparation; but he was too late; for the former was gone to Peluſium, where arriving, the mariners bound to Alexandria would not take him on board. Hereupon he applied to the magiſtrates, who in reſpect to his former character, attended him into the city, where Cleopatra entertained him with magnificence, and entreated that he would reſide there ſome time: but he was ſo determined to go to Rome, that neither dangers, difficulties, nor entreaties, could prevent him from putting his ſcheme in practice.

Hereupon he embarked for Pamphylia, and after a tempeſt that obliged the ſeamen to throw the lading overboard to ſave the ſhip, he was at length landed at Rhodes, where he was happy enough to meet Sappinas and Ptolemy. He contributed part of his ſhattered fortune to the repair of the town, which was almoſt deſtroyed by the war with Caſſius. At Rhodes he ſhipped himſelf for Italy, and after putting in at Brunduſium, proceeded to Rome, where he informed Antony of what had happened in Judæa; related the murder of his brother; the impriſonment of Hyrcanus; the contract for the thouſand talents, and five hundred women, to be delivered to the Parthians when the government devolved to Antigonus. "With regard to the women (ſaid he) I got them away by night, and lodged them in a place where they are now beſieged, and in momentary danger of being made priſoners. Theſe are the facts: and in defiance of every danger by ſea and land, I am now come to ſtate my affairs, and to ſolicit your aſſiſtance."

Arrives at Rome, and relates his adventures to Antony.

CHAP. XVI.

AUGUSTUS and ANTONY become HEROD's Friends. He is elected King of JUDÆA. ANTONY and AUGUSTUS conduct him to the Capitol. The Caſtle of MASSADA attacked by ANTIGONUS. VENTIDIUS extorts Money from ANTIGONUS.

Herod is favourably received by Antony and Auguſtus.

ANTONY was affected with the ſtory of Herod's misfortune. He reflected on the inſtability of fortune, which might ſoon make his own ſituation as pitiable: he recollected the friendly offices formerly done him by Antipater, father of Herod; nor forgot the ſum he was to receive, when he advanced Herod to the rank of a king: but what chiefly influenced him

him in his favour was, the enmity he had to Antigonus, whom he considered as a dangerous man, and a foe to Rome. Augustus seconded Antony's views in favour of Herod, partly on account of a family acquaintance, partly because his father and Antipater had been fellow-soldiers in Egypt, and partly from his wish to gratify Antony. Messala and Atratenus presented Herod to the senate of Rome, recommending him to their regard, on account of his own and his father's services; reprobating Antigonus, for accepting the government from the Parthians, in contempt of the Romans, and for his former ill conduct. When the senate were warmed with their address, Antony said, that in consideration of the present state of the war with the Parthians, it would be proper to appoint Herod king of Judea; and this was universally agreed to. Distinguished as this honour was, Herod owed much to Antony for procuring it; since the Romans deviated from their usual practice, in bestowing a royal dignity on one who was not a branch of a royal family. His ambition had aspired no farther than to solicit it for Alexander, brother of Mariamne, and nephew to Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, whom he afterwards put to death, as will appear in the sequel. This business was transacted in seven days, at the end of which Herod was sent from Italy, on the exercise of his new dignity.

Elected king of Judæa.

When the senate broke up, Herod was conducted to the capitol, between Antony and Augustus, attended by the consuls and senators, where they offered sacrifices, and deposited their decrees. This was in the consulship of C. Domitius Salvinus, and C. Asinius Pollio, in the 184th Olympiad; and Antony made a most superb entertainment, to congratulate the new king on his accession.

He is honourably conducted to the capitol.

During Herod's absence, Antigonus besieged the castle of Massada, where all provisions were plenty except water; for which they were so distressed, that Joseph, with 200 men, had resolved to force their way through the besiegers to the Arabians, having been informed that Malchus regretted his late ungenerous treatment of Herod: but at this juncture a violent shower of rain falling, their cisterns and reservoirs were all filled with water, which determined them to remain in their present situation: and animated by this providential relief, they made repeated sallies on the enemy.

Massada closely besieged by Antigonus.

In the interim, the Parthians were driven out of Syria by Ventidius, a Roman general, who then went into Judea, on a pretence of assisting Joseph; but in fact to extort money from Antigonus, which, by advancing his troops to Jerusalem, he effected. His end being answered, he retreated with the greater part of them; leaving a few under the command of Silo, to disguise his design: for Antigonus was compelled to compound with him also, lest he should attack him before the arrival of the Parthians, whom he expected to his assistance.

Ventidius drives the Parthians out of Syria.

CHAP. XVII.

HEROD takes JOPPA, and relieves MASSADA. He takes RESA, and marches with SILO's Troops towards JERUSALEM. An Act of Indemnity and Oblivion offered. He advances to JERICHO. The City rifled by the ROMANS. PTOLEMY killed. The PARTHIANS defeated. HEROD leaves the Command of the Army to his Brother JOSEPH, and retires to ANTONY, who was stationed before SAMOSATA. The Death of JOSEPH. A Revolt in GALILEE. GATH is fortified by MACHÆRUS. PAPPUS defeated by HEROD. He is surprised in the Bath. JERUSALEM besieged by HEROD.

BY this time Herod was returned out of Italy, and had reached Ptolemais, on his way towards Galilee, to meet Antigonus, having under his command a large body of auxiliary troops, besides his own forces. At this period also Gellius arrived from Antony, with orders to Silo and Ventidius, that they should afford Herod all possible assistance in taking possession of his kingdom: but when these orders arrived, Ventidius was busily employed in quelling tumults that had taken place in several cities, through the means of the Parthians; and Silo was in Judæa, on the receipt of a pension from Antigonus. Herod's army being collected, appeared to be considerable, and increased as they marched: almost all the people of Galilee declared in his favour. The first great object of his present wish was to raise the siege of Massada, in order to give liberty to his friends and relations, who had been so long imprisoned in that city. But in this expedition Joppa appeared to be such a barrier against his views of advancing to Jerusalem, that he could not think of leaving so strong a place unsubdued. In this situation Silo marched off; and the Jews making a close attack upon his rear, Herod drove in upon them with a select party, put them to the rout, and rescued Silo, when he was on the point of being made prisoner. This being done, Herod made a conquest of Joppa, and, without loss of time, repaired to relieve his friends in Massada, at which place numbers of people flocked to his assistance; some of them on account of his father, some in respect to his own merits, and a third sort in consideration of the obligations they owed to both: but a hope of ingratiating themselves with the new king was the most prevailing motive. In the interim Antigonus had laid several snares and ambushes to entrap him in his way. These, however, produced scarce any effect; and Herod, having raised the siege of Massada, gave all possible relief to his friends. He then attacked and took the castle of Resa, and marched towards Jerusalem, his army being composed of a number of citizens that dreaded his power, together with Silo's

Valiant exploits of Herod.

Herod takes Joppa and relieves Massada.

Takes Resa, and marches towards Jerusalem, where he proclaims an amnesty.

forces. Having ſtationed his army on the weſt quarter of the city, many violent ſallies were made againſt him, and the beſieged galled his forces with repeated ſhowers of darts and arrows. In the interim Herod commanded his herald to proceed round the walls of the city, and proclaim, in different places, that his whole view in the undertaking was the benefit of the city, and the welfare of the public at large: that ſo far from harbouring the leaſt intention of doing them any injury, he was willing to grant a perpetual oblivion and forgiveneſs of all paſt offences, let the crime be ever ſo atrocious, and by whomſoever it might have been committed. In anſwer hereto, Antigonus (in an addreſs to Silo and the Roman ſoldiers) repreſented how inequitable and unreaſonable a thing it was, to think of advancing Herod to the throne, who was himſelf a private man, and an Idumæan, and to be conſidered in no other light than as a half Jew; a practice diametrically oppoſite to ancient cuſtom, and to the laws and rights of ſucceſſion. Antigonus farther ſaid, that if they were offended at his receiving the crown from the hands of the Parthians, and ſought to deprive him of the dignity on that account, there were not wanting ſeveral of the royal and ſacerdotal line, who had merited equally well from the Romans, and having an indiſputable title to the government, the depriving them of it would be an act of the higheſt injuſtice. At length the diſpute between Herod and Antigonus increaſed to that degree, that abuſive language paſſed, and in the end, Antigonus commanded his men to drive the enemy from the walls; which they did effectually, by means of darts and arrows. There now remained no doubt but that Silo had been corrupted. He had tampered with many of his acquaintance among the troops, who began to be very clamorous for money and proviſions; demanded more commodious winter-quarters, and ſaid, that Antigonus had ravaged the country in ſuch a manner, that no ſubſiſtence was to be obtained in it. This mutinous diſpoſition increaſed to ſo great a degree, that the ſoldiers were on the point of quitting their arms, and deſerting. Herod, on the contrary, declaimed on his authority; made uſe of the names of Cæſar, Antony, and the Senate, who had commiſſioned him to come into that country; and encouraged both his officers and ſoldiers not to depart from their duty, but to rely on him, who would exert his utmoſt influence to accommodate them with every convenience that their preſent ſituation would allow. Hereupon he diſpatched commiſſaries to buy up all kinds of neceſſaries, ſo that Silo had not the leaſt cauſe of complaint left; for the troops were ſoon ſupplied with incredible quantities of proviſions: Herod having likewiſe directed his friends in Samaria to collect at Jericho great ſtores of corn, wine, oil, and cattle, and to ſupply the army from thence. Antigonus conceiving rightly of what had been directed, ſent out parties to patrole the fields and roads, and intercept the perſons bringing the ſupplies: and, according to order, they lay in detachments near Jericho, and about the crags of the mountains, watching when the convoys might paſs. Nor was Herod leſs aſſiduous on his part; for with ten companies of troops, half conſiſting of Jews, and the other of Romans, together with a hired party, he marched towards Jericho; but five hundred of the inhabitants, with all their families, having quitted the town, and fled to the mountains, he purſued them, made them priſoners, but afterwards gave them their liberty. The city was ranſacked by the Romans, who found therein an immenſe treaſure, conſiſting of money, jewels, rich furniture, and other valuable effects. The king having left a garriſon in the place, retired by the way that he came, and appointed his army to take up their quarters in places which he had lately conquered; as Samaria, Idumæa, and Galilee. Antigonus bribed Silo with a ſum of money to permit the Roman army to be quartered in Lydda, which was done to obtain the friendſhip of Antony. The Romans were now in the midſt of peace and plenty, and every way well accommodated.

Oppoſed by Antigonus.

The ſoldiers inſtigated to mutiny.

Herod ſupplies the troops with proviſions.

Jericho pillaged by the Roman ſoldiers.

Herod, however, whoſe diſpoſition would not permit him to remain long idle, ſent one thouſand foot and four hundred horſe, under the command of his brother Joſeph, into Idumæa, while he himſelf went to Samaria, to take proper care of his mother, and the reſt of his relations, whom he had conveyed from Maſſada; and then he went to Galilee, to take in ſome garriſons of which Antigonus was in poſſeſſion.

Arriving at Sepphoris, while the ſnow laid deep on the ground, he found that the inhabitants had deſerted the place, but left behind them great quantities of proviſions of all kinds. At this time the adjacent country, particularly about Arbela, was moſt dreadfully infeſted with robbers, who iſſuing from their lurking places in the mountains, diſturbed the neighbourhood in a high degree. Hereupon Herod ordered out a ſquadron of horſe, and three companies of foot, to drive them out from their retirements. He marched againſt them with his whole army, about forty days after he had ſent out this force; on which the robbers made their appearance, and attacked Herod's troops with ſo much reſolution that his left wing gave way; but bravely rallying his forces, and putting himſelf at the head of them, he renewed the charge, and totally routed the opponents, whom he purſued even to the river Jordan. The conſequence of this victory was, that, in a ſhort time, all the people of Galilee ſubmitted, except thoſe who had taken refuge in the mountains. On this concluſion of the buſineſs, Herod directed that one hundred and fifty drachmas ſhould be given to each private ſoldier, and a ſum proportionably larger to the officers; and they were ordered into winter quarters on the receipt of this gratuity. Herod was now informed by Silo and his officers, who had been in the pay of Antigonus, that the latter not only refuſed to grant them more than proviſions for one month, but had

Sepphoris taken, the robbers expelled, and Galilee reduced.

Herod ſupplies the Roman army with proviſion, when

distressed by Antigonus.

had likewise issued orders to the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, to clear the country of all the necessaries of life, and to starve the Romans out of their quarters, by retiring with the provisions to the mountains. Herod, however, prevented this calamity from befalling them, by directing his younger brother, Pheroras, to take care and provide for the army, and likewise to repair the then ruined fort of Alexandrion: and he executed both these commissions with great fidelity, and much to his credit.

Ventidius was at this time in Syria, and Antony at Athens, who commanded Silo to repair to the former place with the Parthian auxiliary troops; but first to give his assistance to Herod, if it should be found necessary. To him he repaired, but Herod dispatched Silo and his forces to Ventidius, while himself marched against such of the enemy as were skulking about in the mountains. The passages were so narrow, and the rocks so steep, that it was almost an impossibility to approach them; and themselves and families lived in the caverns. On viewing these places Herod found that it would be equally impossible to creep down on them from above, or scale them from below; and he therefore had recourse to the following contrivance: He had a number of cases made, to be let down by iron chains from a machine at the top of the hills; in which cases were men with hooks, darts, lances, and other arms, to destroy them in their holes, or draw them out, and throw them headlong to the bottom, as might be requisite. Considering the depth and danger of the place, this was a horrid experiment: besides that, the robbers were furnished with provisions in their caverns. On letting down one of these cases to the mouth of a cell, and no one daring to come out, a soldier, impatient of waiting, seized his sword and buckler, and catching hold of the chain that suspended the case, slipped into a cavity of the rock. In this place he slew several with his darts, and in case of their resistance drew out others with his hooks, and cast them down the precipice. Some he killed with his lance, and then safely returned to the case. Those who escaped were terribly frightened by the lamentations of the wounded, but night advancing, nothing more was done. The king now offered pardon to all who would lay down their arms and submit, and many acceded to these terms of mercy.

Extraordinary method of extirpating the robbers.

Desperate conduct of a veteran robber.

The attack was commenced in the same manner on the following day; only they exposed themselves more, placing fire to combustible materials that were in the caves, by which the parties were smothered. In one cave was an old man, who had a wife and seven sons, who earnestly implored him to submit to the enemy. The man however took his station at the mouth of the cave, and as they attempted to pass him, he stabbed them one after the other, killing his wife the last. Their bodies he threw down the precipice, and followed them himself, determined rather to die, than sacrifice his liberty. While he was thus destroying his family, he reprobated Herod on account of the meanness of his extraction; though the prince, who stood at a distance, courted his acceptance of mercy, by the most expressive signs in his power. The war between Herod and these people was now at a period.

Herod proceeds to Samaria, and Ptolemy slain.

Soon after this enterprize, the government of that district was committed to Ptolemy, and Herod marched into Samaria, with three thousand foot, and six hundred horse, in order to come to a decisive battle with Antigonus. Ptolemy, however, lost his life by his advancement; for he was attacked and slain by a party of those who had committed so many ravages in Galilee; and they immediately retired to the mountains, and other almost inaccessible places; whence they occasionally issued, and ravaged all the country: but Herod, on his return, punished them for their outrages, killing some on the spot, forcing others from their retreats, whom he put to the torture, and destroyed their forts and castles. Having thus conquered his foes, he laid a fine of a hundred talents on certain cities suspected to favour the enemy.

Macherus, in his way to Emmaus, massacres many of the Jews.

Pacorus king of the Parthians, having been now defeated in battle, Ventidius, agreeable to his orders from Antony, sent Macherus to Herod with a thousand horse, and two legions; but Macherus having been artfully applied to by Antigonus, departed to him, under pretence of giving intelligence, though in direct opposition to the advice of Herod. On his approach, Antigonus, so far from confiding in him, directed his people to oppose him with darts and slings. He was now convinced that Herod was perfectly right in his dissuasion, and that he ought to have listened to his advice. Enraged at the treatment he had received, he turned about towards the city of Emmaus, destroying, without distinction of friend or foe, every Jew that he met with in the way. This conduct was so obnoxious to Herod, that he immediately went towards Samaria, to acquaint Antony with what had happened, and to inform him that he was himself able to cope with Antigonus, without the aid of such as did more mischief to their own cause, than to that of the enemy. While he was on this expedition, Macherus hurried after him, and having overtaken him on the road, earnestly entreated him either to give over all thoughts of his proposed journey, or at least to leave his brother Joseph behind, that those two might carry on the war against Antigonus in conjunction. On this solicitation Herod yielded, forgave all that had passed, and left the army under the command of Joseph, with particular directions not to quarrel with Macherus, nor to undertake any enterprize without a prospect of success.

Herod goes to Antony at Samosata, and in his way routs the barbarians.

On this adjustment of affairs Herod took with him an additional number of horse and foot, and marched to join Antony, who then lay before Samosata, on the banks of the Euphrates. When he arrived at Antioch he found multitudes disposed to join Antony, but that the roads were so thronged with barbarian

rian enemies, that they could not approach him. Hereupon Herod put himſelf at their head, and undertook to conduct them: they proceeded on their march; but having advanced within two days journey of Samoſata, a party of the enemy's horſe encountered them, which had lain in ambuſh behind ſome buſhes, on the entrance into the open country, to prevent Antony receiving any aid from that quarter. The enemy ſuffered the front of the troops to paſs; but when Herod advanced with the rear, they attacked him violently with about five hundred horſe, and broke his front ranks. The king, however, bore down courageouſly on them with his guards, drove them from their ſtation, rallied his ſcattered forces, and purſued his ſucceſs till he had recovered all they had taken, which in priſoners, baggage, carriages, horſes and mules, amounted to a very conſiderable booty. This battle being ended, Herod proceeded in his way to Antony; but was frequently attacked on his rout, by companies of barbarians, who ſallied out upon him from the woods and thickets; but in all his encounters he was ſtill ſuperior to them, defeating them in all the attempts they made; till at length a free paſſage was left him, no perſon to oppoſe him, and the people hailing him as their preſerver as he proceeded.

He is honourably received by Antony.

Herod's actions againſt the barbarians being ſignified to Antony, with the gallant manner in which he had acquitted himſelf in other conteſts, he ſelected the choiceſt of his troops, and going out to meet him, he no ſooner approached the town than he was received with all poſſible diſtinction. As ſoon as Antony ſaw him he ran to embrace him, with every token of friendſhip and regard: praiſed him for his wiſdom and virtue, and treated him with a degree of dignity and reſpect proportioned to the royal character with which he had inveſted him. Not long after this a period was put to the war, by Antigonus delivering up Samoſata. Antony now conferred on Soſius the government of the province, and the command of the army, with orders to afford all proper aſſiſtance to Herod, and then departed into Egypt. On this Soſius ſent two legions to guard the king in his way to Judæa, and followed himſelf with the reſt of the army, almoſt immediately.

Joſeph ſlain in action.

During theſe tranſactions Joſeph loſt his life in Judæa, by not obſerving the directions which Herod had given him when he departed to Antony. Joſeph marching towards Jericho, with his own ſoldiers, and five companies of Machærus', with a view to get in the harveſt, ſtationed his troops on the mountains. The greater part of the Roman troops being lately raiſed in Syria, and all of them raw and undiſciplined, the enemy ſeized the advantage both of their poſition and inexperience, and attacking them by ſurpriſe, totally routed them, deſtroying ſix companies, and cutting Joſeph to pieces, while he was valiantly fighting at their head. The field being now in poſſeſſion of Antigonus, he found the body of Joſeph among the ſlain, and gave directions for cutting off his head: but this was redeemed, at the price of fifty talents, by his brother Pheroras. Soon after this the diſtrict of Galilee revolted, and as many of Herod's friends as could be found were drowned in the lake. There were various other diſturbances in Judæa; and, in the interim, the caſtle of Gath was fortified by Machærus.

Herod attacked by the people of Galilee.

Intelligence of theſe repeated misfortunes, ſo immediately following each other, was conveyed to Herod, at a place called Daphne, in the neighbourhood of Antioch: but he was the leſs aſtoniſhed at it, as he had lately had ſome diſagreeable dreams, which evidently predicted the death of his brother. Herod now departed with all expedition towards Mount Libanus; and taking with him eight hundred men, he approached to Ptolemais: from whence going forward in the night through the country of Galilee, he was attacked by the enemy, who had quitted the caſtle on the preceding day. He beat them back to their old quarters, ſurrounded the place, and diſpoſed his troops for an attack early on the following morning; but in the interim there happened ſo violent a tempeſt, that he was obliged to retreat and take ſhelter in the adjacent villages. At this critical juncture arrived another legion which Antony had ſent to Herod, a circumſtance which ſo intimidated the garriſon, that they abandoned the place, and made their eſcape in the night. Herod being now impatient to revenge the death of his brother, repaired with all poſſible expedition to Jericho, where, on his arrival, he treated the princes of the place with the utmoſt magnificence. Supper being ended, and the company departed, Herod was the laſt man who quitted the room, to retire to his own apartment; and he was no ſooner out of the parlour, than the roof of it fell at once to the ground, without injury to any perſon. This was deemed a ſignal interpoſition of providence, by which the imminent danger that had awaited Herod was prevented.

Ptolemais abandoned to him.

Herod defeats Pappus, and takes ſeveral towns.

On the following day the enemy deſcended from the mountains, ſurpriſing the Romans with a body of ſix thouſand men. The diſtreſs occaſioned hereby was very great; they trampled down all oppoſition, and Herod himſelf was wounded in the ſide by an arrow. Juſt after this, Antigonus, as if boaſtful of his ſuperior force, ſent Pappus, with a number of troops under his command, into Samaria; and while he and Machærus were mutually conſidering which ſhould attack the other. Herod took poſſeſſion of five towns, put to the ſword two thouſand men that were in garriſon in them, and leaving the places in aſhes, retired to ſeek for Pappus, who had then made his encampment at a place named Iſanas, where numbers of people from Jericho and Judæa flocked to his ſtandard. Herod finding the enemy in a diſpoſition to decide the matter by arms, a battle immediately enſued, in which he totally routed his opponents, amply revenging the death of his brother, and puniſhing them in the very town to which they fled for ſanctuary. In an inſtant the houſes were crouded with

with ſoldiers, from the top to the bottom, each ſeeking his own ſafety. The roofs were uncovered, and ſtones and weapons deſcending, the ſlaughter was moſt horrid: but the moſt dreadful part of the ſpectacle was the dead bodies lying one on another in the chambers, which ſunk their ſpirits into a ſtate of abſolute deſpair.

The broken troops now fled in ſuch numbers, and in ſuch wildneſs of diſorder, that if a furious tempeſt had not happened in the very juncture, the aſſailants, in the firſt zeal of conqueſt, would have marched directly to Jeruſalem, and put a ſpeedy termination to the war: for at this period Antigonus was doubting if he ſhould not quit the city. The evening being far advanced, Herod directed his ſoldiers to go to ſupper, and retreated to his own chamber, to take ſome neceſſary refreſhment after the battle: and now again he had a providential deliverance, no leſs ſingular than the former. Being in his bath, unattended but by one perſon, three ſoldiers, each with a drawn ſword in his hand, ruſhed into the room, croſſed it with great haſte, and went off by the oppoſite door. On enquiry it appeared that theſe men, during the rage of the battle, had concealed themſelves in the houſe, in fear of the enemy; and now retired with all expedition, to ſave themſelves, without having any notion of doing injury to the king, whom it would have been eaſily in their power to have put to death. Among the bodies of the ſlain was found that of Pappus, whoſe head Herod ordered to be cut off, and ſent it to Pheroras, as a ſort of conſolation for the death of his brother Joſeph, who had been ſlain by Pappus, while fighting at the head of his troops.

He eſcapes from imminent danger;

The confuſion occaſioned by the above battle was no ſooner over, than Herod marched his army towards Jeruſalem, and ſtationed himſelf (where Pompey had done before) on that part of the city next the temple, which ſeemed the moſt obvious place of attack. When his engineers were ready, all proper materials provided, and he had given orders for the erecting of towers, and throwing up trenches and bulwarks about the place, he went to Samaria, to conclude his marriage with Mariamne, daughter of Alexander, and grandchild of Ariſtobulus, to whom, as hath been heretofore obſerved, he had been contracted a conſiderable time before: but he left behind him a number of officers, to conduct the ſiege in his abſence.

and afterwards marches towards Jeruſalem.

CHAP. XVIII.

HEROD and SOSIUS beſiege JERUSALEM. The taking of the City and Temple. ANTIGONUS carried to ANTONY in Chains, and put to Death through the Influence of HEROD.

No. 13.

Jeruſalem beſieged by Herod and Soſius.

SOON after the marriage of Herod had taken place, Soſius diſpatched a large body of horſe and foot, which he ſoon followed himſelf, taking the road through Phœnicia. In the mean time the king returned from Samaria, with a body of about thirty thouſand men; and the whole army being united, advanced towards the north walls of the city, conſiſting, excluſive of the auxiliaries from Syria, of ſix thouſand horſe, and eleven regiments of foot. Herod and Soſius were the commanding officers: the latter being employed by Antony to aſſiſt in the war; and the former conſulting his own intereſt, having a view to ſettle himſelf in the poſſeſſion of the kingdom, which, on the defeat of Antigonus, the profeſſed enemy of Rome, had been beſtowed on him by the ſenate.

The Jews make a gallant defence.

In the city the Jews were equally courageous and numerous: for almoſt all the body of that people were aſſembled within the place. Their defence was very obſtinate. They animated each other with exclamations of "The temple of the Lord! the temple of the Lord!" repeatedly exulting in what they deemed preſages of victory, and flattering themſelves that theſe ſeemed to foretell a conqueſt, which, by the bleſſing of God, would attend their arms. At the ſame time they were extremely frequent in ſallying forth into the country, where they made ravages, in order to diſtreſs the beſiegers; and ſo induſtrious were they in this buſineſs, that in a ſhort ſpace they left ſcarce any ſubſiſtence for man or beaſt. Herod, however, who foreſaw the inconveniencies that muſt ariſe from theſe proceedings, in great meaſure prevented them, partly by placing troops in ambuſh to entrap the pillagers, and partly by ſupplying the camp with proviſions, by means of commiſſaries ſent to diſtant parts. The weather proved ſo very fine, and ſuch a number of hands were employed in advancing the works, that the pioneers had ſoon finiſhed their part, and the aſſailants were now advanced to the battery, exerting all their ſkill and diligence to accompliſh their end. Nor were the parties beſieged leſs vigilant in their reſiſtance; ſtill oppoſing one ſtratagem to another, and by one invention counterworking another. A number of deſperate ſallies were made, in which the enemies' works, as well thoſe that were completed, as thoſe that were only in hand, were frequently ſet on fire: their courage was likewiſe extremely conſpicuous when they advanced to fight hand to hand, being no ways inferior to that of the Romans; though it muſt be confeſſed, that in experience and military knowledge the advantage was very greatly in favour of the latter. One wall was no ſooner thrown down, than immediately the beſieged ſupplied its place by a retrenchment that anſwered the end of another. When the beſiegers wrought one mine, the beſieged worked a countermine; and they repeatedly met under ground, and fought while employed in this buſineſs; their actions were moſt deſperate, and they became valiant through mere deſpair. At the time they were acting theſe wonders againſt an enemy without the walls, they

were almoſt ſtarving within them, for want of neceſſaries; for this happened in the ſabbatical year, when it was unlawful for them to cultivate the earth.

The Romans ſcale the walls

At the end of forty days after the attack commenced, twenty gallant men mounted the firſt wall, and were followed by one of Soſius's centurions. At the expiration of fifteen days from this time the ſecond wall was taken, and a number of the galleries round the temple ſet on fire, which circumſtance Herod attributed to Antigonus, to render him obnoxious in the eyes of the people. The lower-town, and the outer-quarter of the temple being taken, the Jews retired to the upper part of the city, and the middle of the temple: and apprehenſive that the Romans might interrupt them in offering up their daily prayers and ſacrifices, they ſent embaſſadors to Herod, to aſk permiſſion to bring in as many beaſts to the city as might be neceſſary for that ſervice. This requeſt, in the hope that it might have a conciliating effect upon them, Herod readily granted:

The city and temple taken, and a horrid maſſacre enſues.

but he ſoon diſcovered his error, for they appeared to be ſtill more zealous in the cauſe of Antigonus; on which Herod immediately attacked the city with his whole force, and made a conqueſt of it by aſſault. The delay that had happened, and the oppoſition that had been made, ſo exaſperated the Romans, and the Jews in the ſervice of Herod were likewiſe ſo enraged with thoſe of the oppoſite party, that they jointly united to put all they met with to the ſword, without diſtinction of ſex or age: and this was done equally in the ſtreets and houſes; nor was the temple itſelf any longer a ſanctuary to thoſe who ſought for refuge in it. The ſcene of blood and ſlaughter that now enſued exceeds all deſcription. The ſoldiers, tranſported to the higheſt degree of fury and revenge, were implacable in their reſentment, and paid not the leaſt regard to the rights of humanity: Herod, however, did all that was in his power, by intreaty and authority, to put a ſtop to the carnage; but all his orders and perſuaſions paſſed equally unheeded.

Antigonus ſurrenders himſelf to Soſius.

When things had arrived at this extremity of diſtreſs, Antigonus, in debaſement of his former regal character, deſcended from the tower, and threw himſelf at the feet of Soſius; but, ſo far from taking pity on his misfortunes, Soſius treated him as one who had debaſed himſelf below the dignity of manhood, calling him by the name of Antigona (inſtead of Antigonus), as if he had been a woman. But in the ſequel he was not treated like a woman; for Soſius directed that he ſhould be put in irons, and a ſtrong guard placed over him for ſecurity.

Herod endeavours to reſtrain the fury of the ſoldiers

Herod, however, had not yet accompliſhed his end; for the victory he had already obtained over his enemies, was not attended with greater difficulties than he now experienced in keeping his own people in ſubjection. The forces which he had hired crouded in immenſe numbers, and were extremely importunate to get into the temple, and even into the very ſanctuary; to prevent which, Herod was obliged to exert all his authority, and to have recourſe to force, as well as to fair words and threatenings. In fact, he would have been more eſſentially injured by his ſucceſs, than even by a defeat, if he had indulged the curioſity of the riotous multitude ſo far as to expoſe to their ſight the ſacred and venerable myſteries of religion. He likewiſe argued and reaſoned with Soſius, to prevent the ſoldiers from indulging their rage for plunder, murder, and devaſtation: repreſenting, that if they continued to ravage and deſtroy, as they had hitherto done, the Romans would find, in the end, that inſtead of having a people to govern, he would be king of a deſert: he added, that if the ſovereignty of the whole world were to be offered him at the expence of ſo much blood, he would not accept of it. In anſwer to this Soſius ſaid, that it was a matter of courſe, an act of juſtice, and agreeable to general practice, that when any place was taken by aſſault, the ſoldiers ſhould have the booty. Herod in reply told him that, as far as the ſoldiers had any intereſt in the matter, he would himſelf compound with them for the plunder, and gratify them to the utmoſt of their wiſhes: and this he accordingly did; for he made it a point of honour and conſcience to be true to his engagements. In a word, he behaved in ſo liberal a manner to the common ſoldiers, gave the officers ſuch ſuperior gratuities, and made ſo many acknowledgments, attended with ſumptuous preſents to Soſius, that he wholly redeemed the city, and in the end, all parties appeared perfectly ſatisfied. This event took place in the 185th Olympiad, in the third month, and on the day of a ſolemn faſt, being the anniverſary of the taking of the city by Pompey, twenty-ſeven years before: happening likewiſe when Marcus Agrippa and Canidius Gallus were conſuls.

He prevents the deſolation of the city by a liberal compoſition.

Antigonus carried in chains to Rome, and there privately put to death

All things being thus ſettled, Soſius dedicated a golden crown to God, and then departed to Jeruſalem, and took with him his priſoner Antigonus, in chains, to preſent him to Antony. Herod now began to entertain an idea, that it was poſſible Antony would not put the priſoner to death; but that, when he ſhould appear at Rome, he might appeal to the ſenate for the legality of his claim to the government; and as Antigonus was of the blood-royal, and Herod himſelf but of vulgar extraction, he was exceedingly doubtful what might be the iſſue. It occurred to him that Antigonus might inſinuate, that as he had been in arms againſt the Romans, he could not expect the reſtitution of the regal dignity in his own perſon, as his actual offences might be deemed a ſufficient forfeiture of his pretenſions; yet that his ſon, who was perfectly inoffenſive, might be admitted to the ſucceſſion, and no advantage taken of the innocent for the crime of the guilty. Herod becoming very uneaſy with the weight of theſe reflections, bribed Antony, with a large ſum of money, that Antigonus might be privately put to death; and this being done, Herod became eaſy in his mind.

The

Extinction of the Aſmonæan family.

The Aſmonæan line was extinguiſhed by the death of Antigonus. This family had poſſeſſed the government one hundred and twenty-ſix years; was rendered famous by the long continuance of the prieſthood therein; and not leſs illuſtrious by the ſignal ſervices rendered to the public by a long line of anceſtors. Our forefathers have by tradition informed us, that a domeſtic war put an end to theſe ſervices; and that the adminiſtration fell into the hands of Herod, who was a private ſubject, and, from lineal deſcent, or dignity of extraction, had no proper claim to the ſovereignty.

BOOK XV.

Containing the HISTORY of various TRANSACTIONS, from the YEAR of the WORLD 3929, to 3955.

CHAP. I.

HEROD's Kindneſs to his Friends, and Severity to his Enemies. The Friendſhip of POLLIO and SAMEAS with HEROD. His Preſents to ANTONY. ANTIGONUS beheaded at ANTIOCH.

Liberality of Herod to his friends.

HEROD was no ſooner promoted to the exerciſe of his regal authority over the kingdom of Judæa, than he began to make ample proviſion for thoſe of the citizens who adhered to his intereſt, while he was to be conſidered only in the ſtation of a private man: but with regard to thoſe who had oppoſed his meaſures, one or more of them were almoſt daily doomed to death, and executed. On this occaſion Herod took into his particular favour Pollio, the Phariſee, and his diſciple Sameas, in gratitude for the favour conferred on him (when he beſieged the city), by adviſing the citizens to open the gates, and give him entrance. This was the ſame Pollio *, who, on a former occaſion, when Herod was examined before Hyrcanus, and the reſt of the judges, told them that the time was advancing when that man whom they were ſeeking to diſcharge, ſhould ruin them: and in the event this prediction was wholly verified.

The Jews ſpoiled of their wealth.

Herod had no ſooner taken poſſeſſion of the city, than he gave orders for the collection of all the royal furniture, together with ſuch valuable treaſure, in gold, ſilver, and effects, as had been ſecreted by the more wealthy of the citizens; and this he directed to be conveyed to the palace, and out of it made a moſt ſumptuous preſent to Antony, gratifying with the remainder ſuch friends and adherents as had been moſt faithful to his intereſt. He now gave orders that forty-five of the moſt zealous friends of Antigonus ſhould be put to death, and directed that a guard ſhould be placed at their doors while the bodies were brought out, which guard was alſo to ſee that nothing elſe was conveyed away; and if any gold or ſilver was diſcovered, it ſhould be immediately produced to the king: ſo that, in fact, the vanquiſhed ſaw no end to their misfortunes. They were unhappy enough to be ſubjected to a neceſſitous prince, whoſe avarice was ſo great, that all their earthly poſſeſſions were too little to gratify it. This happened, likewiſe, during their ſabbatical year, when their wants could not be ſupplied by the cuſtomary produce of the harveſt.

Antigonus beheaded.

At this time Antigonus was a priſoner to Antony, who had an intention of gracing his triumph by exhibiting him in chains: but hearing that the Jews began to be mutinous, and to favour Antigonus, from the antipathy they had conceived to Herod, he immediately gave orders for his being beheaded at Antioch, as the moſt likely method to appeaſe the paſſions of the people.

Hyrcanus and Phaſael.

Of Barzaphanes and Pacorus, the two generals of the Parthians, we have already ſpoken, together with their making priſoners of Hyrcanus and Phaſael, of whom the former had been high-prieſt, and then prince of the Jews; and the other (who was brother of Herod) had daſhed his brains out againſt the wall, rather than ſubmit to an ignominious death from the hands of the enemy. At this period Hyrcanus was a priſoner in the hands of the Parthians, and news being conveyed to him of Herod's advancement to the ſovereignty, he was very ſolicitous to obtain his liberty, and return. How he came to obtain it will hereafter appear.

* In the IXth chapter of the XIVth book, this is ſaid of Sameas, not of Pollio.

CHAP. II.

An Invitation from HEROD to HYRCANUS, and Preſents

Preſents ſent to PHRAATES. HYRCANUS diſcharged, and goes to JERUSALEM, where he is generouſly entertained by HEROD. HEROD advances ANANEL to the Office of High-Prieſt. ALEXANDRA charged by HEROD with conſpiring with CLEOPATRA. ANANEL depoſed, and ARISTOBULUS advanced to the Prieſthood. ALEXANDER's Vindication.

Hyrcanus, captive in Parthia, is honourably treated by Phraates.

HYRCANUS was conveyed as a priſoner to the care of Phraates, king of Parthia: but this prince, in conſideration of his birth and character, and through a veneration of his quality and illuſtrious deſcent, gave inſtant orders that he ſhould be freed from his chains, and permitted him the liberty of the whole city of Babylon. In this city Hyrcanus found great numbers of Jews, who paid him the higheſt degree of reſpect; nor was leſs reverence ſhewn him by thoſe who dwelt on the other ſide of the Euphrates. Thus ſituated, the life of Hyrcanus was rendered tolerably agreeable. At length, Hyrcanus was informed that Herod was advanced to the government; and being himſelf a man of a grateful and generous diſpoſition, he conceived that others poſſeſſed the ſame benevolent feelings. Influenced by theſe ideas, he thought that Herod, on his elevation, would make every poſſible acknowledgment to the man who had preſerved his life and honour, in a caſe of the utmoſt extremity; which he himſelf had actually done, as hath been mentioned in a former part of this work.

He intends to viſit Herod.

Hyrcanus reflected ſo much on this plan, that he was reſolved to carry it into execution by a journey to Herod; but he thought it expedient firſt to conſult his moſt intimate friends on the ſubject. A conſultation being held on the buſineſs, they unanimouſly adviſed him againſt taking the journe[illegible] "While you remain here (ſaid they) you may be certain that we and our people will all pay you that reſpect and obedience to which the dignity of your own character, and our rank as ſubjects and ſervants, entitle you. This is an honour you cannot expect to receive in your own country, as you are incapacitated from the acceptance of it by the perſonal injury that hath been done you by Antigonus." They likewiſe repreſented to him, that, with regard to the rendering of mutual good offices to each other, princes were leſs careful than perſons in a more humble ſituation: that the memories of kings were not the moſt tenacious, and that the fortunes of men were very apt to have an influence on their manners. Reaſonable as this diſcourſe was, the violent inclination that Hyrcanus had to viſit his own country made him deaf to all their advice. At this period too it happened that Hyrcanus was invited, by a letter from Herod, to repair to him, and take his ſhare in the government: this letter deſired him to requeſt Phraates, and the Jews his brethren, not to deny him a ſatisfaction which he ſo much coveted: intimating, that this was the period when he had the faireſt opportunity of teſtifying his gratitude to the man to whom he was indebted for his life and advancement. Nor did Herod's entreaties thus end: for he diſpatched Saramalla as an embaſſador to Phraates, commiſſioning him to deliver valuable preſents, and pay all poſſible reſpect, in behalf of Hyrcanus, whom he eſteemed his friend and patron. Now the whole of this conduct appeared to be dictated by hypocriſy; for Herod being a prince not only ſuſpicious and artful, but knowing that he had uſurped the dominion, thought it a point of prudence to ſecure himſelf againſt every viciſſitude of fortune; and on this principle, deemed it good policy to get Hyrcanus into his cuſtody, or to cauſe his deſtruction; which laſt circumſtance happened, as will appear in the ſequel.

Receives an invitation from him.

Hyrcanus goes to Jeruſalem, and is honourably received by Herod.

At length Phraates gave a diſmiſſion to Hyrcanus, whom the Jews in Babylon having ſupplied with money, and all other neceſſaries for his journey, he repaired to Jeruſalem, where no degree of reſpect or eſteem was wanting to congratulate him on his arrival. Herod aſſigned him the moſt diſtinguiſhed place at all public meetings and entertainments; called him, and treated him as his father, and behaved in all reſpects with ſuch an unreſerved confidence, that there could not remain the leaſt doubt but that he was ſincere in his profeſſions. In the common opinion, nothing ſeemed to be now wanting to the confirmation of Hyrcanus in the office of high-prieſt, but Herod's too great ſolicitude on the occaſion; which gave riſe to a diſſenſion in the family, of a moſt dangerous nature. Herod, however, determined that no man of diſtinguiſhed extraction ſhould be promoted to the office of high-prieſt, ſent to Babylon for Ananel, a perſon of inferior degree, and cauſed him to be promoted to that diſtinguiſhed honour. The wife of Hyrcanus was Alexandra, the widow of Alexander, the ſon of Ariſtobulus, by whom ſhe had a ſon, likewiſe called Ariſtobulus, after his grandfather, and a daughter named Mariamne, married to Herod, who was a woman of the moſt diſtinguiſhed beauty. Now Alexandra was exceedingly concerned at this ſlight being put on her family; ſince, as ſhe had a ſon living, ſhe thought the office of high-prieſt ought not to be given to a ſtranger; and hereupon ſhe employed a certain muſician to carry a letter to Cleopatra, requeſting that ſhe would ſolicit Antony to beſtow that diſtinguiſhed office on her ſon: but no regard was paid to this ſolicitation. It happened at this juncture, that Gellius, a confidential friend of Antony, being in Judæa, on buſineſs reſpecting his own affairs, ſaw Ariſtobulus and Mariamne, whom he deemed to be two of the moſt beautiful and graceful perſons that had ever exiſted. Hereupon he paid many compliments to Alexandra, on having had the happineſs to give birth to two ſuch wonderful inſtances of human perfection, and perſuaded her to ſend Antony a preſent of each of their pictures, as the moſt likely method to ſucceed in any requeſt ſhe had

An obſcure perſon advanced by Herod to the pontificate.

had to make to him. In conſequence of this advice ſhe ſent the pictures: and Geſſius, who wiſhed to inflame Antony with a paſſion for Mariamne, greatly exceeded the bounds of truth in his report of the beauty of their perſons, repreſenting that they were elegant beyond deſcription, and had much more the appearance of angels in human ſhape, than of mere mortals. Antony could not, with any appearance of a regard to the laws of honour or politeneſs, think of ſending for the wife of a prince with whom he was on terms of friendſhip; and he was equally averſe to give offence to Cleopatra. Thus ſituated, he wrote to Herod, intimating how happy he ſhould be to receive a viſit from Ariſtobulus, whenever it might be thought convenient. At this time Ariſtobulus was not more than fifteen or ſixteen years old; and Herod conceived that it would be extremely imprudent, to ſend a youth of noble extraction, in the flower of his age, and ſo diſtinguiſhed by his perſonal perfections, to a man who was remarkable beyond all others for a propenſity to unnatural crimes, and unceaſing in the purſuit of irregular pleaſures: for this, in fact, was the character of Antony: ſuperadded to which, he was known to uſe his authority to countenance and aſſiſt him in the perpetration of his enormities. On this conſideration Herod ſent him an excuſe, intimating that the Jews were of ſuch a ſeditious diſpoſition, and ſo fond of the idea of a new king, that if Ariſtobulus was to quit the kingdom, an inſurrection would unavoidably happen.

Antony ſends for Ariſtobulus.

Herod ſends him an evaſive anſwer.

Herod, having ſent this meſſage to Antony, now contrived to keep on the beſt terms with Ariſtobulus and Alexandra: but his wife was repeatedly urging him to do juſtice to her brother, with regard to the office of high-prieſt; inſiſting, that his own intereſt was concerned in the affair, ſince the duties of the office would neceſſarily prevent Ariſtobulus from taking the journey. Herod, having reflected on this diſcourſe, put an extraordinary ſcheme into execution. Having ſummoned a kind of council of his friends, he began to exclaim bitterly againſt Alexandra, who he ſaid had engaged in a conſpiracy againſt him, and was endeavouring, by means of Cleopatra, to prevail on Antony to remove him from the government in favour of her ſon; a conduct, he ſaid, which was the more extraordinary, as ſhe could not elevate Ariſtobulus without degrading her daughter; and paving the way, by means of civil diſcord, to diſplace her ſon-in-law from the throne, and deprive him of that rank which he had acquired by ſuch unremitted toil and repeated danger. "Notwithſtanding this (ſaid he) I am ſo willing to bury in oblivion all that is paſt, and to ſhew the reſpect and regard I entertain for my mother, and every one of her family, that I will immediately beſtow the office on her ſon; which, indeed, I ſhould ſooner have done, but that he was not of a proper age to undertake it when I committed it to the care of Ananel."

He inveighs againſt Alexandra.

This addreſs, which was calculated only to amuſe the women and the council, affected Alexandra in a very high degree. She was at once highly concerned to find her own conduct ſuſpected, and enraptured to hear the determination in favour of her ſon; ſo that ſhe burſt into tears, proteſted her innocence, and proceeded farther to elucidate the motives of her conduct in the following manner; "With regard to the office of high-prieſt, I was ſo enraged at the inſult offered to my ſon, that I left no proper and equitable means unattempted to procure juſtice to be done him: but with regard to any deſign of advancing him to the throne, it has been ſo far from my intention, that if an offer of that kind had been made, I ſhould have rejected it: for I was no farther ambitious than that my ſon might be ſo provided for, as that the honour and ſafety of the family might be conſulted. But as the matter is now adjuſted, I am ſo ſenſible of the king's goodneſs to myſelf in the perſon of my ſon, that I ſhall always remain truly loyal to him; and if through too nice a ſenſe of honour, or too great a degree of pride, I have been leſs obſervant of my duty than I ought to have been, he will be pleaſed to pardon me." This conceſſion appeared to have put an end to all animoſity; for they parted, with mutual expreſſions of friendſhip and regard.

Her plea in excuſe for her conduct reſpecting her ſon Ariſtobulus.

CHAP. III.

ALEXANDRA is invited by CLEOPATRA to bring her Son into EGYPT. ARISTOBULUS drowned by the Contrivance of HEROD.

NO ſooner had the above-mentioned meeting broke up, than Herod depoſed Ananel from the office of high-prieſt. This Ananel, as hath been heretofore mentioned, was a foreigner, deſcended from thoſe Jews who had been formerly carried captives by the Aſſyrians, beyond the river Euphrates, thouſands of which captives went to reſide at Babylon. Ananel, however, was deſcended from the line of the prieſthood, and had been an old friend of Herod, who, on his advancement to the regal dignity, made him high-prieſt, and now depoſed him, in order to procure peace in his family. This proceeding, however, was contrary to law; for the office of high-prieſt having been once regularly conferred, ought to remain with the party for life. This rule was firſt violated by Antiochus Epiphanes, who placed his brother Onias in the office, having removed Joſhua for that purpoſe. In the ſecond inſtance, Ariſtobulus ſet aſide Hyrcanus, and took on himſelf the dignity. And finally, Herod, as above related, conferred this diſtinction on the other Ariſtobulus, during the life-time of Ananel.

Ananel depoſed from the prieſthood

Herod is ſuſpicious of the deſigns of Alexandra.

The intention of this proceeding appeared to have been a regard to domeſtic peace; but the event will ſhew, that the reconciliation which ſeemed to have taken place was by no means ſincere: for Herod was impreſſed with the idea, that Alexandra would not remain quiet any longer than till ſhe could find a freſh opportunity of giving farther trouble. Convinced in his own mind that this was the fact, he gave orders that ſhe ſhould be confined to her palace, and iſſued his injunctions that ſhe ſhould never intereſt herſelf in public concerns. Excluſive of this he appointed ſo many perſons to watch over every part of her conduct, that all her actions were immediately reported to the king. As ſhe was a woman of great rank, diſtinguiſhed ſenſe, and high ſpirit, ſhe could but ill brook the indignity of having all her motions thus minutely obſerved. She was cut to the heart when ſhe reflected on the circumſtance, and determined that ſhe would do or ſuffer any thing, rather than ſhe would be thus unjuſtly ſuſpected, and live in perpetual fear and diſtreſs, the life of a ſlave, while ſhe had every right to be diſtinguiſhed as a perſon of ſuperior dignity. Having maturely reflected on her ſituation, ſhe ſtated her whole caſe in a letter to Cleopatra, whoſe advice and aſſiſtance ſhe ſolicited. Cleopatra returned an anſwer, in which ſhe earneſtly entreated her to make an eſcape with her ſon, and gave her an invitation to take refuge with her in Egypt. This advice ſhe highly approved, and contrived to carry it into execution in the following manner. A ſhip being provided that lay ready to convey them into Egypt, ſhe directed that two coffins ſhould be got ready, herſelf put into one, and her ſon into the other; and ſervants whom ſhe thought ſhe could depend on were entruſted to carry them out by night, and put them on board the veſſel. It happened that there was one Sabbion, who was deemed to be a firm friend of Alexandra, and ſo utter a foe to Herod, that he had been ſuſpected of being concerned in the plot for putting Antipater to death by poiſon. Now Alexandra had a ſervant named Eſop, who not having the leaſt doubt but Sabbion was acquainted with the intended eſcape, incautiouſly revealed the whole ſecret to him: on which the latter, ſeizing this opportunity to redeem his loſt credit with Herod, immediately informed him of every particular. Herod, however, ſuffered all the proceedings to go forward till they were on the very point of making their eſcape, and then he cauſed them to be taken into cuſtody. Nevertheleſs he was induced to forgive this attempt of Alexandra, not from any motive of benevolence to her, but leſt the power of Cleopatra, and her influence over Antony, ſhould carry into execution ſome ſcheme of revenge. Herod, in fact, was ſo far from treating her with ſeverity, that he aſſumed an uncommon appearance of benevolence and greatneſs of mind; and this even to ſuch a degree, that it was beyond the bounds of probability that his profeſſions ſhould have any ſincerity for their foundation. However, notwithſtanding all this apparent nobleneſs of conduct towards Alexandra, it was ſecretly determined that the life of her ſon ſhould be of ſhort duration: but he was not to be diſpatched ſo haſtily or inconſiderately, as to give cauſe of ſuſpicion.

She prepares to go into Egypt.

She is betrayed and her deſign fruſtrated.

It happened that the feaſt of tabernacles, one of the moſt ſolemn and celebrated that is held among the Jews, was now advancing: when Herod determined to recreate and make merry among his people, and aſſumed an unuſual degree of good-nature on the occaſion: but an incident now gave occaſion to accelerate the original intention of murdering Ariſtobulus. He was at this time in the eighteenth year of his age, very tall, remarkably handſome, and in fact, the perfect reſemblance of his grandfather. As he advanced towards the altar, dreſſed in the proper robes of his office as a prieſt, to officiate as the law required, he did his duty with ſo ſingular a grace, aided as he was by the diſtinguiſhed perfections of perſon, and a dignity of mind that was apparent even in his countenance, that he at once engaged the hearts, and charmed the eyes of all the ſpectators. And to ſuch a degree were they delighted, that they could not refrain from expreſſing the affection, reſpect, and eſteem they had for him, by offering up their prayers, wiſhes, and vows, for his proſperity; their joy and gratitude ſeemed to be without bounds, and they teſtified it by repeated acknowledgments of the obligations they owed to his diſtinguiſhed family. The people, however, did not ſeem to reflect, that while they were extolling Ariſtobulus, they were degrading Herod, and that the envy of the latter would conſider it in this light: but this was actually the caſe, and Herod becoming jealous of their behaviour, the deſtruction of the other was accelerated.

Ariſtobulus careſſed by the people.

After the feſtival was ended, Herod went to Jericho, to accept of a treat given by Alexandra, and there, as in point of compliment to Ariſtobulus, he took him apart from the company, to take a ſhare in his diverſions and recreations. As the weather was too hot for any conſiderable degree of exerciſe, they retreated to a cool ſhade, adjacent to a number of fiſh-ponds, in which ſeveral of their friends and dependents were bathing. Herod now prevailed on Ariſtobulus to make one of the party, and the latter, taking his advice, jumped into the water; when ſeveral of Herod's agents, who had been purpoſely ſtationed for that buſineſs, began to plunge and play with him in the water, under pretence of diverſion only, ſo that at length they kept him down till he was drowned. Thus ended the life of Ariſtobulus, in the firſt year of his prieſtly office, and the eighteenth of his age: and Herod immediately reſtored Ananel to his former dignity. This tragical event was no ſooner known to the women, than univerſal deſpair ſeemed to take place: the lamentations exceeded all deſcription, and the ſorrow was beyond all bounds. The loſs was deemed a general one;

Herod cauſes Ariſtobulus to be drowned.

Exceſſive grief of the people, and eſpecially of Alexandra, at his untimely death.

one; the whole city was in tears on the occaſion, and every family ſeemed to ſhare the common diſtreſs. Alexandra, however, was the principal mourner; and it was no ſmall aggravation of her misfortune, that though ſhe was convinced of the baſe deſign to which her ſon had fallen a ſacrifice, ſhe was compelled to ſilence, in the fear of more fatal conſequences. Her deſpair, however, was ſuch, that ſhe was frequently tempted to deſtroy herſelf; but ſtill ſhe reſtrained every effort of her paſſion, in the hope that if ſhe could but ſurvive her preſent reſentment of the horrid murder of her ſon, and conceal her knowledge of the real author of the crime, ſhe might live to ſee a juſt vengeance fall on his head. On this principle ſhe behaved as if ſhe had been a ſtranger to what had really happened; but Herod exerted all his addreſs to convince the public he was totally innocent; and by his language, appearance, and conduct, ſo well acted the part of a real mourner, that it was almoſt impoſſible to have ſuppoſed that he was inſincere. It has been deemed doubtful whether, partly from motives of humanity, and partly from the influence of conſcience, he might not be conſidered as a true penitent, for the having ſpilt the blood of ſo accompliſhed and noble a youth; but, on the other hand, it is ſaid that the death of the one was thought neceſſary for the ſecurity of the other; and that Herod's principal view, was to obviate all ſuſpicion of his being concerned in ſo infamous a buſineſs. Ariſtobulus was buried with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence, by the order of Herod. His body was embalmed, and nothing left undone that might tend to add ſplendor to the ſolemnity: and this he did to appeaſe the violent paſſions of the women, who were highly exaſperated on account of the murder.

Herod's diſſimulation.

CHAP. IV.

CLEOPATRA urges ANTONY to ſee Juſtice done on the Murderer. He ſends for HEROD to anſwer for his Conduct. HEROD becomes jealous of MARIAMNE. JOSEPH is put to Death, and ALEXANDRA committed to Priſon. ANTONY is governed by CLEOPATRA. Baſeneſs of her Conduct.

Alexandra informs Cleopatra of Herod's treachery and cruelty.

THESE ſplendid proceedings, however, afforded no ſatisfaction to Alexandra, whoſe mind was ſo diſtracted by the murder of her ſon, that her whole thoughts were employed in conſidering of ſome means of revenge. Having revolved the whole matter deliberately in her mind, ſhe diſpatched to Cleopatra a particular account of the perfidious manner in which her ſon had been deſtroyed by Herod. On this occaſion Cleopatra, who had been always inclined to do her ſervice, felt herſelf unuſually animated to aſſiſt her, and eſpouſed her intereſt as if it had been her own; continually ſoliciting Antony to ſee ample juſtice done on the murderer. She repreſented to him the atrociouſneſs of the crime itſelf, and how derogatory it would be for him to ſuffer a king whom himſelf had elevated, and who was in fact but the uſurper of the right of another, to eſcape unpuniſhed, after having committed ſo violent an outrage on the legal heir to the throne. Antony having maturely conſidered the affair, went to Laodicea, where he ſent for Herod, to examine him reſpecting the death of Ariſtobulus, ſince he could not but entertain the utmoſt horror of the deed, even though Herod himſelf was the perpetrator of it.

Antony ſends for Herod.

Herod was too ſenſible of his guilt to truſt to the merit of his cauſe; beſides, he reflected that Antony would be repeatedly applied to by Cleopatra in his diſfavour: ſo that, at all events, he came to a reſolution to make his appearance, which in fact, he would otherwiſe have been compelled to do. Wherefore he entruſted the care of his government to his uncle Joſeph during his abſence, ſtrictly commanding him, that if Antony ſhould put him to death, he ſhould immediately doom Mariamne to the ſame fate: for ſo violent was his regard for his wife, that he could not bear the reflection of any other man poſſeſſing her after his death; and he likewiſe conſidered that her perfections had been, in great meaſure, the cauſe of his misfortunes. Antony had likewiſe conceived an affection for her, on the report of her charms. When Herod had given the above orders, he repaired to Antony, but in the utmoſt dejection of mind.

Herod enjoins his uncle Joſeph to put Mariamne to death, on certain conditions.

Joſeph, during his adminiſtration, took the utmoſt care of the truſt committed to his charge; and often waited on Mariamne, partly through reſpect, and partly on affairs of buſineſs. While they were in converſation, Joſeph uſed frequently to ſpeak of Herod, as one of the moſt fond and tender huſbands in the world. The women ſeemed to wonder at the ſtrangeneſs of this aſſertion, particularly Alexandra: but Joſeph, in the zeal of his heart to aſcertain that character of which he had ſpoken ſo highly, unintentionally betrayed the ſecret he was intruſted to have kept; arguing as an undoubted proof of Herod's affection, that as he found himſelf unable to live without his wife, he was determined that they would not be parted even in death. Theſe words were interpreted by the women, not as a proof of Herod's love, but as a reſolution that they ſhould not long ſurvive, in caſe he ſhould be put to death.

Joſeph unwarily diſcovers the ſecret.

A report now became prevalent in the place, propagated by ſome who wiſhed ill to the king, that Antony had firſt ordered Herod to be put to the torture, and then doomed him to death. The whole court was alarmed at this news, and the women in particular; whereupon Alexandra entreated Joſeph to take them with him, and ſeek protection of the Roman legion commanded by Julius, which was then quartered in the ſuburbs. She urged, that if any diſturbance ſhould happen in the palace, the Romans would provide for their ſafety;

A falſe report concerning Herod's death

ſafety; and that if Mariamne could but have an opportunity of appealing to Antony, he would not refuſe her any favour ſhe could aſk, even though ſhe were to ſolicit the poſſeſſion of the kingdom, and all the royal privileges attendant thereon.

Antony ſhews great favour to Herod.

During the conſideration that took place on this affair, letters were received from Herod, which proved the falſhood of the late report: and by them it appeared, that Herod was no ſooner arrived with Antony, than by obliging language, and the effects of preſents, he ſo far engaged him in his intereſt, that the power of Cleopatra to do him injury ſeemed to be at an end. "Kings (ſaid Antony) would be no longer kings, if they were to be accountable for their proceedings: it is their privilege that their actions ſhould paſs unqueſtioned; and Cleopatra would give an inſtance of her prudence, if ſhe would ſeek leſs to pry into the arcana of government." Theſe letters were likewiſe full of a deſcription of the honours that Herod had received from Antony; mentioning that he had invited him to his council and ſolemn feaſts, notwithſtanding all the detractions of Cleopatra, whom he repreſented as having a deſign on the government, excluſive of her endeavours to injure him. But he ſaid that Antony was a prince of integrity and honour, and his friends might ſoon expect his own return to take poſſeſſion of the kingdom, which would be effectually ſecured to him, together with the continued friendſhip of Antony, who had made Cleopatra a preſent of the country of Cœlo-Syria, on the condition that ſhe would never trouble him again on the affairs of Judæa.

The conſequence of theſe letters was, that the deſign they had of putting themſelves under the protection of the Romans, was ſet aſide: but the plan had not been conducted ſo ſecretly, but that Herod had ſome intimation of it; and as ſoon as Antony was gone on an expedition againſt the Parthians, he returned to Jeruſalem, where he was made acquainted with the whole affair by his mother, and his ſiſter Salome: in fact, the latter proceeded ſo far as to charge Joſeph her own huſband, with having an intrigue with Mariamne: but this aroſe from a former animoſity againſt Mariamne, who being once in a diſpute with Salome, had thrown out ſome inſinuations reſpecting the meanneſs of her extraction. By theſe inſinuations, however, Herod was thrown into the utmoſt rage of wrath and jealouſy (for Mariamne was dear to him as his own exiſtence); ſo that it was with the utmoſt difficulty he was enabled to prevent himſelf from breaking out into the wildeſt extravagancies, and to reſtrain his paſſion within the bounds of diſcreet moderation: but on cool recollection he took Mariamne apart, and cloſely examined her reſpecting her intimacy with Joſeph.

Mariamne pleads her innocence before Herod; and a reconciliation takes place.

Mariamne, in vindication of her innocence, ſaid every thing that it might be ſuppoſed ſuch innocence would dictate; inſiſting, that for any thing that might look like criminal, or diſhonourable in her conduct, ſhe was not only innocent with regard to Joſeph, but with reſpect to all mankind. At length the king, enamoured of the charms of his wife, and overcome by the extremity of his own paſſion for her, relaxed by degrees from his former ſeverity to her, totally abſolved her from all ſuſpicion of the crime that had been imputed to her, and confeſſed himſelf perfectly convinced that ſhe had given no cauſe of offence. He likewiſe repeatedly entreated her pardon for that inconſiderate haſte, which induced him to give credit to a report by which ſhe had been ſo vilely traduced. During this diſcourſe he behaved to her with unfeigned tenderneſs, and with ſuch endearments, that mutual tears and embraces ſucceeded, as is generally the caſe in theſe kinds of reconciliations. The more doubts Mariamne ſeemed to entertain of the reality of Herod's regard for her, the more anxious was he to give her every teſtimony of his undoubted ſincerity. At length, however, ſhe exclaimed, "Yes, truly, you give an abundant proof of the tenderneſs of your regard as a huſband, by ordering an innocent wife to be put to death, in caſe you ſhould happen to die yourſelf!" Theſe words were no ſooner ſpoken than he broke from her arms in the utmoſt rage, tore his hair, and cried out with all the fury of a madman, "Ay! it is now evident, beyond a doubt, that the purity of my wife has been corrupted by Joſeph; for nothing leſs than the confidence ariſing from ſuch an intimacy, could have induced him to give up ſo important a ſecret, which had been committed to his care with ſuch ſolemn injunction not to reveal it." In the firſt impetuoſity of his paſſion, Herod had almoſt determined to put Mariamne to death on the ſpot: but, after ſome violent ſtruggles on his part, the warm love that lay latent in his heart prevailed for her preſervation. With regard to Joſeph, however, he gave inſtant orders for his being put to death, even without being heard in his own defence: and he directed that Alexandra, as the author of all the miſchief, ſhould be committed to priſon.

Herod orders Joſeph to be ſlain, and Alexandra to be impriſoned.

At this period there were great commotions in Syria, ariſing from the conduct and intrigues of Cleopatra, who had now an abſolute aſcendant over Antony, which ſhe made uſe of to produce very miſchievous conſequences: ſhe was perpetually ſoliciting him againſt the men of rank in his dominions, till ſhe had prevailed on him to take their governments from them; and then ſhe got them appropriated to her own uſe. In a word, her ambition and avarice were ſo extravagant, that ſhe made no ſcruple of any thing which might be productive of her own advantage. One of her firſt flagitious crimes was to procure the deſtruction of her brother, a youth near fifteen years of age, and who was next heir to the throne. She then cauſed her ſiſter Arſinoë to be deſtroyed, while ſhe was engaged in her devotions, in the temple of Diana, at Epheſus. Neither ſanctuaries, temples, nor ſepulchres, eſcaped the rage of her avarice, where ſhe conceived that any thing might be obtained by a ſacrilegious violation

Cleopatra's unbounded ambition, cruelty, and avarice.

violation of them. She conſulted no meaſures of right or equity, nor made diſtinction between things ſacred and profane, ſo that her own advantage might be promoted. In a word, this woman was ſo loſt in pride, vanity, and voluptuouſneſs, that the poſſeſſion of the whole world would have been inſufficient to gratify the unbounded exuberance of her paſſions. This being her diſpoſition, it is not much to be wondered at that ſhe was ſo ſolicitous to urge Antony to deprive others of what ſhe intended for her own emolument: and, in fact, ſhe had no ſooner entered Syria with him, than ſhe began to concert how ſhe might make herſelf miſtreſs of the whole country. She procured Lyſanius, the ſon of Ptolemy, to be put to death, on the pretence that he was a friend to the Parthians, without aſſigning any other cauſe. She ſolicited and obtained of Antony, the countries of Arabia and Judæa, in injury of the kings who were the legal poſſeſſors. In a word, Antony was ſo much devoted to the humour of this woman, that he appeared to be almoſt faſcinated with her charms; yet ſome of her demands were ſo extremely enormous and illiberal, that there was no poſſibility of his complying with them, without publicly declaring himſelf the ſlave of a woman of moſt abandoned character. In a word, being unwilling, on the one hand, to diſoblige her by the refuſal of any of her requeſts; and, on the other, equally aſhamed publicly to announce himſelf her ſlave by complying with all her demands, however unreaſonable, he took a middle courſe of conduct, between the two extremes, by aſſigning to her uſe certain parts of both the provinces, together with all the cities from the river Eleutherus to Egypt, Tyre and Sidon alone excepted, which had been always accounted free: yet theſe donations, liberal as they were, did not prevent her ſoliciting Antony, in the moſt earneſt manner, to give her thoſe two places likewiſe.

Antony is governed by her.

CHAP. V.

HEROD receives CLEOPATRA with great Diſtinction at APAMIA. She attempts to ſeduce HEROD, who attends her towards EGYPT. ARMENIA ſubdued by ANTONY, who preſents CLEOPATRA with Priſoners and other Booty. Two Hundred Talents a Year paid to CLEOPATRA as a Tax.

Herod honourably receives Cleopatra at Apamia.

CLEOPATRA having adjuſted her own affairs, and Antony being going into Armenia, ſhe accompanied him as far as the river Euphrates, and on her return towards Judæa ſhe came by the way of Apamia and Damaſcus, where ſhe was met by Herod, who received her in the moſt diſtinguiſhed manner, and entered into a treaty with her reſpecting as much of her revenue as aroſe from that part of Arabia and Jericho as had been granted to her. Now Jericho is a place diſtinguiſhed for its balſam, which is the moſt valuable of all gums; and alſo for the fineſt palm-trees in the univerſe.

Cleopatra now exerted all thoſe artifices of which ſhe was ſo complete a miſtreſs, to induce Herod to embark in an amour; and as ſhe was a woman of warm paſſions, and almoſt dead to ſhame, ſhe made ſuch advances towards the concluſion of the contract as could not be miſunderſtood. Love was the pretence for all her actions; though it is extremely probable ſhe had ſome farther deſign in reſerve, for her artifice had no limits.

He deſigns her death, but is oppoſed by his friends.

Herod was not unapprized that Cleopatra was one of the moſt malicious women exiſting, ſo that he thought himſelf previouſly prepared how to treat her: but when he came to be a witneſs of the ſhameleſs licentiouſneſs of her behaviour, he was ſtruck with aſtoniſhment, and ſecretly reſolved, that if ſhe ſhould proceed to any greater lengths, he would affront and abandon her. On farther reflection, he ſummoned a meeting of his friends on the buſineſs, and conſulted whether it might not be beſt to put an end to the life of ſo vile a woman while he had her in his power, which he thought would yield ſome kind of ſatisfaction to thoſe ſhe had heretofore ill treated, and be a ſecurity to thoſe who might otherwiſe fall a prey to her artifices in future. He conſidered too, that Antony would receive an advantage by this proceeding, as ſhe was the common enemy of all mankind, nor would fail to betray him likewiſe, if ever it ſhould happen that he ſhould want her aſſiſtance. On the whole, then, Herod was abſolutely of opinion that ſhe ſhould be put to death: but his friends were zealous in adviſing him to the contrary, thinking it would be a derogation from his royal dignity, and a dangerous proceeding. Wherefore they entreated him to recollect himſelf, reflect ſeriouſly on the buſineſs, and not to proceed raſhly: for Antony, though the circumſtance might be really to his advantage, would not eaſily brook the affront; beſides, that his miſtreſs being taken off by force, or privately deſtroyed, he would but become the more enamoured of her former charms, and be irritated to a ſpirit of reſentment. They urged too, that it would not be eaſy to palliate or excuſe a violence offered to the perſon of a princeſs of her diſtinguiſhed rank and deſcent: and however great the advantage might be that Herod would reap from her death, yet no pardon could ever take place, on account of the inſult it would appear to be to the honour and love of Antony. They likewiſe repreſented to him in the moſt earneſt manner, that if the execution of his intended ſcheme ſhould take place, the dreadful diſtreſs and confuſion that would moſt certainly follow, not in the royal family only, but throughout the whole kingdom. With regard to the wanton importunities and addreſſes of the queen, they urged, that neither actual injury, nor any danger of it, could poſſibly ariſe from his rejection of them: and as to any thing elſe

that might happen, he had only to act as his reason should dictate in the present state of affairs. This was the substance of the arguments made use of by the friends of Herod; and partly by the credit of their counsels, and partly by the weight of the arguments themselves, they prevailed on him to acknowledge that his plan was not fit to be adopted; and thus diverted him from the execution of it. Herod having thus altered his intentions, behaved complaisantly to Cleopatra, made her presents of great value, and as she was going into Egypt, he conducted her a part of the way.

Armenia subdued by Antony.

At this time Antony was ravaging the country of Armenia; and having made prisoners of Artabazes, the son of Tigranes, and some of the princes, his sons, he sent them into Egypt, as presents to Cleopatra, together with immense quantities of valuable treasure, of which he had made capture. Artabazes was succeeded in the government by his eldest son Artaxias, whom fear had induced to leave the country on the first commencement of the war: but he had not been long in possession of this new dignity before he was deprived of it by Archelaus, and the emperor Nero, who caused Tigranes, the youngest brother of the family, to reign in his stead.

He loads Cleopatra with presents.

Herod made the most regular payments of the revenues of the country which Antony had granted to Cleopatra; considering that it was ill policy to provoke a woman, and it was particularly his interest to keep on good terms with her. As Herod had the care of collecting these revenues, the Arabians paid them punctually for a considerable time, raising no less a sum than two hundred talents annually: but they soon began to decrease in their contributions, till in the end not quite one hundred talents were raised.

CHAP. VI.

A Competition for the Empire between AUGUSTUS and ANTONY. The JEWS conquer the ARABIANS in a bloody Battle. Another vast Army of ARABIANS at CANA, in CŒLO-SYRIA, is likewise routed by the JEWS. ATHENION obtains a complete Victory over them.

Civil broils among the Romans.

THIS breach of faith, and neglect of the Arabians, in not raising the stipulated taxes, would certainly have been punished by Herod, by a war upon that people, but he was prevented from carrying his design into execution by the civil contentions among the Romans: for at this time the battle of Actium was near at hand, the event of which it was thought would prevent all farther competition for the empire, which then prevailed between Antony and Augustus. This happened in the 187th Olympiad. As Herod had now been, through the distinguished generosity of Antony, a long time in possession of a fertile and well-peopled country, and having plenty of cattle, corn, and money, he immediately began to raise a large army, with which he marched to offer his patron assistance: but Antony not being in want of such additional force, advised Herod to march immediately against the Arabians, whom he considered in the light of a traiterous and perfidious people. In fact, these directions were given in consequence of the advice, and by the direction of Cleopatra, who thought she was consulting her own interest in promoting a quarrel between the Arabians and Jews. In obedience to the royal will, Herod returned with his army, and soon arrived in Arabia, having under his command a very considerable number both of horse and foot. The Arabians, having perfect intelligence of all his motions, were waiting to give him battle near a place called Diospolis, towards which he immediately directed his march. The opposite armies soon came to an engagement, and after a most obstinate and bloody contest, victory declared in favour of the Jews.

Herod brings succour to Antony, who directs him to make war on the Arabians.

They collect a large army to oppose him.

Not long after this event, the Arabians assembled another large army at Cana, in Cœlo-Syria; of which Herod having received authentic information, and being advised that they were upon their march, advanced with the main body of his troops to that part of the country; intending there to encamp and fortify himself, till he should have a favourable opportunity of attacking the enemy with good prospect of success. The soldiers, however, were so elated with the consideration of their former victory, and so perfectly convinced that the army was animated with courage, and in the best possible condition for an attack, that they urged that waiting in expectation was but losing time; and they therefore desired permission to proceed to an immediate encounter: nay, such was their impatience for engagement, that they were ready to break through all the bounds of discipline. This uncommon ardour and alacrity of the troops gave the king so much satisfaction, that he was determined to encourage the humour, and not check the eagerness of disposition, which he thought might, most probably, lead on to victory. Wherefore he immediately put himself at the head of his troops, grasped his sword in his hand, gave the word of command to march and begin the attack, and only follow the example of his own valour. Hereupon they marched forward to the combat with such a determined warmth of bravery, that the Arabians were astonished at their courage before the actual encounter. For a little while, indeed, they made some faint shew of a slight resistance; but, soon after the first onset, they gave way, and the greater part of them fled in confusion, finding themselves wholly unable to cope with the magnanimous valour of their enemies.

Herod obtains a victory.

This defeat would probably have proved the total destruction of the Arabians, but that Athenion, who acted as general for Cleopatra in that country, took advantage of the situation of affairs. Now Athenion, who was an irreconcileable enemy to Herod, had remained, during the late battle, in a kind of neutrality, having his forces drawn up in order to wait the

The Jews are overcome through Athenion's perfidy.

the event of the conteſt. If the Arabians had happened to have proved ſucceſsful, Athenion would not have interpoſed between the contending parties: but when he came to find that the Jews were the conquerors, and that after the battle they ſeemed to be fatigued and wearied out with the labours of the day, and likewiſe, in the pride of victory, indifferent to a proper care of their own ſecurity, he collected a great number of the natives, and taking advantage of the Jews being off their guard, he ſurpriſed them by a ſudden attack, and routed them with a very ſmall degree of difficulty: purſuing his advantage, he followed them over precipices, and drove them into bogs, doing great execution, as the Jews were unacquainted with thoſe places.

Fatal conſequences of their defeat.

Theſe ſymptoms of victory inſpired the Arabians with ſuch additional courage, that they renewed the battle, and gave freſh chace to their enemies, whom they ſlew in ſuch immenſe numbers, that very few eſcaped out of ſo great a multitude. Herod beginning to ſee the dangerous ſituation of affairs, and being a witneſs how greatly the enemy had the advantage of his troops, haſtened away with all poſſible expedition to get freſh ſuccours; but the camp of the Jews was taken and plundered before he could bring up his reinforcements. Thus, by the means of a ſingle ſurpriſe, was a complete and important victory obtained, and the deſtruction of a potent enemy effected, beyond all human expectation or probability. After this melancholy iſſue of the conteſt, Herod was compelled to have recourſe to the making of depredations and incurſions on the Arabians. He was likewiſe obliged to ſeek refuge in the ſecure places of the mountains, being afraid to expoſe his army to the event of a battle. However, the time thus ſpent was not abſolutely thrown away; for his troops were hereby kept in perpetual exerciſe, inſtructed in the duties of military diſcipline, inured to hardſhips and fatigues, and in ſome degree qualified to redeem their forfeited honour on any future occaſion.

CHAP. VII.

The JEWISH Embaſſadors put to Death by the ARABIANS, when they went to ſue for Peace. A ſignal Victory obtained over the ARABIANS, by HEROD's Forces.

A terrible earthquake in Judæa.

IN the ſame year that the important battle of Actium was fought, which was in the ſeventh year of the reign of Herod, there happened a more violent and dreadful earthquake in Judæa than had been known in any former period. Great numbers of cattle were deſtroyed by this melancholy event, and, in the ſeveral towns, above ten thouſand men loſt their lives by the overthrow of the buildings: but the ſoldiers, who were in the open fields, eſcaped with much leſs injury, as they could not ſuffer by the fall of houſes. The news of this providential judgment having reached the Arabians, their pride and inſolence on the occaſion is not to be deſcribed. Though in fact the earthquake was exceedingly horrid and deſtructive, the report of the miſchief it had done greatly exceeded the truth. The Arabians, however, thought that the land of Judæa was almoſt wholly depopulated, the cities and people buried in the ruins, and the nation no longer in a condition to wage war againſt them. The Jews, in the midſt of their diſtreſs, diſpatched embaſſadors to the Arabians, humbly ſoliciting terms of peace; but the Arabians not only put the embaſſadors to death, but, in a ſhort time, advanced with an army, ſtill farther to diſtreſs the already unfortunate.

The Arabians maſſacre the Jewiſh embaſſadors.

Mature reflection on the hopeleſs and deplorable ſtate of their affairs, had dejected the Jews to ſuch an aſtoniſhing degree, that they became utterly deſponding, loſt all regard to the ſupport of their public government, and, in caſe of the approach of an enemy, deſpaired of having courage to defend themſelves. Matters being thus ſituated, the king did all in his power to elevate their ſpirits, encourage them to diſmiſs their unreaſonable anxiety, and entreated an exertion of as much courage as might be neceſſary to prepare for their own defence. Some of the more diſtinguiſhed of Herod's people felt their misfortunes ſo ſeverely, that while the ſenſe of them was recent in their minds, they could not eaſily be prevailed on to attend to the arguments of prudence and wiſdom: but when Herod, in conſequence of his advice, had prepared them to liſten to what he had to offer for the emolument and ſatisfaction of the army, he ſtated to them the nature of the war, and their preſent ſituation; and moreover addreſſed them in a moſt eloquent and animating ſpeech, by which all the antient courage of the Jews ſeemed to be revived; wherefore taking advantage of their preſent diſpoſition, he offered the cuſtomary ſacrifices, and immediately marched beyond the river Jordan (towards the Arabians), where he fixed his camp. Now, between the two armies there happened to be a caſtle, which either party regarded as a moſt advantageous ſituation, in caſe of their coming to a battle, or of decampment. The obtaining poſſeſſion of this place, then, occaſioned a kind of ſkirmiſh with their darts and lances; but the armies, by degrees, approaching nearer to each other, a cloſe engagement enſued, in which many men were loſt on both ſides; till, in the end, the Arabians turning about, left the field with great precipitation. This evident puſillanimity of the enemy inſpired the Jews with ſo great courage, that they ruſhed forward, and forced them to their very trenches, where, for a conſiderable time, they made ſome appearance of reſiſtance; but this was in a very irregular manner, and with ſuch apparent dejection in all their looks and actions, that it was evident they fought in mere deſpair, and almoſt without the hope of conqueſt. Still, however, they continued the

Herod attacks and defeats the Arabians.

the conteſt, partly encouraged by the greatneſs of their numbers, and partly impelled by the neceſſity of fighting, or loſing their lives on the ſpot; till at length, after a tedious conteſt, and the ſhedding of much blood, they were totally routed, with the loſs of five thouſand men, part of whom fell by their own ſwords, part by thoſe of the enemy, and the reſt were trodden to death by the croud. They who remained alive retreated with all poſſible expedition to their camp, where their proſpect was of the moſt melancholy kind; for they had neither food nor liquor to ſupport their exiſtence; and in this ſituation they remained for a conſiderable time, without proſpect of eſcape or relief, ſo cloſely were they environed by the Jews.

They ſue for peace in vain.

Thus reduced to the moſt extreme neceſſity, they ſent out deputies to Herod, humbly entreating that he would either grant them peace, or permit them to furniſh themſelves with cold water, to relieve them from the intolerable pain of intenſe thirſt: but Herod, reſolved to give full ſcope to his revenge, refuſed to accept of preſents which they had ſent him, diſdained to attend to the entreaties of the deputies, and determined not to gratify them in any of their requeſts.

Within five days after the return of the deputies, about four thouſand of theſe wretched people came out of the camp, and offered to become ſlaves, and ſubmit to chains, rather than endure any longer the extreme diſtreſs of an unconquerable thirſt. On the

A great ſlaughter of them obliged the reſt to ſubmit.

fixth day, by a general conſent, all the remainder of them ſallied forth, and attacked Herod's troops, preferring an inſtant death, to the torment of tediouſly expiring under every circumſtance of infamy. Thus deſperate were they on their firſt iſſuing forth; but having neither ſtrength nor ſpirit equal to the ardour of the undertaking, they ſought death as a relief to their preſent miſery. On the firſt attack ſeven thouſand of them were ſl[illegible]; and by this victory, the reſt were taught that Herod was a ſkilful commander, and not to be eaſily perſuaded to reſign advantages he had gained: and thereupon they ſubmitted themſelves to the protection of the conqueror.

CHAP. VIII.

The Defeat of ANTONY at ACTIUM. HEROD debates with himſelf on the deſtruction of HYRCANUS. HYRCANUS examined by HEROD, and put to Death. An Abſtract of the Hiſtory of HYRCANUS. HEROD retreats to CÆSAR, firſt committing his Government to the care of his Brother PHERORAS.

HEROD was elevated to the higheſt degree of vanity on reflecting upon the above victory. He conceived that the world would deem him a conqueror of the firſt magnitude; and in this idea returned to Jeruſalem, filled with the moſt pleaſing thoughts that he had obtained the ſummit of his ambition. But while he was congratulating himſelf on his good fortune, he received advice that Auguſtus had defeated Antony at Actium; on which he conſidered himſelf as a ruined man: nor was he ſingular in this opinion: all parties, friends and foes, were of the ſame ſentiment; conceiving that the perſon who had been ſo firm a friend to Antony, would never be forgiven by Auguſtus. His friends were ſo ſincere with him, as not to conceal their opinion that he would be utterly ruined: while his foes, who conceived great hopes from the probable change of affairs, pretended to condole with him on his misfortunes.

The battle at Actium, wherein Antony is defeated by Auguſtus.

Herod now began to conceive, that as Hyrcanus was the only ſurviving branch of the royal family, it would be good policy to procure his deſtruction, even though Auguſtus might afterwards determine unfavourably with regard to himſelf. He thought that, whether he might fall under his diſpleaſure, or eſcape it, there would be no wiſdom in leaving between himſelf and the government a perſon who had ſo fair a pretenſion thereto: excluſive of which, the cutting him off from the ſucceſſion would afford him a perſonal gratification. While he was revolving in his mind how he ſhould act in this emergency, an incident that happened in the family of Hyrcanus afforded him the means of coming to a reſolution. Hyrcanus was a man of the moſt pliant and eaſy diſpoſition imaginable: he had an utter averſion to buſineſs of all kinds; he was for leaving every thing to chance, and was contented with whatever event took place. Oppoſed to this character was that of his daughter Alexandra, a woman violent in her paſſions, aſpiring, turbulent, and, on the preſent occaſion, animated with the warmeſt hopes of a change in the adminiſtration of affairs. Now Alexandra was perpetually remonſtrating with, and urging her father, to deviſe ſome mode of delivering his family from the oppreſſions and perſecutions of Herod; and adviſing him to make a timely proviſion for his own ſecurity, while a happy change in his fortune preſented itſelf to his view. The ſubſtance of her advice was, that he ſhould immediately write to Malchus, who was at that time governor of Arabia, requeſting that he would receive him into his protection, if the urgency of affairs ſhould require it: but ſhe ſaid, that if it ſhould happen that Auguſtus ſhould be diſpleaſed with the conduct of Herod, the conſequence would be that himſelf would be reſtored to his dignity; ſince the opinion of the public was clearly on his ſide, and he had an indiſputable right to the ſtation.

Herod is jealous of Hyrcanus, and meditates his death.

Hyrcanus heſitated for a conſiderable time: but Alexandra perpetually urging him to the ſame purpoſe, and giving him every encouragement to hope, while Herod was preparing ſecret practices againſt his life, he at length ſuffered himſelf to be overcome by the importunities of his daughter, and thereupon wrote a letter to Malchus, the care of which was committed

committed to one Dositheus; and the substance of it was, that "Malchus should send a party of horsemen to the lake Asphaltites, about three hundred furlongs distant from Jerusalem."

Perfidy of Dositheus.

Dositheus being a confidential friend both of Hyrcanus and Alexandra, this letter was therefore entrusted to his care; and the rather, because he was conceived to be an inveterate foe to Herod, and his cause for the putting his relation, Joseph, to death; and likewise on account of his brothers, who had been some time before slain at Tyre by Antony. All these considerations, however, were insufficient to make Dositheus faithful to his employers; for he thought it more to his interest to solicit the favour of the present king; whereupon he immediately went and shewed him the letter, and received his acknowledgments for the obligation. Herod now requested the farther favour of him to fold it up, seal it, carry it according to the original direction, and bring back the answer that Malchus should send; since it would very much import him to know, how the latter would act in so interesting a business. Thus directed, Dositheus set forward on his journey, executed his commission with fidelity, and brought back the answer of Malchus, which was to the following purport: "That he was willing to give entertainment to Hyrcanus and his family: that if he chose to bring with him all those Jews who remained true to his interest, they should likewise be received in the most hospitable manner: that he was ready to send a proper force to conduct them in safety, and heartily disposed to give Hyrcanus all possible assistance in any way he might require."

Hyrcanus is put to death.

Upon the receipt and reading of this letter, Herod sent for Hyrcanus, and demanded of him whether he held any correspondence with Malchus, or not; and being answered in the negative, Herod produced the letter, and commanded that it should be read publicly; which having been done, he directed that Hyrcanus should be put to death. Thus ended the life of Hyrcanus; a life long and troublesome; and chequered with a vast variety of good and bad fortune. In the way above-mentioned, this story is recited in Herod's commentaries; but many different reports have prevailed respecting this affair. Several persons have insisted, that he did not fall a sacrifice on account of the crime above alledged, but for a conspiracy in which he was said to be concerned. The story is yet told in a different manner. It is said, that Herod being at a public entertainment, inquired of Hyrcanus (but not in a way that seemed to evidence any suspicion) whether he had received any letters from Malchus. To this he answered in the affirmative, but averred that these letters had nothing particular in them, containing only matters of more compliment and civility. Herod, it is asserted, now proceeded to interrogate Hyrcanus farther, and demanded whether he had ever received any presents from Malchus. To this likewise he answered in the affirmative; but said, that these presents were nothing more than four horses for his own use. It is averred, that the king construed this trivial circumstance into treason, arising from the acceptance of bribes; and thereupon gave orders for his being taken from his presence, and immediately put to death.

Different opinions concerning Hyrcanus.

After all that has been said on this matter, many persons are of opinion that Hyrcanus was altogether innocent; and this opinion they found on very rational arguments. He was remarkably distinguished for being a man of almost the mildest temper imaginable, who had the least of officiousness in his disposition of any person that ever lived. He was so singular for his modesty, and the temperance of his conduct, that he is said never to have been guilty of one rash action in the whole course of his life: never to have indulged himself in the usual levities of youth, nor to have been wanton in the exercise of his authority; for in his mode of government he strictly followed the advice of Antipater, the father of Herod. Hyrcanus, at the period above-mentioned, was more than eighty years of age, and dwelt on the opposite side of the river Euphrates, having left his friends and best connections behind him, in submission to the will of Herod, who was now established in the plenitude of his power: so that it seems to exceed the bounds of all human probability that Hyrcanus should have attempted a plan so impracticable in itself, and so totally contrary to the whole bent and disposition of his mind: wherefore, the whole matter hath been justly looked upon to be a contrivance of Herod for the destruction of the other.

History of his life.

He was promoted to the execution of the office of high-priest during the reign of his mother Alexandra, and continued to discharge the duties of it nine years, at the end of which his mother died, and he assumed the reins of government. He had not been in possession above three months, when he was expelled by his brother Aristobulus: after this, however, he was restored to his former station by Pompey, who put him in possession of all his dignities, and for the space of forty years he continued in the enjoyment of them; but was at length dethroned by Antigonus, suffered the pain and disgrace of having his ears cut off, and was carried away prisoner among the Parthians. But he had not long remained in this situation before he obtained his liberty, and returned home, flattering himself with great advantages from the friendship of Herod: but in this hope he was so egregiously disappointed, that the latter caused him to suffer an ignominious death, at a most advanced age, and after having experienced so many of the malicious turns of fortune. Hyrcanus was distinguished by the candour and moderation of his disposition, as well as by his regard to the laws of equity. He was remarkable for his love of ease, and generally entrusted the administration of public affairs to the care of others, from a conviction that he was himself ill calculated for the management of them. This easiness of disposition in Hyrcanus laid the principal foundation of the fortunes of Antipater and Herod: yet, in the

event, it ſo happened, that, in defiance of all law and juſtice, he fell a ſacrifice to that very goodneſs of temper which ought to have been his protection.

Herod, reſolving to go to Cæſar, commits the care of the government to his brother.

Herod had, by the means above-mentioned, no ſooner got rid of Hyrcanus, than he immediately departed to Cæſar; not that he had any great expectation of favour from that quarter, towards a man who had abetted the cauſe of Antony with ſo great a degree of zeal. Previous to his departure, being ſuſpicious of the conduct of Alexandra, and apprehenſive that ſhe might foment a rebellion among the people during his abſence, he committed the executive power of the government to the care of his brother Pheroras. His mother Cypris, his ſiſter, and his other relations, he ſent to the caſtle of Maſſada; laying ſtrong injunctions on his brother, that if any misfortune ſhould ariſe to them, he ſhould reſolutely ſupport his authority, and adminiſter all public affairs in his own name. Mariamne, the wife of Herod, he ſent to Alexandrion, to reſide with her mother Alexandra, as the animoſities ſubſiſting between his wife, his own mother, and his ſiſter were ſo great, that it would have been the higheſt imprudence to have permitted their reſidence together. The government of the fort of Maſſada, he committed to the care of two of his faithful and confidential friends, Joſeph his treaſurer, and Sohemus, of Iturea; which was done, under the pretence of a reſpectful attention to the princeſſes: but the governors received private orders, that if they ſhould hear of any violence offered to the perſon of Herod, the women ſhould be immediately deſtroyed, and their utmoſt endeavours exerted that his brother and ſons might be rendered ſecure in the government.

CHAP. IX.

HEROD's Speech to CÆSAR, who confirms him in his Government. HEROD waits on CÆSAR at PTOLEMAIS, where he entertains the Emperor with the utmoſt Magnificence.

Interview between Herod and Cæſar.

HEROD had no ſooner iſſued his orders reſpecting what he intended ſhould be done in his abſence, than he proceeded, without loſs of time, to wait upon Cæſar at Rhodes. When he came to that city, he laid by his crown, but did not diſrobe himſelf of any other part of his dreſs that was an enſign of royalty. Cæſar having given permiſſion for his being admitted to an audience, he exhibited a diſtinguiſhed proof of the dignity of his mind: diſdaining to make needleſs apologies and idle excuſes for what he had to ſay (as is but too cuſtomary in ſimilar caſes), but delivered his whole ſentiments with manly freedom and reſolution.

He is confirmed in his government.

Herod delivered his ſpeech with an air of ſo much magnanimity, and accompanied it with ſo graceful an action, that Cæſar, who poſſeſſed a natural greatneſs and benevolence of diſpoſition, was wonderfully charmed with the defence he had made. He had no ſooner finiſhed his oration, than the emperor treated him with particular marks of generoſity and regard, directed him to re-aſſume his crown, and continue to be as ſincere a friend to himſelf in future, as he had heretofore been to Antony: he likewiſe informed him, that the good offices which Herod had done him in the affair of the gladiators, had been made known to him by Caſſidius.

Theſe generous expreſſions of Cæſar were ſoon followed with the moſt ſubſtantial effects; for Herod was reinſtated in his kingdom, the poſſeſſion of which was ſecured to him by a decree of the ſenate: and this very ſingular favour was granted through the immediate influence of Cæſar; a circumſtance that, as it exceeded Herod's moſt ſanguine expectations, was matter of equal ſurprize and joy to him. Theſe matters being adjuſted, he went into Egypt with Cæſar, and on the journey treated both the emperor and his attendants with a degree of ſplendor agreeable to their high rank, and conſiſtent with the benevolence of his own diſpoſition: excluſive of which he made them many valuable preſents. Herod now greatly intereſted himſelf with Cæſar, to obtain the pardon of Alexander, who had been a friend to Antony: but this ſolicitation could by no means be complied with, as Cæſar had bound himſelf, by a ſolemn vow, not to grant a pardon to the delinquent.

The Jews, who on Herod's departure had conſidered him as a ruined man, were now ſo aſtoniſhed at his return with a greater degree of reputation and ſplendor than that with which he had left them, that they looked upon him as one whom providence protected in a peculiar manner, and turned to his advantage all thoſe circumſtances which appeared to lead him only into diſgrace and danger.

Herod ſumptuouſly entertains Cæſar at Ptolemais.

Some time afterwards, when Cæſar was on his return out of Ægypt, Herod went to Ptolemais, in order to pay his reſpects to him; and there treated him with a degree of magnificence, and a profuſion of expence, that exceeds the power of deſcription: nor was this liberality confined to himſelf only, but he ſupplied all his army with neceſſaries of every kind. Cæſar was ſo ſtruck with this behaviour, that he entered into the utmoſt degree of familiarity with him, and they generally rode together, while their troops were forming in order. Herod had at this time in his train one hundred and fifty perſons, dreſſed in a moſt ſumptuous manner, who were perfectly well inſtructed in the diſcharge of a truſt committed to their care; which was, to pay particular attention to the accommodation of Cæſar and his friends on their march, and to take care that himſelf and his army ſhould be properly ſupplied both with wine and water, however barren or dry the ways might be; a circumſtance that greatly enhanced the reputation of Herod in the opinion of the army. He likewiſe made Cæſar a preſent of eight hundred talents, and behaved in all reſpects ſo much to the general ſatisfaction, that far

greater

greater reſpect was paid to the ſublimity of his ſentiments, than to the dignity of his ſtation. In conſequence of this conduct in embracing ſo proper an opportunity to exhibit the benevolence of his diſpoſition, and his ſubſequent reſpectful behaviour to many other Romans of diſtinction, in their journey out of Ægypt, he obtained, from all ranks of people, the character of one of the moſt illuſtrious princes that ever exiſted.

CHAP. X.

Great Diſorders in HEROD's Family. The Death of ANTONY and CLEOPATRA. SOHEMUS put to Death by HEROD. MARIAMNE is tried, and ſentenced to Execution. Her Reſolution in her laſt Moments. The Horrors of HEROD's Conſcience. A Plague breaks out in JERUSALEM. HEROD afflicted with a dreadful Diſeaſe. The enormous Cruelties of HEROD. He fortifies SAMARIA.

Diſtracted ſtate of Herod's family.

WHEN Herod returned to his kingdom, diſtinguiſhed in the moſt glorious manner, he found his family in the higheſt degree of diſorder, and his wife and mother-in-law greatly chagrined at their ſituation: for they could not but deem themſelves rather to be priſoners in the caſtle (which was really the caſe) than as having been lodged there for the ſecurity of their perſons: and they were mortified beyond all deſcription from the conſideration that not a ſingle circumſtance there was at their order or diſpoſal. Previous to his return, the mind of Mariamne was filled with the idea that the whole of Herod's profeſſions of regard to her had no farther view than the conſulting of his own convenience. But what, above all other things, gave her the utmoſt concern, was the reſolution that ſhe ſhould fall a ſacrifice in caſe of her huſband's death. The ſanguinary tendency of the orders, which Herod had given to Joſeph, engroſſed all her faculties: ſhe ſaw that her only proſpect of ſecurity conſiſted in her obtaining the favour of her keepers; particularly that of Sohemus, for her life was more immediately in his hands. For ſome conſiderable time he remained true to his truſt, and kept the ſecret inviolable; but on the ladies treating him with great complaiſance, and preſenting him with ſeveral little gratuities, he began to recede by degrees, and, at length, diſcovered the whole ſecret that Herod had entruſted him with. Now at this time he had formed an idea that Herod was to be conſidered only as a loſt man: and he therefore imagined that no danger could ariſe from that quarter, while, on the other hand, he ſhould be certain of ingratiating himſelf with the princeſs, and by this means advance his intereſt at all events. But if the matter, however, ſhould iſſue the other way; and if Herod ſhould ſucceed in every wiſh of his heart; "In this caſe (ſaid he) I know that he doats on Mariamne to ſo extravagant a degree, that he will never conſent to any thing that is not perfectly agreeable to her:" and in conſequence of theſe reflections it was that he determined to reveal the whole ſecret.

Mariamne was ſo ſhocked with theſe conditional orders which her huſband had repeatedly given reſpecting her, that ſhe conceived the greateſt antipathy to him; and ſo great was the horror and dread of her mind at the thought of living with a man who could entertain ſuch ſentiments regarding her, that ſhe made it the ſubject of her daily prayers that he might never return to her alive: and, at a future period, when ſhe had it not in her power to conceal her ſentiments any longer, ſhe acknowledged this circumſtance in the moſt open and explicit manner.

Mariamne treats Herod with indifference and averſion.

The new and unexpected honours and diſtinctions with which Herod had been gratified, ſo engroſſed his whole mind, that he was impatient to be the firſt meſſenger of the good news to Mariamne: and he delivered the happy tidings to her amidſt a profuſion of tender embraces, that evidently proved the violent and unabating love he had for her. But while he was relating the circumſtances of events, which he could not doubt would afford her great ſatisfaction, ſhe looked about her with an air of the moſt perfect indifference, without paying the leaſt kind of attention to his narrative. She was, in fact, perfectly unreſerved in her neglect; and being a woman who prided herſelf in acting without diſguiſe, ſhe took no pains to aſſume a look foreign from her heart, but permitted Herod to read in her countenance, that his good news and endearments afforded her abundantly more pain than ſatisfaction.

His agitation of mind on that occaſion.

Herod was now no longer tormented with the doubts of jealouſy, ſince what he moſt dreaded to be aſſured of, appeared now to be altogether certain. In fact, the averſion that his wife had to him was now ſo evident, that partly through the indignation he felt at finding his love rejected, and partly through his confuſion, from the tranſports of his rage, and the warmth of his affection, each paſſion tormenting and tearing his breaſt with violent and oppoſite force, his tenderneſs inciting him one way, and his reſentment hurrying him another, that a perfect whirlwind of paſſion agitated his whole frame. He ſaw not how to gratify his love, without offering violence to his reſentment; and at the ſame time he dreaded the giving ſcope to his vengeance, more than the oppoſite extreme, for he felt a principle of ſelf-love in his breaſt, which told him, that after he ſhould have taken vengeance on his wife, the moſt unhappy conſequences would ariſe to himſelf, when future experience ſhould convince him, that life was not to be ſupported without the endearments of her converſation.

This reſtleſs anxiety of Herod's mind (which was greater than language can expreſs) leaving him in doubt how he ſhould conduct himſelf with regard to Mariamne, his mother and ſiſter thought this was a fit opportunity of increaſing the difference between them,

hem, by doing all kinds of ill offices, and propagating every ſpecies of calumny, that might tend to promote that hatred which was already growing apace in the breaſt of Herod. They, therefore, ſuggeſted a number of circumſtances to him, ſuch as, from their nature, though he could not entirely reject, yet neither could he afford them ſuch an implicit confidence of belief, as to determine, on the credit thereof, to deſtroy a perſon for whom he had ſuch an unbounded affection. Nevertheleſs, he became daily more and more diſcontented in his mind, and behaved with a greater degree of ſeverity to his wife. On the contrary, Mariamne took not the leaſt pains to diſguiſe the diſcontent which rankled at her heart; ſo that the violent regard that Herod entertained for her, was, by degrees, converted to the utmoſt rancour of hatred: inſomuch that it is not improbable, but that ſhe might have fallen an immediate ſacrifice to his reſentment; but that juſt at this juncture intelligence was received of the death of Antony and Cleopatra, and that Egypt was at that time in the poſſeſſion of Cæſar. On the receipt of this information, Herod loſt not a moment in repairing to Cæſar, leaving his family in the above-mentioned diſordered ſituation, and once more committing Mariamne to the care of Sohemus, to whom he made many acknowledgments for his former ſervices, and gratified him with a command in Judæa, as a teſtimony of his eſteem.

Death of Antony and Cleopatra.

On the arrival of Herod in Egypt, Cæſar treated him with great diſtinction, behaved more in a ſtile of familiarity than heretofore, placed great confidence in him, and conferred the following favours on him in token of his regard: he made him a preſent of four hundred Gauls who had officiated as guards to Cleopatra; he likewiſe made him governor of that part of the country which Antony had heretofore given to Cleopatra, and added thereto the government of Gaza, Anthedon, Joppa, and the tower of Straton, which lay towards the ſea, together with the command of Gadara, Hippen, and Samaria; all which proved a great addition to his royal ſplendor and dignity.

Additional favours conferred by Cæſar on Herod.

Herod having reſpectfully attended Cæſar as far as Antioch, there took leave of him, and returned to Jeruſalem, but found himſelf altogether as unhappy at home, as he had been ſucceſsful abroad: he was convinced, that the ſplendor of a crown was by no means a counterpoiſe to the misfortunes attendant on an unhappy marriage; and his diſtreſs was aggravated from the conſideration that this match was of his own choice, on which he had built all his hopes of earthly happineſs: for certainly no man ever loved a woman with a purer or more honourable affection, than Herod did Mariamne. Notwithſtanding all objections to her conduct, her chaſtity remained undoubted, even beyond ſuſpicion; but ſhe had ſome ſingularities of temper, which made her forget all reſpect to her huſband's power and authority; for ſhe would ſometimes treat him in the moſt opprobrious manner. Herod endeavoured to behave with an apparent evenneſs of temper, though ſhe uſed frequently to reflect on his mother and ſiſter, on account of the meanneſs of their extraction; and this too in ſo public a manner, that it created the moſt implacable animoſities among the ladies, and was the ſource of a thouſand ſcandalous reports and malevolent calumnies.

Mutual offices of enmity had now continued a whole year from the time of Herod's return from Cæſar, and ſeemed to be continually increaſing, when a plot, which had been preconcerted, was carried into execution. Herod, oppreſſed by the heat of the weather, and intending to indulge himſelf in repoſe, retired to his cloſet for that purpoſe: but thoughts of a more tender kind occurring to his mind, he ſent for Mariamne: and when ſhe came to him, he careſſed her with the utmoſt fondneſs, and beſought her kindneſs with prayers and ſolicitations: but ſhe anſwered him only with the utmoſt contempt and ſcorn, and reminded him, with great acrimony, of the death of her father and brother. Herod, enraged beyond all deſcription at the inſolence of this behaviour, flew into ſo violent a paſſion, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty he reſtrained himſelf from taking immediate vengeance on her, in which caſe ſhe would undoubtedly have fallen a ſacrifice to the impetuoſity of his wrath. Herod's ſiſter, Salome, hearing a diſturbance, kept the butler in readineſs to execute an important commiſſion with which ſhe had previouſly charged him; and this was no other than to wait on the king, with a tale that Mariamne had been ſoliciting his aſſiſtance in the preparation of a love potion for his majeſty. The butler was inſtructed, that if the king ſhould demand to know its contents, he ſhould declare that they were mixed by Mariamne, that he knew nothing of the ingredients, and that all his buſineſs was to deliver the preparation; but if the king ſhould not be particular in his enquiries, he ſhould behave with equal reſerve, and no injury would ariſe from what might paſs from the interview.

Mariamne reproaches Herod with the death of her father and brother.

The butler being perfectly well inſtructed in what manner he was to act, executed his commiſſion agreeable to his directions; and approaching the king with an appearance of great gravity, and as if he had important buſineſs to communicate, he told his majeſty, that Mariamne had offered him bribes and other gratuities to induce him to provide a love potion for him. The butler finding that the king appeared to be alarmed at hearing this intelligence, proceeded to inform him, that ſuch a preparation having been offered to him, and he being ignorant of what it might contain, thought it would be an act of the greateſt prudence, as far as it concerned both the king and himſelf, to wait upon him with an account of what had happened. Herod had heretofore met with ſufficient cauſe of vexation; but the aſtoniſhment with which he was ſtruck at the above-mentioned information, drove him to the very verge of diſtraction:

Plot againſt her life by Salome and the butler.

traction: wherefore he inſtantly ordered that a perſon in whom Mariamne particularly confided ſhould be put to the torture, preſuming that ſhe would not carry into execution any plan, whether of greater or leſs conſequence, without his being in the ſecret. Obedience being paid to this ſentence, the party was ſtrictly queſtioned; but nothing could be extorted from him, till, in the extremity of his anguiſh, he dropped ſome words, intimating that the uneaſineſs of Mariamne aroſe from ſomething that Sohemus had communicated to her. The ſufferer had hardly pronounced theſe words, when Herod burſt into the moſt paſſionate exclamation, declaring that "Sohemus, who had hitherto been ſo loyal a ſubject, and approved himſelf ſo true a friend both to his king and country, never could have betrayed a ſecret of ſo important a nature, as that with which he had been intruſted, but in the confidence of illegal familiarities with Mariamne." He therefore gave immediate orders that Sohemus ſhould be put to death; and directed that his wife ſhould be ſummoned to take her trial before a court of juſtice: and appointed for her judges a number of perſons devoted to his will.

Trial and execution of Mariamne.

When the day of her trial arrived, the charge exhibited againſt her was, the having conſpired to poiſon the king. Herod was more violent againſt her, both by words and actions, than was conſiſtent with the dignity of a court of juſtice; and the judges obſerving the diſpoſition of the king, followed his example in pronouncing her guilty. This ſentence was no ſooner paſſed, than both Herod, and all his ſurrounding friends, thought it would be prudent not to carry it into execution; but rather to ſpare her life, and detain her in priſon. Salome and her adherents were alone violent in their exclamations for immediate juſtice: and, in conſequence of what they urged, that a revolt would happen among the people if the queen's life was ſpared, Herod was prevailed on to agree to her execution: and this occaſioned the fatal exit of Mariamne.

Alexandra's puſillanimity and hypocriſy.

When Alexandra found to what extremity the proceedings againſt her daughter had been carried, ſhe had every reaſon to conclude that her own life was in danger. In order, therefore, to avoid the dreaded conſequence, ſhe deſcended to a conduct that was altogether derogatory to the dignity of her character. Her fears in this juncture, induced her to go ſuch lengths, and ſhe was ſo zealous not to be thought to have combined with her daughter, that ſhe ſought every opportunity of traducing her character in all companies, repreſenting her as the moſt baſe and ungrateful of women, and extolling the juſtice of that ſentence which had doomed her to death for conſpiring the deſtruction of a huſband, to whoſe tenderneſs ſhe lay under ſuch unbounded obligations. Alexandra carried this hypocritical behaviour to ſuch a height, that ſhe became univerſally deſpiſed, as one who could ſo unnaturally inſult her daughter during the extremity of her misfortunes: but Mariamne, even while ſhe was conducting to the place of execution, ſpoke not a word in anſwer to all ſhe heard of her mother's baſe and cruel behaviour, though her countenance teſtified the ſenſe ſhe entertained of the ſhameful part that her mother had acted. In a word, Mariamne maintained her ſpirits to the greateſt degree of firmneſs and conſtancy; not exhibiting, even by the change of her complexion, that ſhe was terrified at the thoughts of approaching death. In a word, ſhe died in the ſame manner ſhe had lived, a pattern of courage, diſdaining fear, and proving herſelf capable of ſuſtaining the moſt arduous trials.

Character of Mariamne.

Thus ended the life of the generous and virtuous princeſs Mariamne, a woman who would have been ſuperior to all her ſex, but that ſhe had too great a mixture of paſſion and pride in her diſpoſition. Her beauty was ſo great, the graces of her perſon ſo extraordinary, and the charms of her converſation ſo ſingular, as not ſimply to render her ſuperior to all other women, but ſo much ſo, as not to admit of any degree of compariſon. Now theſe ſupereminent gifts and qualifications tended in a great degree to the aggravation of her misfortunes, by occaſioning the unhappy life ſhe led with her huſband: for he was enamoured of her beyond all deſcription, neither oppoſed her will, nor denied her any thing; but permitted her to do what ſhe pleaſed, and indulged her in every gratification ſhe choſe: and this perhaps might give riſe to thoſe frequent and inconſiderate reproaches that ſhe caſt upon him, without reflecting that ſhe was thereby deſtroying her own happineſs: for by this kind of conduct ſhe rendered herſelf obnoxious to the mother and ſiſter of her huſband, and finally to himſelf, whoſe affection ſhe conceived would never have been alienated from her.

Herod inconſolable for the loſs of Mariamne.

After the death of Mariamne, the paſſion which Herod had entertained for her in her life-time (of which much hath been already ſaid) broke forth with redoubled violence: for the regard that he had for her exceeded that of other huſbands to their wives; it was a paſſion carried beyond all common conjugal affection, even to a degree of dotage; for the more contemptuouſly ſhe treated him, the more his fondneſs for her increaſed. Now when he came to reflect upon the ſentence he had ordered to be carried into execution, he broke out into the ſtrangeſt and moſt unmanly exclamations, ſtill repeating the name of Mariamne, and ſaying that her blood cried aloud for vengeance. The agonies of his mind increaſed to ſuch a degree, that he ſought to divert his melancholy by drinking, feaſting, keeping much company, and a variety of other entertainments: but when he found that all theſe endeavours were fruitleſs, he reſigned the care of his government, which he was no longer able properly to manage: ſoon after which he grew delirious, talked in a raving manner, and while his fits of phrenzy were on him, he would frequently call for Mariamne, and direct that ſhe ſhould be brought to him; for in the ramblings of his fancy ſhe appeared to him to be yet living.

A great peſtilence in Jeruſalem.

During the time that Herod was afflicted with this diſorder, a moſt dreadful plague broke out in Jeruſalem, which raged with ſuch prodigious violence, that perſons of all ranks and degrees fell a ſacrifice to its rigour; and this calamity was univerſally deemed to be a juſt judgment conſequent on the murder of the unfortunate and innocent Mariamne. As the king's illneſs now daily increaſed upon him, he retired to a private country-ſeat in Samaria, and cauſed a report to be propagated, that he was gone to take the diverſion of hunting. Before he had been long in this retreat, he was attacked with an illneſs much more violent than the former; attended with a racking pain and inflammation in the head, ſo that he was not maſter of his own conduct. The preſcriptions applied with intention to relieve him, were found to do him more injury than ſervice, ſo that his caſe was conſidered as little leſs than hopeleſs. The difficulties that aroſe in the attempt to conquer this diſeaſe, the peculiar ſituation of the patient, and the impoſſibility of relieving him in the regular way, being conſidered, the phyſicians reflected that it would be in vain to interpoſe their advice any longer, and therefore left him entirely to his own management, and the event to Providence; only recommending that he might be gratified in every thing that he required.

Herod afflicted with a dreadful diſeaſe.

Alexandra's treacherous deſign diſcovered.

Herod's unhappy ſituation of body and mind being made known to Alexandra, who was then at Jeruſalem, ſhe reflected on the circumſtance, and began to conſider if it might not be poſſible for her to obtain the poſſeſſion of ſome of the ſtrong forts; and, in particular, ſhe wiſhed to be miſtreſs of two of them above the reſt, one of which was ſituated in the city, and the other cloſe adjoining to the temple; being aſſured that the people muſt be altogether at the mercy of the party in poſſeſſion of thoſe two towers: for ſuch is the diſpoſition of the Jews, that they will yield up their lives rather than part with their religion; and as their daily ſacrifices make a very conſiderable part thereof, whoever has the command of the abovementioned towers may determine whether they ſhall have any ſacrifices at all, or not. With a view to the accompliſhment of her deſign, Alexandra made application to the governors of the ſaid towers, whom ſhe addreſſed to the following purpoſe: "I need not inform you of the very deplorable ſtate of the king's health; wherefore I intreat you that the two fortreſſes may be given up to the poſſeſſion of the mother of the king's wife, and the children of Herod and Mariamne; leſt, in caſe of his death, a different family ſhould ſucceed to the throne; and even if the king ſhould recover, the hands of his neareſt relations are thoſe in which the government may with moſt ſafety be truſted." The governors, partly from a ſenſe of their duty, but chiefly from an enmity they had to Alexandra, refuſed to acknowledge the force of her arguments for the delivering up of the towers: beſides, they ſaid it would ill become them to make a kind of prejudication of the king's life, for whom, during many years, they had entertained the moſt perfect friendſhip: and Achiab, one of theſe very governors, was nephew to Herod. Their converſation was no ſooner at an end, than Achiab diſpatched an account of the propoſal that Alexandra had made to Herod, who ſent back immediate orders that ſhe ſhould be put to death, without loſs of time.

She is put to death.

Herod's diſtemper increaſes.

With great difficulty Herod recovered of his violent indiſpoſition, but it produced a very ſtrange and ſingular effect both in his body and mind. His diſpoſition was totally altered, and he became ſo extravagantly cruel and ferocious, that the leaſt trifle that ruffled his temper incited him to acts of ſingular barbarity; and either friends or foes were equally the objects of his vengeance. The following account reſpecting Coſtabarus, Lyſimachus, Antipater (otherwiſe named Gadia), and Doſitheus, will be deemed a caſe in point. Coſtabarus was a man of as great diſtinction as moſt in Idumæa, and deſcended from a family whoſe anceſtors had heretofore officiated as prieſts of Coze, a deity which they had formerly paid great veneration to, till at length, during the reign of Hyrcanus, they adopted the Jewiſh mode of religion. When Herod was firſt advanced to the regal authority he committed to this Coſtabarus the government of Idumæa and Gaza, and gave him for wife his ſiſter Salome, whoſe huſband Joſeph he himſelf had cauſed to be put to death, as hath been noticed in another place. This promotion ſo exceeded the expectations, or even the hopes of Coſtabarus, that his pride and inſolence increaſed with the elevation of his rank, till at length he even conceived the idea of diſputing the authority of Herod; for, on reflection, he thought the Idumæans had deſcended beneath their own dignity in acknowledging themſelves to be ſubject to the Jews, merely becauſe they had adopted their ceremonies and mode of worſhip. Hereupon he diſpatched an embaſſy to Cleopatra, hinting to her that as the country of Idumæa had long ſubmitted to the authority of his anceſtors, there would be no impropriety in her ſoliciting Antony to beſtow the government of it on herſelf. Coſtabarus did not recommend it to her to make this application from any particular deſire he had to be under the command of Cleopatra, but in the hope that, the force of Herod being thereby weakened, he might have it in his power to ſeize the government of Idumæa for himſelf: and to induce him to hope for ſucceſs in this undertaking, he had two principal encouragements, viz. the dignity of his birth, and the immenſe fortune he had acquired; the latter, indeed, by means that did him no credit, for he amaſſed his money without paying any regard to the dictates of honour or conſcience: nor was his avarice in any degree ſuperior to his ambition.

Coſtabarus and Salome diſagree.

Cleopatra exerted her utmoſt influence with Antony to obtain the government of Idumæa: but all her interceſſions proved in vain. This circumſtance being made known to Herod, Coſtabarus would have fallen a ſacrifice,

ſacrifice, for the advice he had given, but that Herod's mother and ſiſter became advocates in his behalf, and, after ſome difficulty, procured him a pardon, on the condition that no future confidence ſhould be repoſed in him. Some time after this a violent quarrel happening between Coſtabarus and Salome, the latter cauſed a bill of divorce to be delivered to her huſband, a circumſtance diametrically oppoſite to the uſage and practice of the country, and an abſolute infringement of the privilege of the man; for the cuſtom was, that the huſband might diſcharge the wife, and abſolutely forbid her contracting marriage again without his permiſſion. In the preſent inſtance, however, the will of Salome had the validity of a law: ſhe parted from her huſband, and going to her brother, paid him a compliment, intimating that ſhe entertained a higher ſenſe of the duty ſhe owed to him, than that ſhe had vowed to her huſband: and that ſhe came to inform him of a conſpiracy againſt him, which had been entered into by Coſtabarus, Lyſimachus, Antipater, and Doſitheus. What gave the principal credit to her information was, an account of the friendſhip that Coſtabarus had ſhewn to the ſons of Babas, whom he had privately protected for no leſs a ſpace of time than twelve years. A piece of intelligence ſo very extraordinary made an unuſual impreſſion on Herod; for he had long ſince determined in his own mind to complete the deſtruction of the ſons of Babas, as perſons who were profeſſed enemies to his intereſt; but one incident or other had continually ariſen to divert his attention from this ſubject. Now the offence that provoked Herod to ſuch a degree of enmity to theſe people, aroſe from the following circumſtance.

She accuſes him of a conſpiracy.

During the time of Antigonus, when Herod was beſieging Jeruſalem, the inhabitants were ſo wearied out with the misfortunes and calamities conſequent on the ſiege, that a great majority of them declared for throwing open the gates, and permitting Herod to enter the city: but this was reſolutely oppoſed by the ſons of Babas, who were men of great rank and influence in the city, and friends to the cauſe of Antigonus; and their advice was, to make an obſtinate defence, and ſupport the government in the royal line. Soon afterwards, when Herod took the city, he gave inſtructions to Coſtabarus to keep a ſtrict watch on all the paſſages which led out of the city, and to ſee that not a ſingle perſon of the country-faction made his eſcape. Now it happened that the ſons of Babas were the peculiar favourites of the people in general, and of courſe the moſt proper inſtruments to be made uſe in caſe any future attempt might be made to change the government. Coſtabarus ſeemed to conſult his own intereſt in their preſervation, and gave private orders that they ſhould be ſecretly conveyed to a place of ſafety. This tranſaction had no ſooner paſſed, than Herod, who immediately ſuſpected what had happened, examined him ſtrictly on the circumſtances of the affair; but the other ſwore a ſolemn oath, that he was altogether ignorant how they had been diſpoſed of. This produced an immediate proclamation, offering a reward to thoſe who would diſcover the place of their retreat; and many other modes of enquiry were adopted: but nothing was confeſſed on the part of Coſtabarus, who having at firſt denied the truth, found that he could not now retract what he ſaid: ſo that the concealment of the affair, which had been a point of kindneſs, now became a matter of neceſſity and prudence. At length, however, the whole ſecret being developed by Salome, the king immediately diſpatched proper perſons to their places of retreat, and cauſed them all to be cut to pieces, with their friends and adherents; and by this proceeding, the whole houſe of Hyrcanus was utterly eradicated: inſomuch that, from this time forward, there was no ſuch thing thought of as controuling the actions, or oppoſing the will of the king.

Coſtabarus and his adherents ſlain.

No ſooner was Herod eſtabliſhed in the plenitude of an abſolute dominion, than he began, by ſlow degrees, to recede from an obſervance of the valuable laws, and prudent government of our anceſtors, by which the people in former times had been kept in obedience, and induced to a regular diſcharge of their duty: and, inſtead thereof, he introduced a number of foreign innovations: particularly, he cauſed a theatre to be built near Jeruſalem, for the purpoſe of exhibiting wreſtling matches, which were to be celebrated every fifth year in honour of Auguſtus Cæſar. Herod likewiſe built a magnificent amphitheatre without the walls of the city: and the two buildings above-mentioned were equally ſuperb and expenſive: but theſe were neither of the leaſt uſe, nor afforded any entertainment to the Jews, who were not of a diſpoſition to be gratified by the vanity of ſuch exhibitions. Now Herod, to make his public entertainments the more diſtinguiſhed, cauſed proclamations reſpecting them to be made in various parts of the country, with promiſes of conſiderable rewards to ſuch as ſhould come off conquerors. By this mode of proceeding, he engaged (from various parts) a great number of competitors in their ſeveral profeſſions, ſuch as wreſtlers, horſe-racers, mimicks, ſingers, players on muſical inſtruments, charioteers, ſome of whom were ſkilled in driving two horſes, others four, &c. in fact it was the king's particular care to collect together every thing that might tend to promote the principal deſign, to render it curious, pleaſurable, or ornamental. The theatre was embelliſhed with trophies, devices, and inſcriptions, to the honour of Cæſar, and in celebration of his triumphs: the whole building was ornamented with gold, ſilver, and precious ſtones, and furniſhed with rich habits, and hangings of great price. That the diverſions might be rendered the more various, he provided likewiſe a number of lions, tygers, and ſeveral other of ſuch kinds of wild beaſts as were diſtinguiſhed by their ſtrength or fierceneſs, or by any other remarkable ſingularity. Sometimes theſe ravenous animals were turned

Herod rules with deſpotic ſway, and introduces heathenish games.

turned looſe to encounter each other, and at other times to attack criminals under ſentence of condemnation. Now the foreigners ſeemed to receive a ſingular ſatisfaction at this ſight, but, on the contrary, the Jews had an equal averſion to it, deeming it an unjuſtifiable cruelty, and ſuch a kind of violation of their laws as tended to a corruption of their manners: for what can be more inconſiſtent with the dignity of human nature, than receiving ſatisfaction from the ſavage entertainment of ſacrificing men to beaſts, and ſpilling blood by way of diverſion! To ſay nothing of the folly of adopting bad new cuſtoms in the room of excellent old ones.

The trophies offend the Jews.

In a word, the Jews in general were exceedingly diſguſted; but what gave them greater diſſatisfaction than other circumſtances were the trophies, which appeared to them to be the repreſentations of men covered with arms; and which they looked upon in the light of a total oppoſition to the inſtitutions of their country. They were ſo vehement and outrageous in the expreſſion of their antipathy to theſe trophies, that Herod did not think it would be a point of prudence to oppoſe their humour in a forcible manner, but rather endeavour by reaſonable arguments, and the prevalence of fair language, to ſet before them the abſurdity of thoſe ſuperſtitious notions which gave riſe to the objections that they made: but they were ſo far from being convinced by his arguments, that they univerſally exclaimed againſt a proceeding which they thought had the appearance of inſult. They ſaid they could have ſubmitted to any thing elſe; but with regard to the bringing of images (for ſo they denominated the trophies) into the city, they could never think of acquieſcing in ſo atrocious a wickedneſs, but would always oppoſe it to the utmoſt of their power.

Deſcription of them.

As Herod found that the antipathy to the trophies was continually increaſing, and that neither the exertion of authority, nor the arts of perſuaſion tended to moderate the paſſions of the people, he ſelected a number of the principal men of the opponents, and having conducted them to the theatre, where he directed that the trophies ſhould be ſhewn them, he demanded their opinion of them, deſiring they would frankly tell him what they took them to be; on which they declared, as with one voice, that "they were the images of men." Hereupon Herod gave directions that the trophies ſhould be ſtripped, and when it came to appear that there was nothing beneath the covering but ſtumps of wood, the ſuſpicion in which they had ſo long indulged themſelves was turned into perfect ridicule: and when the tumult ariſing from the diſcovery of this affair was ſubſided, the majority of the people appeared to be perfectly paſſive in the ſubmiſſion to every innovation: ſtill, however, there were not wanting ſeveral who perſiſted in their abhorrence of the admiſſion of all foreign cuſtoms, apprehenſive that they might probably be followed by very fatal conſequences in the public ſtate of affairs: theſe, therefore, thought it a point of duty they owed their country, at whatever hazard to themſelves, to preſerve their antient diſcipline, now ſo greatly endangered, and not to permit Herod, under the ſanction of the regal dignity, to behave as an enemy to his country, and, by the introduction of illegal cuſtoms, to wound the conſciences, and violate the rights of the people.

Conſpiracy of the citizens againſt the life of Herod.

A great deal being publicly ſaid on this ſubject, the minds of the people were much inflamed; and hereupon ten citizens immediately united in a conſpiracy againſt the life of the king, notwithſtanding the extreme hazard and danger that muſt attend the engaging in ſuch a plot. Now among the reſt, there was one who happened to be blind. This man hearing repeated accounts of the alarming nature of Herod's proceedings, was ſo tranſported with rage at his conduct, that he declared, though it was out of his power to take an active part for the general welfare, yet he was willing to bear an equal ſhare in the ſufferings of his companions, however ſevere they might happen to prove: and this public-ſpirited declaration tended, in a great degree, to fix them in their reſolution. After having held repeated conferences together upon the ſubject, each man concealed a dagger under his coat, and thus armed, they proceeded to the theatre, with a fixed determination to ſtab the king, if they ſhould be ſo happy as to get near enough to him, which they flattered themſelves they ſhould be able to do: but at all events they determined to make an attack on his guards, from whence they promiſed themſelves one comfort would ariſe, in caſe of their miſcarriage; ſince their being put to death for the attempt, would render the king ſtill more odious in the ſight of the people: ſo that the force of their example in vindication of the ſacred rights of their religion, might encourage others to carry the plan into execution on ſome future opportunity.

Diſcovery of the plot.

Juſt as the king was going to enter the theatre, a perſon whom he had employed as a ſpy prevented his going in, by revealing all the circumſtances of the plot: whereupon Herod, fully ſenſible of the enmity the people entertained for him, returned to his palace, whither he ſent for the conſpirators, of whoſe names he had been previouſly informed. When they attended, they conſidered themſelves as if taken in the actual fact; and being certain that there remained no chance of their eſcape, they gave a freſh proof of the moſt undaunted courage, by acknowledging every part of the crime with which they were charged, and juſtified it in all its circumſtances. This they did with aſtoniſhing compoſure and reſolution of mind and behaviour; and produced the daggers with which they intended to have deſtroyed the king. They ſaid, "We do not conceive ourſelves as having engaged in a criminal aſſociation, for the promotion of our intereſt, or the gratification of our paſſions, but as having leagued together in a ſacred combination for the public welfare,

fare, and the preſervation of the laws, which it is the duty of all worthy citizens, and true patriots, to ſupport at the hazard of their lives."

The conſpirators put to death and vengeance taken on the informer.

Having made this free and generous declaration, they were immediately taken from the royal preſence, and put to death with every circumſtance of exceſſive cruelty. However, the miſerable wretch who had given the information againſt them, lived but a very little time after them; for he was ſuddenly attacked by ſeveral perſons, who tore him to pieces, and threw his mangled body to the dogs: this was done in the ſight of a great number of people, yet, for a conſiderable time, not a ſingle man was detected who had a hand in this ſcene of vengeance: but at length, ſome women who happened to be preſent when the fact was committed, being taken into cuſtody, and put to the torture, they made a diſcovery who it was that had been concerned in the tranſaction. Hereupon all thoſe who had a hand in the buſineſs were apprehended, and themſelves, and every perſon of their families immediately put to death: in the mean time the common people remained firm in the ſupport and vindication of their old laws, cuſtoms, and privileges.

Herod fortifies himſelf in the city and Samaria.

Herod ſeriouſly reflecting on the miſchievous conſequences which he feared might ariſe from this mutinous diſpoſition among the people, who, he found, were not to be kept in ſubjection but by an abſolute force, he thought it would be a point of prudence to do every thing that lay in his power, and without loſs of time, toward the preventing of an abſolute revolt. At this time the king had two fortreſſes in the city, in one of which his palace was ſituated, and the other, named Antonia, ſerved as a proper guard upon the temple. Excluſive of theſe, he likewiſe fortified Samaria (which is otherwiſe named Sebaſte), which was advantageouſly ſituated for keeping the country in ſubjection: nor was it leſs properly ſtationed for preventing the effects of inſurrections in the city, as it was only about a day's journey diſtant from Jeruſalem. Another ſtrong fortreſs lay likewiſe in a good ſituation for the furtherance of Herod's deſigns, which had been formerly called Straton's Tower, but was now known by the name of Cæſarea. He alſo erected the fort of Gabala in Galilee, and that of Eſtmonitis in Peræa, and built a caſtle in the great plain, which was deſtined for the quarters of the cavalry.

Security of his fortreſſes.

So advantageous were the ſituations of theſe various fortifications throughout the different parts of the country, that if the people ſhould attempt to carry into execution any plot or contrivance againſt the ſtate, there was a ſufficient force in every neighbourhood, and always holding themſelves in readineſs, either to prevent the miſchief growing to any conſiderable head, or to cruſh the inſurgents. Herod, in the firſt inſtance, ſet about adjuſting the affairs of Samaria, as a place of great natural ſtrength, and admirably adapted to the ſcheme he had in view. For this purpoſe he ordered a large number of troops, both foreign and domeſtic, to march into the city, partly to aſſiſt in guarding a temple which he propoſed to build there, and partly to give a degree of ſplendor to the proceedings; but principally with a view to his perſonal ſafety, which was amply provided for under theſe appearances of magnificence. From Samaria he changed the name of the city to that of Sebaſte, as hath been heretofore noticed; and ſeparated the country around it into lots, which he diſtributed among the inhabitants, who ſoon grew into eaſy circumſtances, as the ſoil was naturally fruitful. This place he encompaſſed with a ſtrong and thick wall, and enlarged its original ſize to ſuch a degree, that it was thereafter deemed one of the firſt among the cities of eminence. The circumference of the city was twenty-five furlongs, and in the center of it was a furlong and a half of ground ſet apart for the erection of a temple: and on this ſpot, Herod cauſed the ſaid temple to be built; which, for the magnificence of the ſtructure itſelf, the expence that attended it, the extent of its dimenſions, and the abundant variety of ornamental and curious articles with which it was embelliſhed, was by no means inferior to any other building of the kind. Herod likewiſe proceeded regularly, without the leaſt loſs of time, in improving all the other parts of the city, ſo as to be anſwerable to the temple; for excluſive of his relying for ſecurity on the ſtrength of this place, his ambition was gratified in the hope of tranſmitting to poſterity ſo ſplendid a monument of his own dignity and greatneſs.

CHAP. XI.

JUDÆA afflicted with a blaſting Drought, Famine, Plague, and other terrible Judgments. HEROD builds a moſt ſumptuous Palace. JESUS, the Son of PHABES, depoſed from the Office of High-Prieſt, and SIMON, the Son of BOETHUS, promoted in his ſtead. HEROD erects a Caſtle, and cauſes ſeveral Cities and Temples to be built.

Dreadful judgment which befel Judea.

WHEN Herod had reigned ſomething more than twelve years, the country of Judæa was afflicted with a variety of ſevere calamities; but whether theſe aroſe from the immediate denunciation of the divine wrath, or were the conſequence of the general courſe of providence, it does not become me to determine. A tedious and blaſting drought was the forerunner of theſe calamities; and this was followed by ſuch a barrenneſs, that the earth could no longer produce the neceſſaries of life. This, of courſe, was ſucceeded by a famine; and partly, at the firſt, through the change of diet, and partly through the want of food, the people were tormented with the plague, and afflicted with a variety of other diſorders, ſucceeding in the moſt rapid courſe after each other. Nor was it a ſmall aggravation of their ſingular diſtreſs, that there were no perſons to attend thoſe who were ſick,

who were, of conſequence, left without aſſiſtance, food, or medicines. Death now made ſuch ravages among them, that the ſurvivors deſpaired of ever ſeeing each other again, and, neglecting to afford any relief to the diſeaſed, permitted them to die without ſo much as an attempt to alleviate their miſeries. By this time the proviſions of the preceding year being all expended, and no proſpect appearing of any ſupply, their condition grew almoſt hopeleſs, as they were every day more pinched by the extremity of want, than on the preceding one; and their misfortunes were greatly aggravated by the reflection, that after the expiration of one ſeaſon, the earth continued barren, and promiſed nothing for a future ſupply. Diſtreſs ſo exquiſite as this naturally put every one on contriving how he might keep himſelf from abſolute ſtarving.

Great diſtreſs of the people.

The calamity at length increaſed to ſuch a degree, that even the ample revenues of Herod, great as they were, afforded not reſources equal to his ſupport; for his receipt of rents and cuſtomary duties all failed; his former maſs of treaſure had been expended on buildings and fortifications; and there was an univerſal deficiency in all the public accounts. Add to all this, that the people grew outrageouſly violent and clamorous; and, as is uſual in all inſtances of popular diſcontent, the blame of every miſcarriage was attributed to the government. All this time, however, Herod was extremely anxious how to obviate the difficulties with which he was ſurrounded; but the method of doing it preſented a ſcene of no ſmall embarraſſment. As his neighbours were no better ſupplied with proviſions than himſelf, there was no great reaſon to expect relief from that quarter; and with regard to money, for the procurement of the neceſſaries of life from more diſtant parts, he had ſo little left, that it was by no means equal to the payment of the neceſſary expence. It was, however, abſolutely requiſite that ſomething ſhould be done towards the alleviation of the general diſtreſs. After mature conſideration on the affair, the king gave orders for the melting down all his plate, veſſels, curioſities, and other articles of gold and ſilver, which had been heretofore employed in the ſervice of his own table; and this being all collected together, he cauſed it to be ſent into Egypt, which was at that time governed by Petronius, under a deputation from Cæſar.

Herod deviſes means for obtaining a ſupply of proviſions.

The great number of applications that had been made to Petronius, on the ſame account, and the importunity with which they had been urged, had produced him great diſtreſs; but from a ſingular regard and eſteem that he had conceived for Herod, he had of courſe a wiſh to promote the happineſs of him and his ſubjects: he therefore, in preference to all others, granted him a permiſſion to export corn; and even aſſiſted him to the utmoſt of his power, in the purchaſe of it, and in the carriage. This circumſtance proved highly advantageous to Herod, and tended to the promotion of what he had in view: for no ſooner was this ſeaſonable relief imported, than his reputation and credit were reſtored among thoſe who had heretofore ſpoken the moſt unfavourably of him: his conduct and good management were extolled in the higheſt degree, and his wiſdom and virtue were univerſally ſpoken of in terms of admiration.

His equitable diſtribution of them.

On the happy receipt of this ſupply, the firſt care of Herod was to diſtribute it to thoſe who were diſtreſſed, with proper regard to the number and ſituation of thoſe who were to partake of it. He iſſued orders for the carrying proviſions to ſuch as were not able to fetch them: and with regard to thoſe whom age, ſickneſs, or other impediments prevented from making their own bread, he directed proper bakers to make it for them. He likewiſe took particular care that his ſubjects ſhould be ſupplied with proper cloathing, as well as food abſolutely neceſſary for the ſubſiſtence of life. On this principle he ſent them variety of garments, ſince ſheep for the furniſhing of wool had been as ſcarce as corn for the making of bread. Having provided for his own ſubjects in the moſt ample manner, he was excited by the common feelings of humanity, to extend his benevolence, in the next place, to the relief of the Syrians, his near neighbours, whom he ſupplied with a large quantity of ſeed-corn, to be ſown againſt the following ſeaſon. This happening to arrive at the preciſe time when it was moſt wanted, they ſowed it immediately; and the produce was ſo unuſually great, that, when the harveſt came on, Herod ſent fifty thouſand men to aſſiſt in gathering in the fruits of the earth; and theſe fifty thouſand Herod had himſelf prevented from ſtarving during the famine. By the above-mentioned prudent conduct and good management on the part of Herod, affairs that had been given up as hopeleſs were abſolutely re-eſtabliſhed; every thing that he undertook ſucceeded to the extent of his wiſhes, whether in his own dominions, or among thoſe of his friends. Not a ſingle perſon applied to him but what was relieved: the rich, the poor, the citizens, the ſoldiers, and even ſtrangers, experienced the extent of his bounty. It was calculated that he diſtributed among his own people eighty thouſand cori of wheat, each cori reckoned at ten Attic medimni, (which was a meaſure containing ſix buſhels) and it was computed that he gave away ten thouſand cori to ſtrangers.

Herod revives his credit with the Jews.

The well-timed exertion of Herod's humane plan, in behalf of the public, operated ſo forcibly on the minds of the people in general, that they ſeemed univerſally to have forgotten all his former negligence and miſmanagement, and ſaid not a ſingle word reſpecting his encroachments on their laws, and violation of their diſcipline: as they conceived that his late provident care of, and liberal proviſion for them, ought to be deemed an ample atonement for all his miſconduct in preceding times. Neither was his character become more eſtimable at home than abroad; ſince, in the event of things, it ſo happened, that his reputation had been advanced in one place in proportion as his misfortunes had increaſed in the other; and, from the benevolent exertion of his humanity towards ſtrangers,

a general

a general judgment was formed of him, not from what he had been in former times, but from the feelings it appeared that he had been capable of in cases of extreme distress.

He builds a magnificent palace.

About the time of these transactions Herod selected, out of his own guards, five hundred men, who had served, with the greatest degree of reputation, under Ælius Gallus, in the Arabian war; and these he presented to Augustus. A state of composure having now succeeded the late distressful posture of affairs in Judæa, Herod conceived a design of building a spacious and elegant palace on the high grounds of Jerusalem. The rooms of this building were large enough to contain great numbers of people; and in them were seats and other ornaments composed of gold and marble most curiously carved, and bearing the names of the persons for whose accommodation they were intended: one of them being inscribed the apartment of Cæsar, another that of Agrippa, and so on.

While Herod was giving the necessary directions for the raising of this edifice, he formed a design of marrying a second wife, as the most probable means of diverting his attention from illicit amours. Now it happened, that at this time there was in Jerusalem a citizen named Simon (the son of Boethus, an Alexandrian), who was a priest that had his origin from a noble family. This Simon had a daughter whose beauty was so abundantly celebrated, that no other woman was deemed to bear any comparison with her. The reputation of the beauty of this lady had struck Herod in an uncommon degree; but when he came to see her, he was perfectly enamoured: yet he determined not to make a tyrannical use of the power that his rank and station gave him, but to demand her hand in the honourable way of marriage,

Advances Simon to the priesthood, and marries his daughter.

and take her legally to his bed. It is true, that a match of this kind was greatly beneath his dignity; yet not so much so as to have any thing mean or contemptible in it: to balance, however, in some degree, the inequality of his own rank, and that of the family of his intended bride, and to gratify his passion, without derogating from the respect due to his station, he could think of no method more rational, than to bestow some great and distinguished dignity on Simon, preparatory to the honour he proposed to confer on his family: and for this purpose he divested Jesus, the son of Phabes, of the office of high-priest, and elevated Simon to that station: soon after which the marriage took place.

Builds the castle Herodium, &c.

Not long after the celebration of the nuptial ceremonies, Herod caused a most magnificent castle to be erected on the spot where, in his former wars with Antigonus, he had overcome the Jews in battle. The distance of this fortress from Jerusalem was about sixty furlongs; its situation was extremely strong by nature, and capable of being rendered altogether impregnable. The figure of the hill on which it stood was circular, rising with a gradual ascent, and so regularly, that it appeared to have been the work of art. The castle was surrounded by a number of towers, and was entered by a flight of two hundred stone steps: the apartments within it were very superb and magnificent, and the whole edifice at once strong and elegant. At the foot of the mountain were situated a number of buildings, well worthy the inspection of the curious; and particularly several fine aqueducts, by means of which the water was brought from a very great distance, with incredible labour and expence. The plain which surrounded the hill was covered with such a number of houses, that they might well be deemed to form a city of no inconsiderable magnitude; over which the castle had the appearance of a citadel, equally adapted to command and protect all the adjacent buildings.

His general character and disposition.

By this time Herod had adjusted his affairs so much to his own satisfaction, that he had no present apprehension of any danger from farther tumults or insurrections. His subjects were held to their obedience, partly from motives of fear, and partly from those of interest and affection: for in cases that demanded the punishment of an offender, he paid the most rigid and inflexible regard to justice; yet the benevolence of his disposition was equally remarkable, in instances where the general welfare of the subject could be promoted by it. He constantly kept such a guard on himself, and every thing around him in such a posture of security, as if he meant to insinuate, that the safety of the prince and people were mutually involved in that of each other. He was equally polite and easy in his address to all men, whether strangers or his own subjects; and, on particular occasions, most singularly generous to persons of distinguished rank; for he was truly of a most princely disposition. By this kind of conduct he obtained an universal regard and esteem, which tended greatly to promote his designs, and forward all his views. But so great was his ambition to obtain the favourable regard of Augustus, and other distinguished Romans, that he was imperceptibly tempted to depart from the custom and discipline of our ancestors, by the vanity of erecting cities and temples in honour of his illustrious patrons. It is true, that these erections were not made in the interior parts of Judæa; for the Jews would not have submitted to the gratification of an ambition so contrary to their laws, since it tended to promote the worship of idols and images, according to the idolatry of the Greeks: for which reason Herod caused these cities to be built on the confines of the province, and not within its immediate jurisdiction: and his excuse for the whole of this proceeding was, that it was not so much in consequence of any will of his own, as the result of the orders of those who had a right to command him. By this proceeding, however, he obtained the favour of Cæsar and the Romans, as he appeared to have renounced the principles and discipline in which he was educated, in compliment to them; but of this I will take no farther notice than to observe, that his ultimate view was the promotion of his own interest, and the rendering himself distinguished in the opinion of posterity,

rity, by these lasting monuments of his splendor and benevolence.

CHAP. XII.

Several spacious and elegant Edifices erected by HEROD. He sends his Sons ALEXANDER and ARISTOBULUS to CÆSAR, who displays his Bounty to him in various Instances.

Straton's tower, or Cæsarea, built by Herod.

ADJACENT to the sea-coast was situated a place which had been heretofore denominated Straton's tower; and this Herod deemed to be a spot most admirably adapted for the building of a city. Having drawn the model of the intended erection, he employed a number of hands to construct it, and completed the whole. The private houses, as well as the palaces of this city, were all built with marble; but the most distinguished part of the whole was the port, which was erected on the same scale as the Pyræum, and, exclusive of all the other conveniencies that attended it, was protected from all danger from wind or weather. The completion of this work was the more extraordinary, as every article of the materials for finishing it was conveyed thither from distant parts, at an expence almost incredible.

The situation of this city is in Phœnicia, near the passage into Egypt, between Joppa and Dora, two most miserable sea-port towns, in the harbours of which there is no riding with any degree of safety, if the wind blows from the south-west; for it beats upon the coast with such fury, that the merchant-men are often obliged to keep out at sea for a considerable time, lest they should be driven on shore. To obviate these dangers arising from the situation he had chosen, Herod gave directions that a mole should be formed in the shape of a half-moon, and of size sufficient to contain a complete royal navy. In this place he gave orders for the sinking of stones of immense size, in twenty fathom of water. Some of these stones were fifty feet long, eighteen feet broad, and nine feet thick, and many others of them of various dimensions, some being even more than this size. The extent of the mole was no less than two hundred feet, one half of which was destined to the breaking of the surf of the sea, and the other was appropriated to form the foundation of a stone wall, on which a number of fortified turrets were erected: and the largest and most beautiful of these Herod called by the name of the Tower of Drusus, in honour of the memory of Drusus, the son-in-law of Cæsar, who had died in his youth. Adjacent hereto were several arched vaults, which served as cabins for the sailors. There was also a quay, or landing place, with a broad walk around the port, proper to retreat for the benefit of the air, and as a place of recreation. The opening of this port was to the northward, whence the wind blows with its mildest influence. On the entrance of the port to the left hand, a turret was built with a large platform, and beneath it was a descending bank to prevent the sea from washing it: on the right hand, and opposite to the tower, were erected two pillars of stone, and of an equal height. The houses adjacent to the port were all built with the finest kind of marble, and with the most exact uniformity to each other. A temple dedicated to Cæsar, was erected on a mount in the middle, which became a famous sea-mark, and proved of the utmost use to mariners. In this temple were placed a representation of the city of Rome, and a statue of Cæsar, which were no less distinguished for the beauty of the materials they were made of, than for the elegance of the workmanship; and thence the city obtained the name of Cæsarea. Nor was less ingenuity exerted in the contrivance of the vaults, and common sewers, which were placed at equal degrees of distance from each other, and discharged their contents into the sea; but there was one conveyance, which intersected all the rest, which, while it carried off all the filth from the various parts of the city, was so disposed that the tides entered by it, and washed the passages, by which the whole was kept in an uncommon state of cleanliness. Exclusive of all the erections above-mentioned, Herod built a theatre of stone; and on the south side of the harbour constructed a very large amphitheatre, which afforded an elegant prospect towards the sea. In fact, nothing that money could procure, or diligence effect, was wanting; and the whole of this magnificent work was completed in about twelve years.

Model of a famous mole.

The tower of Drusus.

The temple of Cæsarea.

A stone theatre and amphitheatre.

Herod having now totally finished the two cities of Cæsarea and Sebaste, sent his two sons, Alexander and Aristobulus, on an embassy, to pay his respects to Cæsar. Pollio, who was the particular friend of Herod, had ordered lodgings for the reception of the visitors: but this was more than was necessary; for Cæsar had previously given directions that they should be entertained and accommodated in the royal palace. His reception of them was consistent with the utmost rules of politeness and friendship; and having, in addition to all his former favours to Herod, conferred on him the government of the three provinces of Trachon, Batanæa, and Auranitis, he likewise submitted to his own choice which of his sons should succeed him in the government of Judæa. But of these matters we will speak farther.

Description of the Trachonite freebooters.

The lands of Lysanius having been rented by one Zenodorus, he could not rest satisfied with the lawful profits of his farm, but went shares with the free-booters of Trachon, a kind of people that, in a great measure, subsisted on the pillage that they obtained from the inhabitants of Damascus. Now Zenodorus, whose business it was to have punished these invaders of their neighbours' property, made no scruple of accepting his proportion of the stolen effects. Hereupon those people who had been the principal sufferers by their violent

violent proceedings, made application to Varro, who governed the province at that time, requeſting he would grant a letter to Cæſar, againſt Zenodorus. This being done, Cæſar ſignified his royal pleaſure that the "Thieves ſhould be ſmoked out of their holes like hornets;" and he likewiſe conferred on Herod the government of that province, in expectation that, for the future, the Trachonites might be kept in ſubjection. Theſe diſorderly people poſſeſſed neither towns, houſes nor lands, but inhabited caves and dens like beaſts; but in theſe they were provided with ſuch ſtores of food, and plenty of water, that it could not but be very difficult to drive them out; nor was it an eaſy matter to explore their receſſes: beſides, as they lived by their unlawful depredations, they would be very unwilling to quit their irregular courſe of life. It was not poſſible for more than one perſon at a time to enter into their hiding-places, as the paſſage was ſo extremely narrow; but the apartments in the inſide were more ſpacious than can be imagined, and the whole were covered with flat and plain roofs. Upon the whole, their retreat conſiſted of one immenſe rock, that was almoſt impaſſable; the turnings and different paſſes in it were innumerable, and it was neceſſary to have a guide to find the right way into it. The abandoned inhabitants of this place were deſperate beyond the power of deſcription; and would rob each other, rather than not gratify their natural propenſity to theft.

They are driven from their retreats by Herod, whom Zenodorus in vain accuſes to Cæſar.

Herod had no ſooner entered on the poſſeſſion of the government of this new province, than taking with him a number of guides and agents, he explored the receſſes of the thieves, drove them from their retreats, and re-eſtabliſhed peace and ſecurity in the country. Zenodorus was ſo enraged at the late events, partly, perhaps, through mortification on account of having loſt his government, and partly through its being given to Herod, that he loſt no time in complaining of the latter, for which purpoſe he made a journey to Rome; but all his accuſations produced not the effect he deſired.

During this ſituation of public affairs, Agrippa was commiſſioned by Cæſar to go into Aſia, to aſſume the command of the tranſmarine provinces in that country. Now Agrippa being a particular friend and old acquaintance of Herod, he went as far as Mytilene, to meet him on his journey, and then returned into Judæa. No ſooner was he arrived, than the Gadarenes inſtantly repaired to him, exhibiting very extraordinary complaints againſt Herod: but they were immediately confined in chains, and ſent away to Herod, without ſo much as being admitted to a hearing.

The Arabians enemies to Herod.

About this time the Arabians began to exhibit tokens of their enmity againſt Herod, on the foundation of an ancient animoſity that had ſubſiſted between them; and in fact this affair was not without ſome plauſible appearance of reaſon. Zenodorus, of whom mention has been already made, finding his influence and authority began to decay, came to an agreement with theſe Arabians, that they ſhould pay him a rent of fifty talents annually, for a certain diſtrict of his eſtate in the province of Auranitis. Now this being within the limits of the government which Cæſar had granted to Herod, the Arabians expreſſed great unwillingneſs to ſubmit to the payment. They at one time diſputed the matter in a legal way, and at length entertained thoughts of taking up arms, having engaged in their ſervice a conſiderable number of indigent ſoldiers, who, copying the example of other perſons in diſtreſſed circumſtances, were not unwilling to promote their own intereſt by what might tend to the ruin of others. Herod was by no means unacquainted with the nature of theſe proceedings; but thought it would be more prudent to conciliate the affections of theſe people by gentle methods, than to irritate them by harſh proceedings, leſt new troubles ſhould be the conſequence of the procedure.

The Gadarenes accuſe him to Cæſar.

During the ſeventeenth year of the reign of Herod, Cæſar made a journey into Syria, where he was no ſooner arrived than the Gadarenes approached him, with the bittereſt complaints againſt Herod, whom they repreſented as an oppreſſive and moſt inſupportable tyrant. Theſe complaints and accuſations againſt him, aroſe, however, principally from the inſtigations of Zenodorus, who, as hiſtory informs us, had bound himſelf by a ſolemn oath, never to leave the perſecution of Herod, till they (the Gadarenes) ſhould be releaſed from all ſubjection to him, and once again under the immediate authority of Cæſar. This extravagant promiſe of Zenodorus inſtigated the Gadarenes to be ſtill the more preſumptuous in their behaviour, eſpecially on their reflecting that thoſe priſoners whom Agrippa had heretofore delivered to Herod ſtill remained free from thoſe puniſhments which it was expected would have been inflicted on them.

Charge brought againſt him, and his acquittal.

Now though Herod had in many inſtances diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his ſeverity towards the Jewiſh offenders, yet no man could be more backward in the puniſhment of ſuch injuries as he received from thoſe of other countries. He was now charged by the Gadarenes with a variety of crimes, ſuch as plundering and oppreſſing the people, and violating and demoliſhing of their temples. Notwithſtanding the violent importunities of the multitude, Cæſar did not treat Herod with the leaſt degree of reſpect leſs than uſual; though there was a kind of examination into the nature and cauſe of their complaints for one day, after which nothing more was done in the affair: for the Gadarenes, by this time, obſerving how glaring the partiality of Cæſar was to Herod, ſeemed to entertain well-grounded fears, that when the buſineſs ſhould be brought to an iſſue, it would be their fate to be delivered up into the hands of their enemy; therefore ſome of them, on the very night following, cut their own throats, ſome of them drowned themſelves, and others again threw themſelves from rocks

and precipices, and broke their necks, fearing that they ſhould be puniſhed by methods of torture; and Cæſar concluding them ſelf-condemned by theſe acts of ſuicide, acquitted Herod without any farther ceremony. In his favour there now likewiſe appeared another very ſingular providential circumſtance; and this was nothing leſs than the death of Zenodorus, which happened at Antioch, in Syria, in conſequence of a violent dyſentery. Hereupon Cæſar immediately put Herod in poſſeſſion of a very conſiderable eſtate, which had been the property of Zenodorus, and which was ſituated between Galilee and Trachonitis, comprehending Ulatha, Panium, and the adjacent country. He likewiſe conferred on him a ſupreme authority over the governors of Syria, and directed that his orders and commands ſhould be obeyed in every particular.

Cæſar's further bounty and favours to Herod.

By this time the good fortune of Herod was advanced to ſo great a height, that as Cæſar and Agrippa were the two ſupreme governors of the empire, ſo he was equally a favourite with them both; for Agrippa loved him better than any other man except Cæſar; while the affection that Cæſar entertained for him was next to that eſteem which he had for Agrippa. In conſequence of this weight of intereſt, Herod prevailed on Cæſar to grant the commiſſion of a tetrarch of Judæa to his brother Pheroras, to whom he likewiſe allowed a revenue of a hundred talents out of his own private fortune, that he might not be deſtitute of a reſource in caſe of a change in his affairs; nor obliged to apply to his children for ſupport. This matter being adjuſted, Herod paid a conſtant court to Cæſar, whom he attended till he ſaw him embarked, and then he returned to his own abode.

He erects a temple to Auguſtus;

On the eſtate which had belonged to Zenodorus, Herod now ſet about erecting a magnificent temple of white marble, in honour of Cæſar, and in grateful remembrance of his benefactions. This building was erected near the cave which is called Panias, ſituated at the bottom of a mountain which is celebrated for the river Jordan taking its riſe there. At the bottom of this mountain is a cavern of prodigious depth, in which are ſprings of water that are continually bubbling. The proſpect from this mountain is remarkably delightful; but the mountain itſelf is ſtill more remarkable for this temple in honour of Cæſar, than for any other circumſtance.

and remits a third part of the taxes.

On this occaſion Herod ſought the means of ingratiating himſelf with his ſubjects; and to this end he releaſed them from a payment of a third of their taxes, under pretence of relieving them from the diſtreſs occaſioned by the famine: but his true motive was to conciliate their affections; for he had done ſo many things ſcandalous to religion, and in violation of the laws of good manners, that the people in general were extremely diſguſted with him; nor did they ſcruple to ſpeak againſt his conduct in the moſt public manner. This laid him under a neceſſity of taking yet other methods to keep his people in ſubjection; the principal of which were, the commanding that every man ſhould attend only to his own buſineſs, and that there ſhould be no private cabals or clubs, or public meetings. He likewiſe appointed ſpies to watch the motions of all companies, and commiſſioned officers to take into cuſtody all thoſe who ſhould act in diſobedience to theſe orders: in conſequence of which many perſons were publicly committed, and others privately conveyed to fort Hyrcania, where they were puniſhed in the moſt exemplary manner. The ſtreets, lanes, avenues, and even roads, were all beſet with ſpies; and not a meeting was held on which there was not the cloſeſt guard and obſervance: nay, ſo jealous was Herod in his fears, that he would frequently diſguiſe himſelf, and go out alone in the night among the people, to ſound their inclinations, and learn what was the general opinion concerning him. When he encountered any man that was violent in cenſures of his conduct, he took care that the party ſhould find the moſt ſerious effects of his reſentment: but for thoſe who were more cautious in expreſſing their real ſentiments, it was his cuſtom to diſmiſs them, after having adminiſtered to them an oath of allegiance. By this mode of conduct the greater part of the people were ſoon reduced to ſubmiſſion, from motives of fear; and with regard to ſuch as had the reſolution to juſtify their own conduct, and to deny his right to act as he had done, ſome mode was ſtill deviſed to remove them out of the way, and thereby prevent all cauſe of future complaint. The oath of allegiance above-mentioned was offered to Pollio, the Phariſee, and to Sameas, as likewiſe to their reſpective diſciples, as well as to other people; but on their refuſing to make the depoſition, Herod declined to urge them any farther on the ſubject, owing to the ſincere regard that he entertained for Pollio. Nor was he leſs generous in his conduct towards the Eſſenes, a ſect that bore a great reſemblance to the Pythagoreans among the Greeks. In ſeveral other parts of this work, much will be found reſpecting the Eſſenes; but there can be no impropriety in our ſpeaking of them in this place; eſpecially as it will account for the predilection that Herod had in their favour, and tend to elucidate the motives of his preſent conduct.

Prediction of an Eſſene named Manahem.

When Herod was very young, there lived one Manahem, an Eſſene, who was not only remarkable, beyond other men, for the regularity of his life, and all the virtues of his moral character, but was likewiſe happy in the poſſeſſion of the ſpirit of prophecy. Now this perſon obſerving Herod playing about with his ſchool-fellows, approached him, and ſaluted him with theſe words, "Hail, king of the Jews!" Hereupon the youth ſaid, that he was not deſcended from a family from whom he might hope to inherit any of the honours attendant on royalty; and told Manahem either that he did not know him, or that he meant to make a ridicule of him. To this Manahem, ſmiling, and laying his hands on the boy's ſhoulder, ſaid, "Yes, yes, it is determined beyond a doubt that you ſhall be a king, and that you may govern your people happily;

happily; for that you ſhould do ſo, is the will and pleaſure of Almighty God: but I beſeech you to remember theſe words of Manahem, and to reflect on the uncertainty of that ſtation to which you will be elevated. It will become your dignity, and be a part of your duty, to diſtribute equal juſtice to all men, and to govern according to the laws of conſcience, and the rules of equity; but I am ſecretly impelled to tell you, that I fear theſe maxims will not be the rule of your conduct. I foreſee that you will neither obey God, nor ſerve your fellow-creatures as you ought: though, in other reſpects, you will be remarkably fortunate, and acquire an unuſual degree of renown. Rely on it, however, that none of your tranſactions will be hid from the Moſt High, but that a moſt deplorable judgment will bring you to your end."

Herod interrogates him concerning the prophecy.

This prediction was paid but little attention to by Herod, nor for a conſiderable time did it again enter into his mind; but in proceſs of time, when he came to be advanced to the throne, and was in the utmoſt ſplendor of his circumſtances, he cauſed Manahem to be brought to him, and queſtioned him how long he thought his reign would continue. To this Manahem returning a dubious reply, Herod again cloſely queſtioned him whether it was his opinion that he would reign ten years; "Yes (replied the other) twenty, and even thirty;" on ſaying which words he ſtopped, and declined to mention the preciſe period. Herod, however, appeared to be ſatisfied with what he had ſaid, diſmiſſed him in the moſt affectionate manner, and, ever after that period, held the Eſſenes in the higheſt degree of eſteem. If any part of this narrative ſhould ſeem to exceed the juſt bounds of credibility, the reader will recollect that there are innumerable inſtances of righteous men having been favoured with particular revelations of the ſecret counſels and purpoſes of the divine will.

CHAP. XIII.

HEROD reſolves to build a magnificent Temple. Deſcription of its Front, Galleries, Walls, &c. The Temple dedicated.

Rebuilding of the temple.

HEROD having now ſignalized himſelf by a great number of very diſtinguiſhed actions, and completed many buildings of uncommon pomp and magnificence, conceived an idea, in the eighteenth year of his reign, of erecting a temple to the honour of God, which he propoſed ſhould be a much larger and more ſplendid building than the former. This work he intended ſhould redound more to the credit of his own name, and tend more effectually to perpetuate his memory, than all he had ever done before; which proved to be actually the caſe: but leſt the people ſhould conceive that he propoſed a plan which would be too difficult in its execution, he cauſed them to be ſummoned together, to try what the force of reaſon would do towards the removing of that objection: and when they were met, he addreſſed them in a ſpeech on the ſubject.

Fears and anxiety of the people reſpecting the building.

There was ſomething in his addreſs and declaration ſo totally unexpected by the people, that they were aſtoniſhed at the hearing of it, and filled with apprehenſion what would be the conſequence. Excluſive of this, they were extremely afraid that the old temple would be pulled down before they were certain of having another to ſupply its place; nay, the having any other at all, was rather the object of their hopes than of their expectations: for they thought it almoſt impoſſible that ſuch a work ſhould be completed. While they were revolving this buſineſs in their minds, the king finding what it was that gave them uneaſineſs, deſired that they would not indulge their anxiety any longer, for they might reſt aſſured that the old temple ſhould remain altogether in its preſent ſituation, till the materials for the new one ſhould be provided; and in this circumſtance his performance kept pace with his promiſe.

Great preparations made for the work.

For the completion of this work a hundred carriages were provided to remove ſtones and other materials: of handicraftſmen of all ſorts there were ten thouſand artiſts, and of theſe the beſt in each kind that could poſſibly be procured; and for the ſuperintendence of them, a thouſand prieſts that underſtood the buſineſs of maſonry and carpentry; and theſe prieſts were ſupplied with robes and veſtments at the king's expence. When the workmen were engaged, and the ſtones, timber, and other materials all provided, the firſt work they began upon was to clear the old foundation, and lay a new one in its ſtead: and on this they elevated a ſuperſtructure of a temple, the length of which was a hundred cubits, and the height one hundred and twenty; but as it afterwards happened that the odd twenty cubits ſunk, it fell ſo much ſhort of the original deſign; and our forefathers, in the time of Nero, had an intention of ſupplying the defect. The whole building was a compoſition of durable white ſtone, each ſtone being eight cubits high, twelve broad, and twenty-five in length.

Front and ſituation, &c. of the temple.

The principal front of this extraordinary building had very much the appearance of a palace, the center part of which was much higher than the ſides. The proſpect it afforded towards the fields was extremely agreeable, and this proſpect extended into the country ſeveral furlongs: nor was the view of the building itſelf leſs pleaſing to thoſe who had their reſidence oppoſite to it, or ſuch as were travelling towards it. The porch of the temple was a curioſity no leſs ſingular than the reſt of the building; the upper part of it being adorned with an abundance of the richeſt tapeſtry hanging, variety of beautiful purple flowers, and pillars appearing to be interwoven; round the pillars a golden vine crept and entwined itſelf, the branches of which ſuſpended cluſters of grapes that deſcended in elegant negligence from the cornices of the room: the whole exhibiting a

piece

piece of workmanſhip no leſs valuable for the materials with which it was formed, than for the admirable ſkill with which it was executed.

Outward galleries. Large galleries extended round about the temple, which were equally ſuperb and magnificent with the reſt of the work; but, for the elegance and beauty of their ſtructure, greatly ſurpaſſing any thing that had been ſeen before of that kind. Two ſtrong walls formed the ſupport for two of theſe galleries, and were of themſelves deemed pieces of work of a very remarkable degree of excellence.

The walls. Near this city nature had placed a ſteep rocky hill, but on the eaſtward ſide of it the deſcent was gently ſloping. Now Solomon, in former ages, had, by the particular command of God, ſurrounded this hillock with a wall, and the lower extremity of it was encompaſſed by another wall, under which, towards the ſouth, was a deep valley. This was compoſed of ſtones of immenſe ſize, cramped together with irons round the whole work, and extending down to the bottom of the hill. This work was built in a ſquare form, and was deemed a moſt extraordinary piece of architecture, allowance being made for its depth and magnitude. The beſt opinion could be formed of the ſize of the ſtones wherewith it was built, by viewing it on the outſide, ſince, on the inſide, they were jointed together, one within another, to prevent the inclemency of the weather from ſeparating them.

When this wall was built up to its proper height, the ſpace between that and the hill was filled up with earth ſo as to bring the ground to a level with the wall; and then were erected four galleries, each gallery being deemed a furlong in extent. Within the ſquare, likewiſe, there was another ſtone wall, which extended round the top of the hill, and was ornamented with a double porch, on the eaſt ſide, which was oppoſite the portal of the temple which ſtood in the middle. Several princes contributed to adorn this portal, by many tokens of their royal bounty; and round about various parts of the temple were hung the ſpoils and trophies which had been acquired in battles with the barbarians: theſe Herod cauſed to be again dedicated, and added to them many others of later date, which, in his battle with the Arabians, he had brought off as proofs of his own victories.

Inner ſtone wall.

The tower, called Baris. A ſtrong and well fortified building ſtood on one of the angles of the north ſide, which had been erected by ſome of the line of the Aſmonæans, a family that had executed the joint authority of prince and high-prieſt, for a long ſucceſſion of years. To this place they gave the name of Baris, or the Tower; and herein they depoſited the pontifical habits, which, agreeable to ancient cuſtom, were never to be brought forth but when the high-prieſt wanted them for his immediate uſe, in the exerciſe of his office. To this purpoſe Herod likewiſe deſtined the building; but on his deceaſe it fell into the hands of the Romans, with whom it remained till the time of Tiberius; and during his reign the government of Syria was given to Vitellius. Now this Vitellius, on going to take poſſeſſion of his government, was received in ſo diſtinguiſhed a manner at Jeruſalem, that in grateful return for the reſpect and eſteem ſhewn him by the Jews, he ſolicited that Cæſar would ſubmit to their earneſt entreaties that they themſelves might take poſſeſſion, and have the keeping of the ſacred veſtments. Now Cæſar having graciouſly complied with their requeſt, theſe valuable effects remained in their cuſtody till king Agrippa had paid the debt of nature: but, upon his deceaſe, Caſſius Longinus, the governor of Syria, and Cuſpius Fadus, the lieutenant of Judæa, iſſued immediate orders that theſe ſacred veſtments ſhould be depoſited in the fort Antonia, aſſigning for a reaſon, that as they had formerly been in the keeping of the Romans, they ought to be reſtored to their cuſtody again.

Before the middle incloſure was placed the altar where the prieſts offered up their ſacrifices. This place was ſo ſacred that even Herod himſelf durſt not enter into it, ſince the law prohibited him from ſo doing, as he was not a prieſt. For this reaſon Herod committed the care of this part of the ſacred work to the prieſts; and they completed it in the ſpace of eighteen months; whereas Herod himſelf, in ſuperintending the completion of the reſt, employed no leſs a time than eight years.

The Holy of Holies.

The finiſhing of the ſacred part of the work in ſo ſhort a time, afforded matter of ſuch extreme joy to the people, that they united in returning thanks to the Almighty for the bleſſing he had beſtowed on their endeavours, and likewiſe ſpoke in the higheſt terms of the king, for the laudable zeal he had ſhewn in the promotion of the worſhip of God.

The temple finiſhed and dedicated.

The temple being thus reſtored, the circumſtance was celebrated by every demonſtration of the ſincereſt joy. On this occaſion three hundred oxen were ſacrificed for the king's account, and a proportionable number for perſons of all ranks and degrees; ſo that the whole of the ſacrifices exceeded in number what could poſſibly be imagined. There was a very great degree of ſolemnity in this dedication of the temple, beyond, indeed, what any perſon could have formed an idea of; and this ſolemnity was doubled by its happening on the very day of Herod's acceſſion to the throne.

A remarkable ſubterraneous vault.

While we are reciting an account of Herod's building theſe works, it may not be improper to take notice of a vault which he conſtructed under-ground, from the fort of Antonia to that gate of the temple which led to the eaſt, near which gate he cauſed another fort to be erected: this vault was built with a view, that in caſe of any treaſonable proceeding againſt the government, himſelf or his ſucceſſors might have an opportunity of making a ſecure and private retreat. A tradition is prevalent amongſt us, that during the whole time of the building the abovementioned temple no rain fell in the day, but only in the night; which was deemed to be owing to the peculiar

peculiar interpoſition of Providence, that the progreſs of the work might not be impeded. Be this as it may, the ſtory hath been communicated among us from father to ſon; and we conceive that in inſtances where the worſhip of God is concerned, ſuch an interpoſition is by no means inconſiſtent with the laws of divine Providence.

BOOK XVI.

Containing TRANSACTIONS, from the YEAR of the WORLD 3955, to 3961.

CHAP. I.

HEROD eſtabliſhes a Law againſt Robbers of Houſes. He goes to ROME, is ſumptuouſly entertained by CÆSAR, and returns to JERUSALEM with his two Sons.

Law againſt houſe-breakers offenſive to the people.

HEROD conſidering it a principal branch of juſtice, both in the city and country, enacted a law, purporting that offenders convicted of houſe-breaking ſhould be ſold into ſlavery, either to natives or foreigners, without exception. The people judged this law to be an inſult upon the cuſtoms and inſtitutions of their nation, rather than as proceeding from a regard to public juſtice, and that the ſubjection of people living under different laws and regulations was not meant ſo much as a puniſhment to the criminal as an affront and injury to religion. It is enacted by our ancient laws that a felon be condemned to fourfold reſtitution, provided he be poſſeſſed of property; that, in caſe of being inſolvent, he be ſold into ſlavery, but not to ſtrangers; and that he be releaſed on the expiration of ſeven years. The new law was conſidered as a deliberate act of injuſtice and oppreſſion, eſtabliſhed in contempt of the ancient practice.

Herod's journey to Italy.

About this time the king made a voyage to Italy, in order to viſit his two ſons whom he had ſent to be educated in that country, and to pay his reſpects to the emperor. He found that his ſons had acqured a great proficiency in the knowledge both of literature and buſineſs; and they were delivered into his care by Cæſar. The youths were tall and well proportioned; and their converſation proved the excellency of their minds to be equal to the gracefulneſs of their perſons; and all their actions were accompanied with a peculiar dignity which ſeemed to ſpeak them of the royal line. Herod having paid his compliments to Cæſar, returned with his ſons to Jeruſalem, where they were received with great joy by the Jews, who were ſtruck with admiration upon obſerving the eminent accompliſhments which the princes had acquired. The favourable reception which the young princes experienced from the people proved a circumſtance extremely diſagreeable to Salome, the ſiſter of Herod, and to the ſeveral perſons who had united with her in effecting the deſtruction of Mariamne; and they conſidered theſe youths as the inſtruments preſerved by Providence by which they were to be puniſhed for having cauſed the death of their mother. Influenced by theſe ſuggeſtions, they determined to endeavour to alienate the affection of the king from his ſons by ſlanderous inſinuations: they propagated a rumour among the multitude, that the ſons muſt neceſſarily entertain an implacable averſion to the father who had bathed his hands in the blood of their innocent mother. Though they ventured not to addreſs theſe and other calumnies immediately to Herod, they doubted not of their reaching him in the end, and of giving birth to an irreconcileable hatred againſt his ſons.

Returns with his ſons to Jeruſalem.

CHAP. II.

ARISTOBULUS is married to BERENICE, and ALEXANDER to GLAPHYRA. HEROD is viſited by AGRIPPA.

Marriage of Herod's two ſons.

HITHERTO the conſpiracy of Salome and her adherents had proved ineffectual; and Herod continued unreſerved and tenderly affectionate to his ſons. He applied himſelf to negociate matrimonial alliances between them and princely families; and effected an union between Ariſtobulus and Berenice, daughter of Salome, and between Alexander and Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, ſovereign of Cappadocia.

Being informed that Marcus Agrippa was now returned from Italy into Asia, Herod repaired to him, and with great earneſtneſs intreated that he would honour him with a viſit. Agrippa accepted the invitation, and Herod exerted his utmoſt power to give a generous reception to, and contribute to the ſatisfaction of, his gueſt. He conducted him to the ſeveral magnificent cities and palaces, which he had built or repaired, ſhewing him Sebaſte, the port of Cæſarea, the forts of Alexandrion, Herodian, Hyrcania, &c. at which places he entertained Agrippa and his friends with the greateſt ſplendor that can be conceived. Having made this expedition, Herod conducted Agrippa to Jeruſalem, where the people received him with expreſſions of joy, and the acclamations and other ceremonies uſual on a ſolemn feſtival. On this occaſion Agrippa dedicated to the Lord an hecatomb, which is a ſacrifice of an hundred victims, and feaſted the multitude. The behaviour of Herod proved ſo agreeable, that Agrippa was deſirous of prolonging his viſit: but as the winter approached, and the ſeas were dangerous in that ſeaſon, he embarked, after having received many honours and valuable preſents, and returned with his troops to Ionia.

Friendly intercourſe between Herod and Agrippa.

CHAP. III.

HEROD meets AGRIPPA at SINOPE. The two Sovereigns go in company to SAMOS.

Voyage of Herod to reviſit Agrippa.

HEROD having paſſed the winter in his own dominions, embarked on the opening of ſpring for Leſbos, where he expected to join his friend Aprippa, who he was adviſed had led an army towards the Boſphorus. Having paſſed Rhodes and Coas, he was forced by the northern winds upon the iſle of Chios, and detained there ſeveral days. During his reſidence in this place, he received viſits from many perſons of diſtinction, whom he complimented with magnificent preſents: and obſerving that, from a ſcarcity of money, the public edifices which had been deſtroyed in the Mithridatic war ſtill remained in ruins, he gave the inhabitants credit for a ſum ſufficient to defray the expence of the neceſſary reparations, expreſsly charging them to complete the work with all poſſible expedition.

Upon the wind changing to a favourable point, Herod embarked, and ſailed to Mitylene, and thence to Byzantium. Having received intelligence that Agrippa had paſſed the Cyanean rocks, he made all poſſible ſpeed in ſearch of him, and at length joined him at a city of Pontus called Sinope. Agrippa was no leſs rejoiced than ſurpriſed at the unexpected arrival of Herod; and on the meeting of theſe princes, they gave every poſſible demonſtration of an honourable and reciprocal friendſhip. Agrippa made grateful acknowledgments to Herod for the ſingular inſtance of kindneſs he had ſhewn in poſtponing the concerns of his own government, and joining him with a powerful fleet at a point of time when his affairs were in the moſt preſſing exigency. Agrippa repoſed an unlimited confidence in Herod, to whoſe advice in council he paid the greateſt deference; and theſe princes were ſo ſtrongly united, that they jointly partook of labours, dangers and difficulties, as well as the pleaſurable relaxations from the arduous concerns annexed to their ſituation.

Their mutual friendſhip.

Having diſpatched the buſineſs which had called him to Pontus, Agrippa, accompanied by Herod, returned over land. They directed their courſe through Paphlagonia, Cappadocia, and the Greater Phrygia, and having arrived at Epheſus, they took ſhipping for Samos. During their progreſs, the generoſity of Herod was diſplayed on a variety of occaſions, both by liberal donations on his own account, and by ſoliciting Agrippa in favour of the inhabitants of the places through which they paſſed. Agrippa was naturally of a humane diſpoſition, and was never backward to perform acts of kindneſs, except when rendering ſervice to one man would be attended with injury to another. This benevolent temper operated more extenſively through the mediation of Herod, to which nothing was refuſed by Agrippa, who ſtudied to anticipate him in offices of kindneſs and generoſity. On the interceſſion of his friend, Agrippa granted a pardon to the Illienſians, whoſe conduct had given him great offence. He diſcharged an arrear which the people of Chios had incurred to the emperor, and put them in poſſeſſion of divers privileges: and he was diſtinguiſhed by many other inſtances of virtue.

Agrippa's kindneſs to Herod.

CHAP. IV.

At the Inſtance of HEROD, AGRIPPA grants a hearing to the JEWS of IONIA, who complain of the Tyranny of the Natives. He eſpouſes the Cauſe of the JEWS.

Agrippa confirms the laws of the Jews of Ionia, whom he alſo protects.

UPON the arrival of Herod and Agrippa in the province of Ionia, they found a great concourſe of Jews aſſembled, who vented the moſt bitter complaints againſt the natives for interrupting their religious worſhip and the exerciſe of their laws. They repreſented that the officers broke in upon their public meetings, and forcibly hurried them to the courts of juſtice; prevented the holy treaſure being conveyed to Jeruſalem; compelled them to take up arms, and exacted duties of their ſubſiſtence money; urging that theſe oppreſſions were inflicted upon them in direct violation of the privileges granted to them by the Romans. Herod availed himſelf of this favourable opportunity to render ſervice to the Jews, and interceded with Agrippa

to

to allow them to ſubmit their complaints to him. Agrippa conſented to grant the Jews a hearing, and Herod retained his friend Nicolaus as counſel to plead their cauſe. On this occaſion a court was ſummoned to meet, at which were preſent Agrippa, a bench of honourable Romans, ſeveral princes, and other perſons of diſtinguiſhed rank. The advocate in behalf of the Jews pleaded their cauſe in a very eloquent ſpeech.

The Greeks made no attempt to invalidate what was advanced by Nicolaus, who ſpoke in favour of the Jews; for the matter in agitation was not a judicial trial of right, but a petition for redreſs of grievances. They urged, however, that the Jews were foreigners, and a burthen upon the natives. On the other hand, it was contended that being entitled to the privileges of citizens, the Jews could not come under the deſcription of foreigners; that they were a people under the regulation of their own laws, living in conformity to the will of the Almighty, and at peace with mankind.

Agrippa confirms the privileges formerly granted to the Jews.

Convinced of the juſtice of their cauſe, Agrippa declared himſelf in favour of the Jews, and ſignified, that if their deſires had not been confined within ſuch moderate bounds, he ſhould have complied with them, provided he could have done it conſiſtent with a due regard to the dignity of the ſtate of Rome. "Since the requiſitions of the Jews (ſaid Agrippa) are ſo reaſonable, from a regard to common juſtice, and a reſpect to their ſovereign, I pronounce a full ratification of the privileges, which, by a previous grant, they have an undoubted right to claim; and I promiſe, that as long as they continue within the limits of good order, the neceſſary meaſures ſhall be taken for guarding them againſt future vexations of this kind." Having delivered this ſpeech, Agrippa diſſolved the aſſembly; and, in the name of the whole nation, Herod expreſſed the warmeſt acknowledgments to him for his generous conduct. After a mutual profeſſion of friendſhip, theſe princes departed from Leſbos.

Herod, arriving at Jeruſalem, communicates to the people a ſtate of his tranſactions.

Herod embarked for Cæſarea, and having the advantage of a favourable wind, he ſoon reached that place; and in a few days afterwards he arrived at Jeruſalem. He iſſued a proclamation for an aſſembly of the people, at which the ſtrangers as well as citizens were to attend. He related to the multitude the principal incidents which had occurred during his late expedition, repreſenting the reſolutions whereby Agrippa had ſecured the perſonal liberty of, and the free exerciſe of religion to, the Jews inhabiting Aſia. He obſerved, that during his government, the people had been in a ſtate of proſperity, and that their future welfare ſuperſeded every other conſideration. As a proof of his regard, he excuſed them from one fourth part of the tribute which they had been uſed to pay. The loud and unanimous acclamations of the multitude proved that they were gratefully ſenſible of their ſovereign's generoſity.

CHAP. V.

SALOME and PHERORAS, by ſlanderous Inſinuations, raiſe the Indignation of HEROD againſt his two Sons. He appoints his Son ANTIPATER to ſucceed him in the Government. ANTIPATER accompanies HEROD on a Viſit to AGRIPPA at ROME.

Conſpiracy of Salome.

SALOME, the ſiſter of Herod, entertained an irreconcileable enmity towards Alexander and Ariſtobulus, the ſons of Herod by his wife Mariamne, and, inſpired with confidence by the ſucceſsful manner in which her injurious repreſentations had operated with regard to their mother, ſhe determined to proſecute a deſign ſhe had conceived for effecting the deſtruction of the princes, leſt they ſhould revenge the death of the queen. The conſpiracy was carried on againſt the young princes with the greater appearance of juſtice as they had ſhewn many inſtances of diſreſpect towards their father, being induced thereto partly by an abhorrence of the cruelty exerciſed upon their mother, and partly by the ambitious deſire of ſupplanting their father in the government.

Diſſenſions in Herod's family.

The ſons openly vented the moſt bitter reproaches upon Salome and her brother Pheroras; and, on the other hand, they uttered reflections equally rancorous, but conveyed in a more artful and cautious manner. The princes being inflamed with paſſion, in the natural ſimplicity of their hearts, declared their ſentiments without reſerve: but the others exerciſed their malice with more circumſpection, employing every ſtratagem they could ſuggeſt for betraying their adverſaries into ſuch extravagance of expreſſion as they might take advantage of. The princes declared that they conſidered it an honour to have derived their exiſtence from ſo excellent a queen as Mariamne, who, they inſiſted, had been barbarouſly murdered. This declaration was taken advantage of by their enemies, who propagated it ſo aſſiduouſly, that it ſoon became the prevailing ſubject of converſation among the people, the generality of whom, however, lamented the indiſcretion of the young men, in ſuffering their paſſions to precipitate them into ſuch deſperate liberties of ſpeech. The youths were frequently heard to lament their own fate as only inferior in miſery to that of their deceaſed mother; for that they were compelled to live with thoſe who had embrued their hands in her blood, and that they were, therefore, partakers in ſome meaſure, of their iniquity.

Artful deſigns of Pheroras and Salome againſt the two ſons of Herod.

The abſence of Herod was a circumſtance exceedingly favourable to the conſpiracy. A ſhort time having elapſed after the return of the king, Salome and Pheroras, with a well affected plauſibility, inſinuated to him, that it was neceſſary he ſhould guard againſt the danger which threatened him in the perſons of Alexander and Ariſtobulus, who had publicly

licly denounced vengeance againſt the murderers of their mother; and they falſely repreſented, that through the intereſt of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, they expected to compel Herod to abide the event of a judicial enquiry before the emperor. Herod was induced to place more confidence in theſe inſinuations as they were frequently repeated, and communicated to him through a variety of channels. He reflected on the unhappy ſituation to which he had already been reduced by diſſenſions in his family, and lamented that theſe diſagreements had proved deſtructive to his moſt valuable friendſhips, and deprived him of a wife, towards whom he entertained the moſt tender affection. He recalled to his imagination the events which had occurred, and thence pictured in idea what might probably enſue in the preſent inſtance; and the proſpect was ſo alarming as nearly to drive him to a ſtate of diſtraction. His foreign concerns proved ſucceſsful to the utmoſt extent of his moſt ſanguine hopes, while thoſe of a domeſtic nature were involved in all the difficulties which could unite to render him completely miſerable. It is to be queſtioned whether his ſplendid ſtation in the world was a ſufficient counterbalance to the diſorders which prevailed in his family, and whether he would not have enjoyed a greater ſhare of happineſs in a private ſtation, than he experienced while ſurrounded with all the magnificence annexed to the regal character.

Antipater is ſet up by Herod in oppoſition to Alexander and Ariſtobulus.

Herod remained ſome time under great embarraſſment, not knowing what courſe it would be moſt eligible to purſue in the diſtracted ſtate of his affairs; but at length he reſolved to receive into his family a ſon, named Antipater, who he had cauſed to be privately educated, and to entertain the youth with particular reſpect; judging that ſuch conduct would prove a check to the ambition of his other ſons. Agreeable to this intention he inveſted Antipater with conſiderable authority, and repoſed great truſt in him, ſignifying by his whole behaviour towards him, that he meant the youth to be his ſucceſſor in the government. In the particular diſtinction which Herod ſhewed to Antipater, his whole view was to reduce the inſolence of Mariamne's ſons, who he imagined would, when they were convinced that there was no want of a ſucceſſor to the government, be more obſervant of their duty; but, contrary to his original deſign, he afterwards conferred upon him the regal dignity. The reſpect which was ſhewn to Antipater ſerved to inflame rather than appeaſe the paſſions of the brothers, who conſidered the deference paid to him as an affront offered to themſelves.

His artifices to ſupplant the two brothers.

Antipater determined to preſerve the conſequence he had ſo unexpectedly obtained; and for effecting this purpoſe he had recourſe to malevolent inſinuations, expecting thereby to alienate from his brothers the ſtill remaining affection of Herod. He aſſumed the utmoſt appearance of candour and good will, but at the ſame time laboured to effect the ruin of the brothers, by means of agents who were eſteemed by the king, and who he was convinced would eaſily prevail upon his credulous temper to put full confidence in their miſrepreſentations; and this deſign was attended with the deſired ſucceſs; for Herod was inſpired with an averſion which ſoon increaſed to an implacable degree. Alexander and Ariſtobulus, being greatly affected by the indignities they endured, with tears lamented their unhappy fate; at other times, in the anguiſh of their hearts, they appealed to the manes of their innocent mother, and bitterly reflected upon their father as the author of the grievances they ſuſtained. The adherents of Antipater availed themſelves of the advantage which the ungovernable paſſions of the princes afforded, and, with every poſſible aggravation, repreſented their intemperate behaviour to Herod, who, being ſtill more violently inflamed againſt them, reſolved to convince them of his indignation by heaping additional honours upon Antipater. The artifices which Antipater employed, prevailed upon Herod to ſend for his mother to court, and to write letters on behalf of himſelf, recommending him to Cæſar in terms of the greateſt reſpect.

Herod gives credit to their inſinuations.

Agrippa, after having held the adminiſtration for the ſpace of ten years in Aſia, ſet out on his return to Rome; and Herod embarked, in order to meet and compliment him on the way, taking with him many valuable preſents, and being accompanied by Antipater, the other ſons being denied the honour of engaging with him in this voyage. Herod requeſted Agrippa that Antipater might be permitted to accompany him to Rome, and that he would preſent him to Cæſar, to whom he ſent rich preſents for the purpoſe of obtaining for his ſon a favourable reception. Herod's conduct on this occaſion was with a view to give Antipater a diſtinction above his brothers.

Agrippa returns to Rome with Antipater.

CHAP. VI.

HEROD exhibits Accuſations before CÆSAR againſt his Sons ALEXANDER and ARISTOBULUS.

Malevolent conduct of Antipater againſt the two ſons of Mariamne.

HEROD having furniſhed his ſon with recommendatory letters to his friends at Rome, Antipater derived additional conſequence from his voyage to that capital. In his preſent ſituation, however, he was unhappy in having no longer the opportunity of gratifying his rancour againſt the ſons of Mariamne by injurious repreſentations to Herod, who he apprehended might be prevailed upon to treat them with leſs rigour. He was determined to omit no meaſures which he ſuppoſed would operate to the diſadvantage of Alexander and Ariſtobulus; and, therefore, under the pretext of an extreme ſolicitude for his father's ſafety, he wrote letters containing ſuch

ſuch malicious charges, as induced Herod to conſider the unfortunate brothers as his moſt inveterate enemies: and the ultimate view of his iniquitous proceedings was, to obtain poſſeſſion of the government.

Herod exhibits accuſations before Cæſar of their attempt to deſtroy him.

Herod determined, leſt the violence of his diſpleaſure ſhould tranſport him into any raſh or unjuſt proceedings againſt his ſons, to repair to Rome, and exhibit complaints againſt them before Cæſar. Upon his arrival at Rome, he found that Cæſar was not in that city; he therefore proceeded to Aquileia, and having obtained permiſſion to ſubmit his unhappy cauſe to the deciſion of the emperor, he produced his two ſons, and accuſed them of diſobedience, and an attempt to deprive him of life by poiſon, urging, that the ambition of obtaining poſſeſſion of the government had inſpired them with the horrid and unnatural deſign of putting their father to death. He ſaid their malice was ſo inveterate, that, though defeated in their rebellious attempt upon the crown, they would ſtill enjoy a cruel ſatisfaction in the inhuman murder of their father. He mentioned the ſpace of time he had endured the diſobedience of his ſons, ſaying that now, in the laſt extremity, he was compelled to the cruel neceſſity of ſubmitting his cauſe to the determination of Cæſar. "What act of my life (ſaid he) has rendered me deſerving the treatment I have experienced from theſe young men? Towards whom have I been guilty of injuſtice? On what pretext can any man preſume to diſpoſſeſs a prince of the authority, in the due exerciſe of which he has been ſo long eſtabliſhed, and which he has obtained by ſuch unwearied aſſiduity, and imminent hazards? Is it reaſonable that I ſhould be denied the liberty of nominating my ſucceſſor? Eſpecially ſince Cæſar has been pleaſed to grant me the right of beſtowing the crown upon ſuch of my iſſue as ſhall approve himſelf moſt worthy the regal dignity? The power which I have an undoubted right to exerciſe of exalting the fortunes of that ſon who ſhall diſtinguiſh himſelf by a pious regard to his duty, muſt ſurely be conſidered as a motive to a generous emulation in worthy deeds. But whoever deſires to obtain the authority of his father, muſt wiſh that father dead, becauſe while he ſurvives he cannot ſucceed to his ſtation. They cannot pretend that I have been deficient in my duty towards them, either as a gracious prince, or an indulgent parent. Can they aſſert that I have not been liberal in my allowance of every gratification they could reaſonably require, either in point of magnificence equal to their ſtation in life, amuſement, and every other matter that might contribute to their happineſs? Have I not endeavoured to promote their fortunes, by eſpouſing them to princeſſes of the moſt diſtinguiſhed rank? I have married Alexander to the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, and Ariſtobulus to the daughter of my own ſiſter. As a ſtill more remarkable inſtance of kindneſs to theſe refractory youths, I have waved my authority both as a king and father, and putting myſelf on terms of equality with my children and ſubjects, thus appeal to the imperial majeſty of Cæſar, requeſting that his wiſdom will award a due puniſhment to ſuch enormous offenders, and thereby relieve me from the apprehenſion of paſſing the remainder of my days in the dreadful anxiety occaſioned by the reſtleſs ambition of theſe youths, who have merited to be for ever ſecluded from beholding the light of the ſun, as an equitable retribution of the daring violation of the rights of human nature and ſociety, of which they juſtly ſtand accuſed."

The princes are much affected at the charge brought by their father.

Herod delivered the above ſpeech with conſiderable warmth: and while he was ſpeaking the princes frequently wept; but upon the concluſion of his addreſs, their grief was expreſſed by a torrent of tears: it is not, however, to be underſtood that they were affected by a conſciouſneſs of guilt, but rather by an honourable ſenſe of filial piety, upon being ſo heavily accuſed by their father, and by the conſideration that their afflicting ſituation compelled them to the neceſſity of oppoſing their father, or to the no leſs unhappy extreme of forfeiting every pretenſion to a rectitude of principle. Thus grievouſly diſtreſſed and embarraſſed, they lamented their fate in ſighs and tears, but made no attempt to plead in their own defence. Cæſar put a juſt conſtruction upon their behaviour, attributing their diffidence not to a ſenſe of criminality, but to their being unuſed to addreſs ſo formidable an aſſembly: and the ſame ſentiments were entertained by the auditors, who unanimouſly compaſſionated the young princes, and even Herod himſelf was greatly affected.

CHAP. VII.

ALEXANDER pleads in Behalf of ARISTOBULUS and himſelf: and CÆSAR pronounces them both innocent. HEROD meets the King of CAPPADOCIA at ELEUSA. He aſſembles a Council at JERUSALEM, and appoints ANTIPATER to ſucceed him in the Government.

Alexander's defence.

WHEN the grief of the princes was ſomewhat moderated, they obſerved that Cæſar was greatly affected, that many of the auditors wept in pity of their calamities, and that even the heart of their father was ſoftened towards them. Judging this to be a favourable opportunity, Alexander, who was the eldeſt, pleaded his own cauſe and that of Ariſtobulus.

The audience pity the young princes;

When the charge was exhibited againſt the princes, Cæſar judged it to be of too extraordinary a nature to be founded in juſtice, and this opinion was confirmed by Alexander's addreſs, during the delivery of which he obſerved Herod to be greatly affected. The auditors entertained very unfavourable ſentiments of Herod for proceeding to ſo violent an accuſation; and being

greatly prejudiced in favour of the youths by their engaging perſons, the moderation of their reply, and the exact propriety of their whole deportment, they unanimouſly reſolved to render them every friendly office in their power. After a pauſe, during which the princes waited the iſſue of their cauſe with their eyes caſt down, and other inſtances of a depreſſion of ſpirits, Cæſar addreſſed the aſſembly in a ſpeech, purporting that the ſons were deſerving ſome degree of cenſure for the intemperate expreſſions which had given riſe to their father's jealouſy; but that he pronounced them innocent of the offence alledged againſt them. He mentioned diſſenſions between a father and his children as a misfortune of great magnitude, and recommended the parties to ſink all animoſities in oblivion, and manifeſt their entire reconciliation by mutual confidence and a conſtant interchange of friendly offices. Cæſar now intimated by a ſign that the ſons were to come forward; and, with features which expreſſed the anguiſh of their minds, and the utmoſt humility of deportment, they obeyed, and were preparing to throw themſelves at the feet of their father, but he prevented them, and taking them in his arms, embraced them with great tenderneſs and affection.

and Cæſar pronounces them innocent

This inſtance of tenderneſs in Herod was equally unexpected and ſatisfactory to the whole court. Having made due acknowledgments to Cæſar, Herod departed, accompanied by Alexander, Ariſtobulus, and Antipater, the latter affecting an exceſs of joy on occaſion of the happy agreement.

Herod is reconciled to his children; and gives Auguſtus 300 talents.

Some days ſubſequent to the reconciliation between Herod and his ſons, Auguſtus gave an entertainment to the people; and at this time Herod made the emperor a preſent of three hundred talents, in return for which Cæſar granted him a moiety of the profits ariſing from the mines of Cyprus, and full power of diſpoſing of the reſidue of the income: he alſo confirmed the right of appointing a ſucceſſor to the government in the ſon whom he ſhould moſt approve, or dividing the government between them, at his own diſcretion: but theſe liberties were granted on the condition that he ſhould maintain the natural authority of a father over his children, and the ſovereignty of his kingdom, during the term of his life.

A rebellion at Trachonitis ſuppreſſed.

Thus were matters circumſtanced when Herod and his three ſons proceeded on their return to Judæa. During the abſence of Herod, the people of Trachonitis, who formed a conſiderable part of his ſubjects, engaged in a rebellion: but the vigilant and ſpirited behaviour of the officers to whom the king had entruſted the management of public affairs, reſtored them to allegiance. At Eleuſa, a city in Cilicia, now called Sebaſte, Herod and his ſons met Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, who expreſſed much ſatisfaction on the re-eſtabliſhment of a friendly underſtanding in the family of Herod, and the honourable acquittal which his ſon-in-law Alexander had experienced on the trial. The reception which Archelaus gave to Herod was truly hoſpitable and generous; and theſe kings parted after an exchange of preſents, and reciprocal profeſſions of friendſhip.

Herod aſſembles the people, nominates Antipater for his ſucceſſor, and recommends obedience.

Upon the arrival of Herod at Jeruſalem, he ſummoned the people to aſſemble in the temple, and related to them an account of his late expedition, particularizing the ſeveral honours which had been conferred upon him by Cæſar, and dwelling upon other paſſages which he was deſirous to impreſs upon their minds: he then adverted to his ſons, and recommended unanimity and moderation to the court and his ſubjects in general. He then pronounced Antipater to be his ſucceſſor in the government, which was to devolve from him to Alexander, and then to Ariſtobulus. "During the term of my life (ſaid he) you are to acknowledge myſelf only as your ſovereign. I make this declaration to the ſeveral perſons of my family, my officers civil and military, and my ſubjects in general. Age produces experience, whereby men are inſtructed in wiſdom; my increaſe of years, therefore, rather than proving an obſtacle, will render me more equal to the important duties of adminiſtration." He concluded with exhorting his people ſteadily to preſerve their allegiance, as the moſt certain means of ſecurity and happineſs. He now diſmiſſed the aſſembly. The majority of the people were perfectly ſatisfied with his conduct, but many were apprehenſive that the deſire which they conceived the ſons would reſpectively entertain of being advanced to the throne would prove the ſource of future troubles.

CHAP. VIII.

The Dedication of CÆSAREA. HEROD rebuilds the Temple of the PYTHIAN APOLLO. An annual Allowance made out of his own Revenue, for the Support of the OLYMPIC Games.

Cæſarea finiſhed, and dedicated with great pomp.

IN the tenth year after laying the foundation of Cæſarea, that city was completely finiſhed, which happened in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Herod, and in the Olympiad one hundred and ninety-two. No degree of ſplendor or magnificence was omitted to celebrate the dedication of this city: perſons who profeſſed the ſeveral faculties and exerciſes of all kinds, and thoſe too the moſt excellent in their various ways, were procured from different parts of the country. Among theſe were muſicians, wreſtlers, ſwordſmen, and others of like kinds; and theſe were appointed to play for prizes in their ſeveral arts and profeſſions. There were likewiſe a number of horſe-races, and exhibitions of various kinds of wild beaſts, together with a great variety of other ſhows and entertainments, ſuch as were then in faſhion, either in Rome or other places. It was to the honour of Cæſar that this ſolemnity was inſtituted, and it obtained the name of *Cer-*

The quinquennial exerciſes.

tamen

tamen Quinquennale, implying, that the exhibition of the ſpectacles was to be renewed every fifth year. The expence that the king incurred, in the procuring of curioſities of all kinds, and bringing them from places more or leſs diſtant, for the furniſhing out of this ſplendid ſpectacle, was aſtoniſhingly great; excluſive of which, Julia, the wife of Cæſar, contributed very largely towards it on her own account, and cauſed a variety of curioſities to be brought out of Italy; ſo that the whole of her gifts on that occaſion were reckoned at about five hundred talents. Motives of curioſity induced incredible numbers of people to flock thither on this occaſion: many embaſſadors came from diſtant places to pay their reſpects to Herod, all of whom were ſplendidly entertained, genteelly treated, and every way accommodated at the king's expence; their diverſions conſiſting of public ſhows by day, and, in the evening, of the moſt elegant feaſting and exhibitions of mirth, all which was conducted in ſuch a manner as to do the higheſt honour to the character of Herod, as a prince of ſplendid taſte, and the moſt liberal diſpoſition. In a word, he affected, on this occaſion, to exceed all preceding inſtances of his liberality; and to eclipſe the glory of all his former actions, by the ſingular ſplendor attendant upon the latter. In remark on this part of Herod's character, both Cæſar and Agrippa have frequently ſaid to their ſurrounding friends, that it was to be lamented that both Syria and Egypt were not under his juriſdiction; for that the ambition of his mind was too great to be gratified with the government of Judæa, and the limited revenues ariſing from the command of that province.

Cæſar and Agrippa commend Herod's magnanimity.

Herod builds Antipatris.

After the cloſe of all the mirth, gaiety, and pomp attendant on this feſtival, Herod applied himſelf to the building of another city, on a plain named Capharſaba, a ſituation moſt elegantly choſen; for it had all the advantages ariſing from the happy combination of wood and water: being almoſt ſurrounded by a delightful river, and having a fine grove with a plantation of the moſt curious trees, in its neighbourhood. To this city he gave the name of Antipatris, in honour of his father Antipater: and not long afterwards he cauſed a caſtle to be erected beyond Jericho, on which he beſtowed the name of Cypron, in pious remembrance of his mother: this place was exceedingly well built and fortified, and was ſingularly pleaſant and agreeable in its ſituation. Nor did Herod forget to celebrate his regard for his beloved brother, ſince he erected ſeveral ſplendid and monumental ſtructures, which he dedicated to his memory; and among the reſt he cauſed a tower to be conſtructed within the city, to which he gave the name of Phaſael; and this was as ſtrong, and as extenſive a building as the Pharos of Alexandria: in the next place he built a town on the north ſide of the valley of Jericho, which likewiſe received the ſame name. Hitherto the adjacent country, which had been altogether abandoned, was ſoon ſtocked with a competent number of inhabitants, and received the name of the province of the Phaſaelites.

His great liberality.

To recite the hiſtory of the bounties of Herod would be a moſt tedious taſk. He was, in every place, and on all occaſions, a pattern of liberality. In Syria, in Greece, and, in fact, whereever his buſineſs or inclination led him, he uſed to furniſh aids to ſome perſons, to promote the advancement of public works for others; and to ſupply money where it was wanted, for the perfecting of ſuch ſchemes as had been begun, and could not otherwiſe be completed.

Temple of the Pythian Apollo.

One of the moſt ſuperb and magnificent of all his undertakings remains yet to be ſpoken of; which is the temple of the Pythian Apollo at Rhodes. This Herod rebuilt at his own particular expence, and preſented the people of Rhodes with a very conſiderable number of talents of gold, to be by them expended in the building of a number of ſhips. He gave likewiſe an immenſe ſum of money towards the repairing and beautifying ſeveral public buildings in the city of Nicopolis near Actium, which had been originally built by Cæſar. In Antioch, which is the largeſt city in all Syria, he cauſed two galleries to be erected, which had a walk between them, and extended the whole breadth of the city. Theſe galleries were ornamented in the moſt curious manner, and a pavement of ſmooth poliſhed ſtone covered the ſtreets. The convenience of the inhabitants, and the ſplendid appearance of the city, were equally conſulted in theſe elegant improvements.

The Olympic games.

When the ſeveral works above-mentioned were completed, Herod allotted a conſiderable ſum annually, out of his own revenue, towards ſupporting the expences of the Olympic games, which for ſome time paſt had been evidently in a declining ſtate, as they had not been ſupplied with ſums equal to the defraying the charges of ſacrifices, and other expenſive ceremonies, proper on the meeting of ſuch numbers as uſed to aſſemble on occaſions of this kind: and Herod acquired the name of a perpetual maſter of the revels, on account of the liberality he exerted in this particular inſtance.

The contradictorineſs in Herod's character accounted for.

Notwithſtanding this ſeeming greatneſs and dignity of Herod's conduct, his general character appears to be a compound of the moſt abſolute contradictions: perhaps no man ever was, in all reſpects, ſo perfect an oppoſite to himſelf. If his liberality in general caſes be conſidered, and the external appearance he made of an inclination to do good to all mankind, it would ſeem but reaſonable to conclude that he was one of the moſt generous men that ever exiſted. On the contrary, if we reflect but for a moment on the extreme rigour, and even barbarity, of ſome of his proceedings, even towards his neareſt relations, as well as in reſpect of his ſubjects in general, it will ſcarcely be denied that he acted as if he was void of pity and ſhame, and loſt to all the finer feelings of humanity. Now conſidering Herod in theſe various lights, it ſeems but natural to conclude that he was a man actuated by different, and even oppoſite paſſions; but I own that I rather incline to the

the opinion that he had one uniform and ſteady principle, by which all his actions were regulated. As he was exceedingly ambitious of honour, a paſſion which ſeemed to abſorb all the other faculties of his ſoul, he had recourſe to every ſpecies of magnificence, in order to procure the end he ſought for, which was nothing leſs than the poſſeſſion of ſingular renown in this life, and the hope of leaving an immortal fame behind him.

Ill effects from his avarice of fame.

The wiſh to be thus ſingularly diſtinguiſhed, made him extravagant beyond the bounds of his income, and, of courſe, he loaded his ſubjects with heavy burdens; for the equitable and legal mode of taxation was by no means equal to the ſupport of his extravagant and ſuperfluous expences. He ſoon became ſenſible that his oppreſſions were a ſource of perpetual ill-will to himſelf, and that it was not eaſy to allay the ſeditious diſcontents which rankled in the breaſts of his people: he plainly ſaw, that in order to do this, he muſt either retrench his expences in a very conſiderable degree, or be contented with a much more limited revenue; neither of which was agreeable to his inclinations; ſo that the only method he now had left, was to improve the ill-will of his people to his own advantage; and this he effected, firſt by provoking them beyond all the bounds of patience, and then puniſhing them for complaining, as if they had been his moſt inveterate enemies: and he proceeded in this tyrannical manner, equally with regard to friends or foes, to relations or to ſtrangers; being firmly reſolved to ſupport and maintain his authority in every inſtance whatever. It is likewiſe remarkable in his conduct, that he intended to hint by the honours and diſtinctions he paid to others, what kind of treatment it was that he expected himſelf: to inſtance in the caſes of Cæſar and Agrippa, and the reſt of his friends of high rank; his view was to inſinuate that his behaviour towards them, ſhould furniſh an example of the adulation he wiſhed his own ſubjects to pay him. The turn and diſpoſition of his mind is ſufficiently marked in this particular part of his conduct. Now Herod's mode of proceeding in the homage he paid to his ſuperiors, was by no means proper to furniſh a precedent for the Jews to copy; ſince it was a mode of acting diametrically oppoſite to their laws and practices; for the turn of their education was ſuch, that they were taught obedience from motives of conſcience, without any regard to their own intereſt, or any wiſh for the gratifications that the poſſeſſion of power could beſtow. By this reſtraint they were very conſiderable loſers: for could they have ſubmitted to the vulgar arts of flattery, they would not have failed to have inſinuated themſelves into the good graces of the king, by the pompous dedications of ſtatues and temples, by which they might eaſily have gratified the vanity of a man whoſe whole ſoul was abſorbed in views of ambition. What has been urged above, I conceive, will enable us to form a true judgment of Herod's character, and explain the cauſe why he behaved with ſuch extreme liberality and benevolence towards ſtrangers, while his own ſubjects felt the weight of that cruelty which he was perpetually exerciſing towards them.

Secret motives of his actions.

CHAP. IX.

CÆSAR is petitioned by the GREEKS againſt the JEWS. The Privileges of the JEWS confirmed by CÆSAR.

AT this time the Jews reſiding in Aſia, and likewiſe thoſe who dwelt at Cyrene in Africa, were treated in the moſt cruel manner by the Greeks; nor was there either end to their oppreſſions, or moderation in their proceedings; and the whole was done on the pretence that the Jews carried away their money out of the country, and were exceedingly troubleſome to the Greeks in other reſpects. Now as the Jews had been favoured by former kings with the free privileges and rights of citizens, having been granted the ſame immunities to which the natives themſelves had a claim; the Greeks laid hold of this opportunity to ſend embaſſadors, with a complaint and petition to Cæſar, appealing to him againſt the Jews. In anſwer hereto Cæſar ſent back a letter to the provinces, importing that, "It was his ſovereign will and pleaſure, that all the privileges the Jews had heretofore enjoyed ſhould be ſtill continued to them."

Embaſſy to Cæſar of the Cyrenian and Aſiatic Jews.

CHAP. X.

Family Diſſenſions reſulting from HEROD's riſling the Sepulchre of DAVID. Sacrilegious Attempt of his Guards puniſhed. Hypocriſy of ANTIPATER, and Fallacy of the King's Relations. HEROD's Jealouſy, Oppreſſion, and Cruelty, followed by a State of remedileſs Horror and Miſery.

HEROD's taſte for ſplendor and magnificence in buildings, and other expenſive works, had occaſioned his ſquandering away immenſe ſums of money, both at home and abroad, and he was in want of more to ſupply his demands, when he was informed that his predeceſſor Hyrcanus had paid a viſit to the ſepulchre of David, and had at one time taken away from thence no leſs a ſum than three thouſand talents of ſilver; but that there was ſtill a ſufficient quantity left to anſwer the purpoſe of any future viſitant.

Herod reflected on this circumſtance for a conſiderable time, and often revolved it ſeriouſly in his mind, before he formed any reſolution of what he propoſed to do in the affair: but having at length come to a determination, he communicated his intentions to a few perſons, in whoſe care and fidelity he could place the moſt abſolute confidence; and taking theſe truſty friends with him, he proceeded by night to the ſepulchre,

David's ſepulchre ranſacked for wealth.

pulchre, which they entered with all poſſible ſecrecy and circumſpection, to keep the knowledge of this adventure from the people. In this depoſitory he found immenſe quantities of rich plate, and variety of veſſels, both of gold and ſilver, all which his companions carried off with them: but as to the ready money that he expected to have met with, his ſearch after it was in vain, for this had been previouſly made booty of by Hyrcanus.

Two of Herod's men killed by lightning.

Herod's ſucceſs, however, was conſiderable enough to induce him to make a ſtricter ſearch than he had at firſt intended; on which he proceeded ſtill farther into the vault, till he came to the place in which were depoſited the coffins containing the bodies of David and Solomon. The hiſtory which we have of this affair informs us, that a flaſh of fire ſuddenly broke out of the receſs, and killed two of Herod's guards on the ſpot; which was looked upon as an evident denunciation of the vengeance of Heaven, and ſent as a puniſhment for the wicked temerity, and glaring impiety of the action. Herod was ſo aſtoniſhed and terrified at this apparent token of the divine wrath, that partly through his fear, and partly from motives of conſcience, he immediately abandoned the farther proſecution of his deſign. He likewiſe came to a reſolution to atone, in ſome meaſure, for the ſacrilege of which he had been guilty, and thereupon determined to erect a moſt ſuperb and ſtately monument of white marble, to block up the very entrance into the ſepulchre; and ſoon afterwards he gave orders for the forwarding of this work, which was accordingly carried into execution.

Nicolaus the hiſtoriographer reproved.

A writer who lived when theſe things happened, named Nicolaus, makes mention of the erecting of the abovementioned monument of marble, but he does not recite a ſingle circumſtance of the king's deſcent into, and robbery of the vault, which it is probable he looked upon to be ſo diſgraceful, profane, and impious an undertaking, that he was unwilling or afraid to make it publicly known; for as he was a contemporary with Herod, who was not unacquainted with what he wrote, he was under a kind of neceſſity of recording only ſuch circumſtances as might gratify the king; ſuch, in fact, as redounded to his honour; and of omitting ſuch as would have proved only the teſtimony of his vices. The method, then, in which this writer proceeded, was either to omit all account of the king's moſt glaring, notorious, and extravagant cruelties; or, when that could not be ſo properly done, to diſguiſe and palliate them; ſo that the enormity of the crime ſeems to be loſt by his mode of relating the circumſtances of it. In this manner it is that he ſpeaks of the murder of Mariamne, and the outrageous and unprecedented indignities that were offered to her ſons; for he artfully inſinuates that the queen had been guilty of a violation of her huſband's bed; and intimates that the princes had concerted the deſtruction of their father's life! And this is his method of proceeding in every part of his writings; either to extenuate the king's crimes, or paſs over in total ſilence whatever he did amiſs, and to extol his more worthy actions beyond all the bounds of credibility. Nicolaus, however, has this to boaſt, that if he did not write a faithful and authentic hiſtory, he compiled an admirable volume of panegyric: to ſum up all in a few words, it may be ſaid that his writings were all rather calculated to gratify the diſpoſition of his patron, than to convey to poſterity a faithful account of the tranſactions of his times.

Joſephus came of the prieſtly line of the Aſmonæans.

Having ſaid thus much in cenſure of a former writer, it becomes me to declare reſpecting myſelf, that having the honour to be deſcended in the royal Aſmonæan line, and being likewiſe in the race of the prieſthood, I ſhall ſcorn to report matters otherwiſe than as I find them recorded on the faithful page of hiſtory; with all proper reſpect and reverence, however, to the deſcendents of Herod; but yet with a greater and more perfect reſpect to the ſacred and immutable laws of truth: for I would by no means forfeit my character for integrity, nor willingly ſtain the page of this hiſtory by the inſertion of a ſingle falſhood.

Diſcords in Herod's houſe.

From the period abovementioned, when Herod broke into, and ſacrilegiouſly robbed the ſepulchre of the valuable treaſure there depoſited, he became daily more and more unhappy in his domeſtic concerns: every thing went wrong in his family, as if a judicial vengeance had taken place againſt that part of it who had previouſly ſhewn the badneſs of their diſpoſition; and as if heaven was determined to puniſh the flagitious and enormous wickedneſs of which the king had been guilty, by new and unuſual diſtreſſes. A kind of civil war raged throughout the whole houſe, and while ſome were open and outrageous in their violent oppoſition, the reſt carried on and promoted their treacherous deſigns by all the ſecret arts of calumny and detraction. But the moſt extraordinary conduct was that of Antipater, whoſe artifice and hypocriſy was of the moſt finiſhed kind: for while, on the one hand, he ſuborned practices againſt his brothers, which might make them appear obnoxious in the eyes of Herod, he on the other hand became an advocate with the king in their behalf, endeavouring to palliate what they had done, and, under this double diſguiſe, more effectually to work their ruin. So refined was this diſſimulation of Antipater, and ſo artfully did he work on the paſſions of the king by his wily conduct, that Herod ſoon began to conſider him as the only faithful friend he had in the world; in fact, the only one who wiſhed to ſerve him from motives purely diſintereſted. Impreſſed with this idea of the worthineſs of Antipater's conduct, Herod gave directions to his prime miniſter Ptolemy to conſult with Antipater, and take his opinion in all affairs reſpecting the ſtate of the government: and the latter was no ſooner furniſhed with the neceſſary ſecrets, than he uſed immediately to impart them to his mother; and then they concerted matters together, ſo as to diſpoſe of all affairs as beſt ſuited their own inclinations: by this kind of management the enmity and eſteem of

Antipater's craft and duplicity.

the king were made to anſwer the ſame purpoſe; and, whatever his intentions might be, the intereſt of Antipater and his mother were ſure to be promoted.

On the contrary, Alexander and Ariſtobulus, who were men of ambitious ſpirits, and extremely jealous of their honour, loſt all patience when they reflected on theſe proceedings; nor could they for a moment endure the idea of being degraded ſo exceedingly below their birth, and the being inſulted by thoſe who were in all reſpects their inferiors: nor were their wives agitated with paſſions leſs violent than thoſe which rankled in the breaſts of their huſbands: and Glaphyra conceived a mortal enmity againſt Salome, not only on account of the love that ſhe entertained for her huſband Alexander, but through the pique natural to a female mind, on ſeeing the daughter of Salome, who was married to Ariſtobulus, advanced to a level with herſelf, and qualified to rank with her on all occaſions.

Variance and jealouſies among the women.

Theſe were only a part of the diſtreſſes of Herod's family; for about the ſame time there happened another very unfortunate circumſtance, by which Pheroras, the brother of the king, became engaged in the diſagreeable contention: and this was at length improved to ſuch a degree, that in the end it increaſed to the utmoſt jealouſy and animoſity. Herod applied himſelf to Pheroras, to whom he voluntarily made an offer to give him his daughter in marriage: but the latter excuſed himſelf from accepting the intended favour, alledging as a reaſon this very extraordinary circumſtance, viz. that he was violently in love with his own ſervant-maid, and he could not bring himſelf to think of forming another attachment.

Pheroras refuſes the king's daughter offered him in marriage;

The king was exceedingly mortified at this refuſal, which affected him in much the greater degree, as it came from a brother to whom he had given very uncommon marks of his kindneſs and benevolence; and had even proceeded ſo far in the proof of his fraternal regard, as, in a great degree, to ſhare his government with him. Herod, however, finding all the inſtances of his generoſity thus requited, the propoſed offer he made his brother abſolutely rejected, and his own good intentions fruſtrated; and conceiving that there was no other way of reducing the brother to reaſon, he thereupon offered his daughter to the ſon of Phaſael, his elder brother, to whom, in a ſhort time afterwards, ſhe was married.

but is prevailed on by Ptolemy to conſent to a match with Herod's other daughter Cypras.

Some conſiderable time after this, Herod applied himſelf again to Pheroras, and having repreſented to him the indignity that had been offered him, by his refuſal of the former match, reſolved to give him yet another proof of his affection, by offering him in marriage his other daughter Cypras. Pheroras, having reflected for a while, as if to conſider how he ought to act, went to conſult Ptolemy on the ſubject: when the latter, without heſitation, told him, that if he had the leaſt regard to his own intereſt, he would not act ſo much like a madman, as to refuſe ſuch an offer from his brother and king: which refuſal would not only hazard his future fortune and peace of mind, but would occaſion the loſs of the king's favour, and make him an enemy, who had ſo long been a friend; and all this for the gratification of a lawleſs paſſion for one who was ſo greatly his inferior in point of rank. The counſel given by Ptolemy was too reaſonable for Pheroras not to accede to it: he therefore readily embraced his advice, and going to the king, beſought his pardon; engaging immediately to diſmiſs the woman with whom he was connected, and by whom he had one child. He likewiſe pledged his word of honour to the king, that within a month from that time, he would marry his daughter; offering to bind himſelf by an oath to the ratification of his promiſe; and, likewiſe, that he would never have any farther connection with the woman with whom he had heretofore cohabited.

Pheroras greatly provokes Herod by retracting his promiſe.

In the courſe of this month, however, Pheroras altered his ſentiments, relapſed into his former fit of fondneſs for the girl whom he had kept, and took her home to live with him as before. He went even farther than all this; for at the expiration of the month, he broke his good faith and pledged promiſes with his brother, in the moſt ſhameful manner, without the leaſt regard to all the oaths he had ſworn, and promiſes that he had made. The ſcandalous treatment offered to Herod by this mode of proceeding, inflamed his paſſions to ſo violent a degree, and left him ſo little the maſter of his own actions, that he could not forbear breaking out into the moſt intemperate language againſt his brother, whom he loaded with invectives ſuitable to the enormity of his crime: nor were there wanting a number of perſons malicious enough to lay hold of this circumſtance, which they improved to ſuch a degree, as to produce farther miſchief from an event already ſufficiently unfortunate. In a word, ſuch were the diſorders and uneaſineſſes perpetually ariſing in this unhappy family, that ſcarce a day or an hour paſſed, that did not produce ſomething to inflame the paſſions, pique the jealouſy, or raiſe the reſentments of the neareſt and moſt intimate friends and relations, who had every reaſon to live together in the moſt perfect love and harmony.

Salome intices her daughter to betray her huſband's ſecrets.

One ſtriking inſtance of this occurs in the following circumſtance: So inveterate and rancorous was the hatred of Salome to the ſons of Mariamne, that ſhe would not even permit her own daughter to enjoy, in peace and quietneſs, the conjugal converſation of her huſband Ariſtobulus; but was perpetually endeavouring to extract from her a particular account of the moſt intimate connections that had paſſed between them, in defiance of all the laws of decency and good manners: or if it happened at any time that they had not been on terms of the utmoſt cordiality (a caſe by no means uncommon in the married ſtate), ſhe never failed of doing all in her power to aggravate the differences between them, and making ſerious quarrels of what might have been otherwiſe deemed trifles. By a conſtant procedure of this kind, ſhe dived into the bottom of all their ſecrets; and, as opportunity offered, never failed to increaſe

increaſe the diſcontent which already raged between them in too great a degree. She learnt from her daughter what the brothers had reported of Mariamne in private converſation; what ſevere reflections they made on the conduct of their father; and how they threatened that if ever they came to the throne, the ſons of their father by any other woman ſhould be diſpoſed of to mean and vulgar occupations, as moſt compatible with the inferiority of their education. The daughter likewiſe declared farther, that ſhe had heard the brothers ſay, that if ever they ſhould ſee any of Herod's wives adorned with the jewels that had belonged to their mother Mariamne, they would, without the leaſt degree of ceremony, put them up in ſackcloth, and depoſit them in ſuch ſecurity that they ſhould never again ſee the light.

Salome having made herſelf acquainted with all theſe particulars, was anxious till ſhe had imparted to the king the reſult of her enquiries: ſhe therefore loſt no time in ſeeking for Herod, to whom ſhe communicated every thing that had paſſed. Herod was exceedingly diſguſted with the information that ſhe gave him, but was yet willing to ſee if matters might not be rather adjuſted by amicable means, than carried to diſagreeable extremities. The different branches of the family inſpired the mind of Herod with ſuch a number of jealouſies and whims of various kinds, that at length he became fond of hearing their idle tales and calumnies of each other; and grew to be of ſo very credulous a diſpoſition, that he paid an almoſt implicit confidence to every thing that was told him: however, he contented himſelf, in the preſent inſtance, with ſeverely reprimanding his ſons for the unwarrantable liberties they had taken; and, on their making a proper ſubmiſſion, he was tolerably reconciled.

Pheroras inſinuates that Herod was in love with Glaphyra.

But the domeſtic diſtreſſes in which this unhappy family were involved, were ſtill farther aggravated by the following circumſtance. Pheroras ſought an occaſion of addreſſing himſelf privately to Alexander, the huſband of Glaphyra, to whom he related an odd kind of tale, which he ſaid Salome had told him, the ſubſtance of which was, that Herod had become moſt violently enamoured of Glaphyra, and that the paſſion preyed upon his mind to ſo great a degree, that he found it altogether impoſſible to live at eaſe. Now Alexander, who was by nature of a jealous diſpoſition, and ſubject to the impulſe of the moſt violent paſſions, was inflamed beyond all deſcription at this unexpected piece of information: ſo that, from that time forward, the ſlighteſt circumſtances furniſhed freſh food for his jealouſy; and every little favour that Herod thereafter conferred on Glaphyra, though for the ſake of his ſon, was by him conſtrued into a full proof of the reality of what Pheroras had told him.

Alexander's diſtreſs on this occaſion.

This imagination wrought ſo powerfully on the mind of Alexander, that at length, unable any longer to bear the weight of his own reflections, he repaired immediately to his father, and told him all the circumſtances of which he had been informed by Pheroras, while the tears flowed plentifully down his face as he related the melancholy tale. Previous to this, Herod had met with family misfortunes ſufficient to harrow up the peace of his mind; but this piece of information drove him almoſt to diſtraction. To be traduced by the imputation of ſo enormous a crime, and this by one of his own family too, was ſuch an ungrateful return for all the favours he had conferred upon them, that he could not think of the circumſtance with the leaſt degree of patience. In the firſt emotions of his grief, therefore, he diſpatched a meſſenger to Pheroras, commanding his immediate attendance: and he was no ſooner arrived, but Herod addreſſed him to the following purport:

Herod's paſſionate addreſs to Pheroras.

"Moſt baſe and ungrateful of all the ſons of men, what worſe than diabolical diſpoſition could inſpire thee with the idea of my being guilty of ſo enormous a crime; or by what phrenſy couldſt thou be impelled to report a thing ſo much to my diſhonour? But I perceive the malice of thy deſign to be ſimply this: under pretence of becoming the confidential friend of my ſon, thou haſt ſought to impreſs his mind with ſentiments that may induce him to conſpire againſt the life of his father: for is it poſſible for me to conceive that any ſon, unleſs his actions were reſtrained by the particular providence of heaven, could ſubmit to ſuch an indignity from a father, without ſeeking the proper means of revenge? But there appears to me to be no difference between thy preſent proceeding, and that of putting a ſword into the hands of my ſon, to take away the life of his own father. But let me aſk further, what particular end couldſt thou have in view? For I know that thou art equally an enemy to us both; and that while thou art ſeeking, by fair words to my face, to obtain my friendſhip, thou art calumniating me in my abſence in the baſeſt manner, and endeavouring to repreſent me as one of the moſt abandoned wretches exiſting. Be gone from my ſight, thou moſt ungrateful of men, who haſt been capable of behaving in ſo perfidious a manner to a brother that has been ſo kind to thee. I ſhall ſeek no other revenge than that of leaving thee to the ſtings of thy own conſcience, which will not fail to upbraid thee more effectually than I can do. I will endeavour to obtain the nobleſt ſuperiority over my relations by returning good for the evil they do me, and not follow thy example in returning evil for the good that has been received."

He accuſes Salome of being the author of the ſtory, which ſhe vehemently denies.

Pheroras being thus charged with the infamy of his conduct, in ſo open and explicit a manner, conceived that he had no way of exculpating himſelf, but by tranſferring the blame of the whole affair to Salome, and accuſing her with being, as in truth ſhe was, the original propagator of the ſcandalous ſtory. Now it happened that, at this time, Salome was within hearing of what paſſed: and finding herſelf thus accuſed, ſhe burſt forth into the moſt violent exclamations, attended with correſpondent actions and geſtures, ſaying that the whole tale was

an infamous forgery, a malicious conſpiracy and contrivance, calculated to take away her life, in revenge for the affectionate zeal and regard ſhe had always expreſſed for the preſervation of that of the king, whom ſhe aſſerted to be, at that preſent moment, in a greater degree of danger than at any former period. "Pheroras (ſaid ſhe) is my moſt implacable enemy; for it was through my advice that he abandoned the worthleſs woman on whom he had fixed his affection, and was prevailed upon to marry the king's daughter: and this is the cauſe of his inveterate hatred againſt me." While ſhe was making this ſpeech, ſhe tore her hair, beat her breaſt, and otherwiſe acted as if inſpired by the moſt frantic rage, ſo that it was impoſſible not to conceive her very much in earneſt in what ſhe ſaid.

Embarraſſed ſituation of Pheroras.

During this addreſs to Salome, the pain of Pheroras is not to be expreſſed: he was agitated by a variety of contending paſſions, and involved between two difficulties that ſeemed equally great. He could not, with any degree of confidence, deny what he himſelf had ſaid to Alexander, nor was it in his power to prove what Salome had really ſaid to him. The diſputes between the contending parties were very violent, and continued for a conſiderable time; till at length Herod was tired with their debates, and as the evening began to advance, he diſmiſſed them both, and retired to his ſupper.

Salome's calumny expoſed.

When Herod came to reflect on all the circumſtances attending the above affair, he highly extolled his ſon's mode of proceeding, and conceived that the coming to him ſo frankly with a recital of the whole ſtory, diſplayed ſomething of a candour and integrity of conduct that was praiſeworthy. The effect of the above diſpute was, that Salome was univerſally reputed to have been the author of the calumny; and the king's wives were very ready to propagate the report that this was really the caſe: for her diſpoſition was ſuch, that ſhe had few friends: ſhe was of an unequal temper, fickle and changeable; ſometimes in good humour, and ſometimes violently angry, agreeable to the ruling influence of her paſſions: ſo that the women were very much her enemies; and being diſguſted by her conduct, were perpetually influencing Herod by ſtories to her diſadvantage: and an accident happened at this time extremely favourable to their machinations againſt her.

Syllæus the Arabian, deſiring Salome to wife;

At this period it happened that Obodas was king of Arabia. This prince was diſtinguiſhed by nothing but the ſloth and idleneſs of his diſpoſition. He paid no regard to any kind of public buſineſs; making the gratification of his own eaſe the whole care and conſideration of his life. Now the prime miniſter, who tranſacted all affairs under Obodas, was named Syllæus, who was a man of very diſtinguiſhed abilities, of admirable ſkill and addreſs, in the prime of life, and remarkable for the grace and elegance of his perſon. Syllæus having been ſent to Herod on affairs of public concern, had the honour to ſup with the king, when Salome happened to make one of the company. Struck with her perſon, and the manner of her behaviour, he conceived a particular affection for this princeſs; and having made ſome inquiries reſpecting her, and finding that ſhe was a widow, he ſoon afterwards ventured to addreſs her with a propoſal of marriage.

She favours his addreſs.

Salome, finding that her life grew daily more and more diſagreeable in her preſent ſituation, and being well pleaſed with the perſon and behaviour of Syllæus, took ſome time to reflect on the affair, and then ſeemed well diſpoſed to liſten to the propoſal. From this time forward the parties were frequently in company with each other; and as they became more intimately acquainted, all that paſſed between them ſeemed to be cloſely regarded by others. Their looks, their hints, their actions, and many other little circumſtances, were conſtrued as proofs of the growing amour. All that paſſed was immediately made known to the king; and the ladies of the court entertained themſelves highly with the particulars of the affair. Herod, however, was not fully convinced by what the women ſaid to him, conceiving that malice might have ſome ſhare in their inſinuations. He therefore directed Pheroras to keep a watchful eye on the ſuppoſed lovers; and after a very careful regard to their proceedings, he informed the king that, as far as he was able to form a judgment from the intelligence of looks and ſigns, he had no doubt but that the parties were inſpired with a mutual paſſion for each other. Herod had now no farther doubt of the exiſtence of the fact; and ſoon after this Syllæus took his leave, and departed into Arabia.

Not above two or three months after this departure, Syllæus returned, to tranſact farther public buſineſs with Herod, and took this opportunity to treat with the king on the ſubject of marriage with his ſiſter: repreſenting how much ſuch a match would promote the intereſt of Herod in point of commerce, and that it would likewiſe validate his own right and pretenſions to a conſiderable diſtrict of the country. Herod took ſome little time to conſider of the affair, and then ſent for his ſiſter, of whom he immediately demanded whether the propoſal met with her approbation, and ſhe was willing to marry; to which ſhe inſtantly anſwered in the affirmative. This circumſtance was reported to Syllæus, who was informed that if he would embrace the Jewiſh religion he might marry the lady; but that otherwiſe ſhe could not wed him, conſiſtent with the laws of her country. To this Syllæus replied, that he was bound by ties equally ſtrong; for that if he ſhould depart from the rules and ordinances of his religion, he ſhould be ſtoned to death by the Arabians; and on this declaration the treaty of marriage was at an end.

Syllæus refuſing to embrace the Jewiſh religion, the affair broke off.

From the circumſtances above-mentioned, Pheroras took frequent opportunities of hinting to the king how greatly Salome had expoſed her reputation; but the king's wives were much more free in their reflections; for they made no ſcruple to aſſert that

that the liberties in which Salome had indulged herſelf with Syllæus, would juſtify a charge of incontinence againſt her.

Salome now became very importunate with Herod, to conſent to marry that daughter of his who had been refuſed by Pheroras, to one of her ſons by her late huſband Coſtabarus; and Herod was much inclined to accede to this propoſal: but Pheroras prevented this match, by repreſenting to Herod, that the young man would never forgive him who had been the occaſion of the death of his own father.

Herod's daughter married to the ſon of Pheroras.

Pheroras therefore adviſed Herod to give her in marriage to his own ſon, who was to ſucceed him in the government. This advice was embraced by Herod, who gave his daughter one hundred talents for her marriage portion; and from that time all animoſities between him and Pheroras were obliterated and forgotten, as though they had never exiſted.

The diſorders, however, that reigned in Herod's family, were ſo far from being adjuſted after what had paſſed, that they increaſed day after day, from one degree of diſtreſs to another; and what was only ſcandalous and diſhoneſt in its beginning, turned out to be moſt fatal and tragical in the end. This melancholy truth will be properly evinced in the ſequel. Herod had in his ſervice three handſome young eunuchs, of whoſe fidelity he had the higheſt opinion, and for whom he entertained a ſingular regard. One of theſe acted as his cup-bearer, the ſecond ſerved him in the office of a ſteward, and the third attended as a gentleman of his bed-chamber: but, excluſive of theſe ſervices, he frequently conſulted them reſpecting affairs of ſtate. Now it happened that ſome perſon had given intelligence to Herod, that Alexander had been endeavouring to prevail on theſe eunuchs to betray him, in conſideration of their receiving a ſum of money from him.

Several tortured on Alexander's account.

Herod having acquired this information, had not long reflected on it before he gave orders that they ſhould be put to the torture, in order to extort from them a confeſſion of what had paſſed between them and Alexander. At the firſt they acknowledged that they had been in company together; but denied all knowledge of any treacherous deſign that Alexander might have on the life of his father, declaring that he was wholly innocent, for any thing they knew to the contrary. Now the perſons who were employed to torment them being of Antipater's faction, treated them with ſuch unuſual rigour and ſeverity, that at length, in the extremity of their pain and anguiſh, they made a declaration to the following purport: viz. "That Alexander, who entertained the moſt inveterate hatred to his father, had exerted all his influence to ſeduce them from their allegiance to the king, whom he repreſented as old and worn out, and worthy of no farther notice; and that he ſought to appear younger than he was, by repairing the decays of time by paint and other artifices." They ſaid farther, that Alexander had promiſed, "If they would come over to his intereſt, it ſhould be his particular care to provide for their advancement in a very ſhort time; for he had not only a right to ſucceed to the government as a matter of courſe, but that things were ſo contrived, that it was not in his father's power to prevent the ſucceſſion: for that, excluſive of the prerogative of his title, all things were ſo ordered and diſpoſed as to put him into immediate poſſeſſion of that government to which he had the moſt unqueſtionable pretences: that the officers of the army, and the king's friends, had formed a conſiderable party in his favour; and that they were determined, at the hazard of their lives and fortunes, to ſupport him in the plan he had laid down for his advancement."

Herod much alarmed.

Herod was no ſooner made acquainted with the ſubſtance of this confeſſion, than he was ſeized with a moſt violent fit of rage and trembling: rage on account of the contempt, and trembling on account of the threats that were expreſſed in it. He remained for a while in a moſt diſtracted ſtate of mind, and in utter uncertainty how to behave in caſe of immediate ſurprize: he doubted whether he ſhould endeavour to avoid the danger that threatened him, or bravely defy it. After a long deliberation, he came to a reſolution not to bring the matter to a judicial enquiry, but to employ ſpies and informers to bring him ſuch intelligence as he thought it imported him be acquainted with.

His extravagant ſuſpicions

Herod was now in ſuch a ſtate of mind, that whoſoever he ſuſpected he conſequently hated; and his ſuſpicions frequently fell on thoſe who did not deſerve them, as well as on thoſe that did; for he conceived that his own ſecurity depended on the extent of his ſuſpicions. In a word, his jealouſies were without end, and without bound. With regard to thoſe who were nearly related to him, he conceived the greater apprehenſion of them, as of thoſe who had it in their power to do him more important miſchief than ſtrangers could. As to perſons with whom he was wholly unconnected, nothing farther was neceſſary to effect their certain deſtruction than the ſlighteſt hint from the mouth of an informer; for the moſt trifling circumſtance made him apprehenſive for his perſonal ſafety.

Confuſion among the ſervants.

His domeſtic ſervants were in a ſituation ſtill more pitiable than all his other ſubjects: for ſuch was the king's jealouſy of them, that the only way they had to ſave their own lives was by traducing each other. Indeed it frequently happened that their lives were thus preſerved: but thoſe that had been ſucceſsful in this practice, never failed to draw on themſelves a full meaſure of envy and deteſtation; and it generally happened, that in the end they ſuffered by the means they had employed to ruin others, falling ſacrifices to arts ſimilar to thoſe by which their companions had been deſtroyed. With regard to private animoſities between man and man, they frequently informed againſt each other, and each fell a ſacrifice to the malice of the other. It ſometimes happened that the king was ſtruck with a remorſe of conſcience, for being the occaſion of the

death of ſo many innocent perſons, without even the ceremony of trial, or the form of conviction: but notwithſtanding all his feelings on the occaſion, he was perpetually recurring to the ſame practice, and repeatedly committing the crime which his conſcience condemned. In the iſſue of this whole buſineſs, however, there was an appearance of equity in Herod's conduct: for after having deſtroyed ſo many perſons in violation of the common rights of humanity, he had the juſtice to direct that the falſe witneſſes themſelves ſhould be puniſhed in the moſt exemplary manner.

Diſtracted ſtate of Herod's court.

The court of Herod was at this time in ſuch a ſtate of diſtraction and conſternation as it is not in the power of language to deſcribe: a number of the king's friends and moſt intimate confidents were baniſhed from the royal preſence, and even from the palace. They who were diſmiſſed were the men who were reputed to have merited more from Herod than any other perſons had done; and among theſe were Andromachus and Gemellus, who had long been ranked among the number of his favourites. Nor were the pretenſions of theſe miniſters ill founded; for they had ſerved their ſovereign both abroad and at home, having been diſtinguiſhed as embaſſadors, and as members of his council. They had likewiſe had the honour of ſuperintending the education of his ſons; and the diſcharge of various other important and confidential truſts had been committed to them; in all which they gave indiſputable proofs of their fidelity. Andromachus was diſcarded by Herod, on account of the affection that Alexander manifeſted towards his ſon Demetrius: and he then diſmiſſed Gemellus, on the pretence of the regard he had to Alexander, to whom he had heretofore been a kind of preceptor and governor, and had attended him when he went to Rome, as the companion of his travels. It is not very reaſonable to conclude but that Herod's ſeverity towards Andromachus and Gemellus would have been carried to a greater length, but that the high reputation they held with the people kept him in a kind of awe, and operated as a reſtraint on his conduct: for theſe reaſons he thought it prudent to content himſelf with diſmiſſing them from their ſtations, and commanding them to leave the court; that, in their abſence, he might be more at liberty to act without controul, and indulge himſelf in all the favourite wiſhes of his heart.

Antipater the chief fomenter of theſe diſaſters.

Antipater was the principal author and contriver of all theſe unaccountable proceedings; for obſerving that Herod was filled with ſuſpicions, and alarmed by his fears, he endeavoured, by a crafty compliance with his diſpoſition, to inſinuate himſelf into his councils; which being done, he inſtigated him to acts of cruelty and inhumanity, conſtantly inculcating to him, as an infallible maxim of ſtate, the abſolute neceſſity of working the deſtruction of thoſe who were poſſeſſed of power to do him any injury: and on the principles of this ſavage policy it was that Herod proceeded; for he had no ſooner diſmiſſed Andromachus, and ſuch of his friends and adherents as had the honour and reſolution to ſpeak the true ſentiments of their minds, than he gave orders that all the partizans of Alexander ſhould be put to the torture, and examined as to what plots or contrivances they were privy to: but theſe died under the ſeverity of their ſufferings, as it was impoſſible for them to confeſs what they were totally unacquainted with.

Alexander's friends cruelly tortured.

This conſtancy and uniformity of behaviour being interpreted into a contumacious obſtinacy, their torments were greatly increaſed, and much wonder was expreſſed that ſuch variety of aggravated puniſhments ſhould not be able to extort from them the ſlighteſt confeſſion, or even a hint that expreſſed the leaſt diſloyalty towards their ſovereign. Hereupon Antipater conceived a new method of ſolving the difficulty, and intimated that they conſidered it rather as a point of honour to deny than to confeſs the truth; as by ſuch confeſſion they ſhould violate that faith and good confidence that had been repoſed in them by their friends. He therefore alledged this as a reaſon why others ſhould be put to the torture, and pretended not to entertain the leaſt doubt but that, in the end, ſome one would be found that would confeſs the truth of what they wanted to be informed of.

Information, on torture, againſt Alexander.

At length it happened that a poor wretch, oppreſſed with the weight of torture, and ſinking under the extremity of his pain, declared, that when the people extalled Alexander as a man of uncommon elegance, an excellent marksman, and one poſſeſſed of other ſuperior qualifications, he had frequently heard him declare, that he had every reaſon to conſider theſe natural endowments rather as a misfortune than an advantage to him; for that his father's diſpoſition was ſuch, that he hated him for his very perfections: that when they were talking together he was obliged to ſtoop, leſt he ſhould appear taller than the king; and that when they were engaged in hunting, he was compelled to refrain from ſhooting at the mark, for that his father bore ſo great an antipathy to him, that he could neither endure to ſee him excel in any action, nor hear him praiſed for ſuch excellence. This pretended diſcovery being made, the torments of the poor ſufferer were reſpited for a while; and then he proceeded with his narrative, relating that Alexander and Ariſtobulus had on a former occaſion entered in a conſpiracy againſt the life of their father, when he was out on a party of hunting; and that it had been determined between them, that if they ſhould be ſucceſsful in their enterpriſe, Alexander was immediately to repair to Rome, to claim to ſucceed Herod in the government. A number of letters were likewiſe produced, written by Alexander to his brother, the general contents of which were a complaint againſt his father for giving to Antipater an eſtate in land, valued at two hundred talents annually.

Herod's ſuſpicions of his childrens guilt confirmed.

Theſe circumſtances laid together, operated ſo forcibly on the mind of Herod, that he deemed them to be ſufficient evidence to confirm that ſuſpicion which he had heretofore

fore entertained of his children. He now, therefore, grew outrageously angry with his son Alexander, whom he immediately ordered to be sent to prison: yet it is not supposed that, in his cooler moments, he himself gave credit to the information he had received: for it is inconsistent with common sense to suppose that the sons could have any interest in the destruction of their father: or supposing his ruin to be once compleated, what favourable expectations could they form from making a journey to Rome, after so detestable a parricide? I confess that there might exist somewhat of a turbulent and ambitious disposition in the young people, respecting the favours that had been heaped upon Antipater; but I cannot think that there was any farther ground for complaint.

Alexander confined in prison.

But as Alexander was at this time under confinement, and the public were unacquainted with the cause of it, Herod did not think himself in a state of absolute security, without taking some step that might seem to convince the world that there was a plausible reason for his imprisonment: and, thus situated, he gave orders, that divers persons of quality, who were the warm friends and adherents of Alexander, should be put to the torture, and afterwards to death; which was done with a view of insinuating the guilt of Alexander; but it did not answer the desired effect, for the parties died without making any confession.

At this time the whole palace was in the utmost distress and confusion: nothing was to be seen but tumult, nothing heard but the voice of terror and lamentation.

Confession extorted from another.

It now happened that a certain young man, whose strength and resolution had been totally exhausted by the torture, related a story, importing that Alexander had written a letter to some of his friends at Rome, requesting that Cæsar might be informed that a conspiracy against him had been set on foot; and that if he were but commissioned to attend the emperor at Rome, he would make an ample discovery of the circumstances; for that the interest of Rome had been abandoned by his father, who was engaged in treaty with Mithridates, the king of the Parthians; adding likewise, that he had given orders for the preparation of a poison at Askalon, which was actually in readiness. Herod had so much faith in this improbable story, as to take the whole for a matter of fact; and he accordingly gave orders for an enquiry to be made after the supposed poison: but after the most diligent search, no such thing could possibly be found. All this time Herod was surrounded by a number of flatterers, who endeavoured to sooth his afflictions, and tried to convince him that his conduct was regulated by the sentiments of justice, and the measures of prudence.

Resolution and constancy of Alexander.

Mean time Alexander was so far from sinking under the weight of his oppressions, that he utterly disdained either to deny the charge that was exhibited against him, or seek to defend the propriety of his own conduct. This he did, partly to inspire his father with a detestation of the violent outrages that had been committed; and partly to prevent his listening to such idle and improbable tales as had lately been told him: and he privately determined that if his father should still persist to give credit to the absurd reports that were daily propagated, neither himself nor his family should want ample food to exercise their cruelty. Hereupon he dispatched to Herod four pieces of writing, in which he informed him that there could be no kind of necessity for the putting any of his people to farther torture, in order to make them answer such questions as might be put to them, by way of discovering the truth: for he might rely upon it, as an indisputable fact, that there was a conspiracy in agitation against his life; and that Pheroras, and several other persons of whom he had not the least suspicion, were among the principal conspirators. He farther informed the king, that Salome had stolen in secrecy to his bed one night, and had lain with him; absolutely insisting that she would not be rejected. He likewise acquainted Herod that the people in general were clearly of opinion that it was absolutely necessary that he should fall a sacrifice to their resentments; without which neither happiness nor freedom were to be expected: and he named Ptolemy and Saphinius (two persons in whom Herod placed the most implicit confidence) as principally concerned in the conspiracy.

Several sentenced to death without trial or conviction.

By this time the court of Herod was distracted with such a variety of turbulent passions, that it had more the resemblance of a mad-house, or a den of wild-beasts, than the habitation of rational creatures. Such was the strange variety of their dispositions, that they were one day in the utmost appearance of friendship, endeavouring to exhibit all possible tokens of mutual regard; and on the following, prepared to destroy each other without the least grounds of provocation. Nor, when their passions were excited, was time given for enquiry or proof of guilt; for the punishment constantly preceded the examination. Some of these unhappy people were confined in chains; others were sacrificed to the immediate impulse of malicious jealousy; and a third sort remained in a painful suspence and despair, than which death itself could not have been more intolerable. Nothing now remained in the palace that might indicate the splendor of its former state: but in the place of that gaiety and elegance by which it had been heretofore distinguished, there was only to be seen the most melancholy proofs of dejection of mind, and a weight of sorrow that admitted of no consolation.

Herod's miserable condition.

Herod himself was at this time so totally abandoned to despair, that he grew as weary of his own life, as the cruelty of his conduct had rendered others of theirs. He had not a single person near him in whom he could confide: his present situation was miserable beyond the power of language to describe, and his future prospects were replete with intolerable horror and confusion. It was impossible for him to take any rest. His sleeping

ing and his waking hours were equally attended by the moſt diſagreeable ſentiments, and frightful imaginations. At one time he uſed to conceive that his ſon was planting a dagger at his heart; and at others he would be impreſſed with ſentiments if poſſible ſtill more ſhocking. To ſum up the whole of his diſtreſs in a ſingle phraſe, his life was a continued ſcene of torment and diſtraction.

CHAP. XI.

ARCHELAUS pays a Viſit to HEROD, to reconcile him to ALEXANDER. ARCHELAUS mediates the matter with great Skill and Addreſs. PHERORAS aſks Pardon of HEROD, who is thereupon reconciled to him. HEROD highly ſenſible of the good Offices of ARCHELAUS. Goes to ROME, and effects a Reconciliation between ARCHELAUS and TITUS.

Shrewd management of Archelaus to effect a reconciliation between Herod and his ſon Alexander.

WHILE Herod continued in this extreme torment and anxiety of mind, Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, conceived it would be conſiſtent with his duty, and becoming his character, both as a relation and a friend, to pay him a viſit, and to exert his good offices towards the effecting a reconciliation between Herod and his daughter and ſon-in-law, for whom he entertained the moſt unbounded good-will, and the ſincereſt affection. He had heard that affairs went very unhappily in the family; and, on his arrival, he found that report had fallen ſhort of the truth: but he conceived it would have but a ſtrange appearance to quarrel with Herod for the impropriety of his conduct, and for his giving credit to ſo many ridiculous ſtories, on the mere co[illegible]lence of idle report. He thought if he began to conteſt the matter with him, it would look like reproaching him for his conduct, and be productive of more miſchief than benefit. For theſe reaſons, inſtead of levelling a direct cenſure at the behaviour of Herod, he artfully inſinuated that Alexander was to blame. The king, he ſaid, had acted in all reſpects conſiſtent with the laws of honour and juſtice; and that, for his own part, he would immediately diſſolve the marriage, and never afterwards own Glaphyra for his daughter, if he ſhould diſcover that ſhe was acquainted with the plot, and did not inſtantly make the circumſtances of it known.

His reſentment is aſſuaged.

This ſeeming warmth on the part of Archelaus, and his apparent zeal for the vindication of Herod, brought the latter to a proper recollection, to a ſenſe of the impropriety of his conduct, and, by degrees, revived in his mind all thoſe tender ſenſations conſiſtent with his character as a father. Before this alteration the king would have deemed any man his enemy that but ſpoke a ſingle word in favour of Alexander: but now, that his nature was ſoftened by hearing what Archelaus ſaid againſt him, he burſt into tears, begged that he would not ſay any more to his diſadvantage, nor entertain the leaſt thought of breaking off the match; or be farther enraged at the inconſiderate conduct of the young man. When Archelaus found that he had ſuch an influence on Herod as to pacify the rage of his mind, he artfully ſhifted the diſcourſe, palliating in the beſt manner he could the miſtakes that might have been committed by Alexander; attributing his conduct to bad advice, and the evil example of the company he kept. He ſaid that the young man was of an eaſy, yielding diſpoſition, but he had never found that there was any thing of malice in his nature: he inſinuated that he might have been miſled and corrupted; and, during the whole of his addreſs, obliquely hinted that Pheroras was principally to blame.

Pheroras requeſts the mediation of Archelaus in his behalf.

By this time Pheroras, having reflected on his ſituation, was ſenſible that he had totally loſt the good opinion of Herod; and conſidering that Archelaus was the moſt proper perſon he could apply to for the effecting of a reconciliation, he dreſſed himſelf in a ſuit of deep mourning, and went to him with the air of a moſt penitent petitioner, beſeeching him, in all humility and ſubmiſſion, to intercede for him to the king.

Archelaus did not fail to treat him with all the reſpect due to his rank; but informed him, that greater difficulty would, probably, attend the removal of Herod's diſpleaſure than he might poſſibly conceive: yet if he might preſume to adviſe him as a friend, he would recommend that he ſhould go and make a proper ſubmiſſion to his brother, and humbly ſolicit his pardon, having firſt confeſſed himſelf the original cauſe of all the misfortunes that at preſent attended the family. A confeſſion and behaviour of this kind, he ſaid, would very probably pave the way to a perfect reconciliation.

Herod reconciled to Alexander and Pheroras.

Pheroras acted in purſuance of this advice, and the ſucceſs anſwered the moſt ſanguine expectation; for Alexander was exculpated from all ſuſpicion of the crime alledged againſt him; and Archelaus ſpeaking in behalf of Pheroras, the king was likewiſe reconciled to him. The obligations that Herod now conceived himſelf under to Archelaus, made ſo ſenſible an impreſſion on his mind, that he deemed him one of the moſt valuable friends he had in the world. Things being thus happily adjuſted, Archelaus returned into Cappadocia, loaded with valuable preſents, and pleaſed that the purpoſe of his voyage had been crowned with ſucceſs equal to his warmeſt expectations. It was now determined that Herod ſhould repair to Rome, in order to lay before Cæſar an account of the preſent ſtate of his family; as he had formerly written to the emperor on its diſtracted ſituation: he therefore accompanied Archelaus as far as Antioch, where he reconciled a difference that had ſubſiſted between him and Titus, the governor of Syria; and then returned into Judæa.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

The TRACHONITES revolt, and a few of them escape into ARABIA, the main Body of them being overthrown by the King's Troops. HEROD makes an Incursion into TRACHON, and applies to SATURNINUS and VOLUMNIUS to deliver up the Rebels. They comply with his Requisition.

AFTER Herod had been at Rome, dispatched his business there, and was returned back again, to discharge the affairs of his own government, a war broke out with the Arabians, which took its rise from the following circumstance. It hath been mentioned in a former part of this work, that Cæsar took the government of the province of Trachon from Zenodorus, and bestowed it on Herod. Now the Trachonites, finding they were no longer at liberty to carry on their former trade of robbery, turned their thoughts to planting and tilling of the ground; but this course of life did not agree with their dispositions; and being but very indifferent husbandmen, they reaped neither much pleasure nor advantage from this new kind of business.

The Trachonites revolt;

For a considerable time after they were under the government of Herod, he so managed, very much to his credit, as to maintain tolerable good order among them; and prevented their making those barbarous incursions on their neighbours, which they had been heretofore accustomed to do: but soon after Herod had taken his departure into Italy, to recommend Antipater, and accuse Alexander, a report was spread that he was dead; whereupon the Trachonites revolted from their allegiance, and began to live in the same irregular manner they had heretofore done; but the king's troops being called forth to suppress them, they were soon subdued and dispersed; only about forty of the principal people among them made their escape, and fled into Arabia for protection. Now

and are received and protected by Syllæus.

Syllæus being in Arabia, and not being as yet reconciled to the circumstance of Salome having been refused him for a wife, he received and entertained these Trachonites, allowed them a safe retreat, and gave them a strong and well fortified place in which to reside. From this retirement they frequently issued, infesting the countries of Judæa and Cœlo-Syria, and carrying off numbers of cattle, and considerable booty to their lurking places: nor was any step taken to prevent their proceeding in these outrages and depredations. Herod, on his return from Rome, being informed of the transactions of these notorious robbers; and considering that he could not, with any propriety, interfere to punish those who were under the protection of the Arabians, he was extremely enraged at the circumstance; and without allowing himself much time for reflection on the indignity that had been offered him, he made an incursion into the country of the Trachonites, and put whole families of those people to the sword without distinction. Hereupon the rest of the people of Trachon were transported with the most violent rage; and as the laws of their country required that they should not let such an attack on their brethren pass unrevenged, they bid defiance to all opposition, and to every species of danger, making perpetual inroads upon Herod, who could never remain unmolested by their attacks.

Herod requires the revolters to be delivered up.

Thus circumstanced, Herod made application to Saturninus and Volumnius, the two governors of the Arabian provinces under Cæsar, requesting that they would deliver up the fugitives into his hands, that they might be punished according to their demerits. The Trachonites were so irritated and enraged by this demand, that they assembled in a body, not less than a thousand in number, and then dividing into smaller parties, ranged from place to place, ravaging the towns and country, and killing and destroying where-ever they came; so that these encounters, though they might properly be called only skirmishes, had all the fatal effects of a devouring war.

Herod still continued to insist that the thieves should be delivered up; and on this occasion he likewise demanded the payment of sixty talents, which he had lent to Obodas, by the hands of Syllæus, the payment of which had been due a considerable time.

The Roman governors order the fugitives to be delivered up to Herod.

By this time Syllæus had taken upon himself, through usurpation, the government which had been in the hands of Obodas; and he not only hesitated to pay the sixty talents above-mentioned, but absolutely insisted that not any of the thieves had taken refuge in Arabia. Hereupon Saturninus and Volumnius directed that the fugitives on both sides should be immediately given up, and that the money which was due to Herod should be paid within the space of thirty days. The orders discovered the treachery of the conduct of Syllæus, for a great number of the free-booters had taken refuge with the Arabians, while Herod had not so much as a single Arabian under his protection.

CHAP. XIII.

SYLLÆUS refuses to deliver the Men, or pay the Money. HEROD obtains Permission to do himself Justice. He takes the Castle of REPTA by Assault. The Defeat of the ARABIANS. Their General, NACEBUS, slain. HEROD marches to TRACHON, with Three Thousand IDUMÆANS.

Syllæus breaks his covenant, and repairs to Rome.

AT the expiration of thirty days, when the money ought to have been paid, Herod demanded it, and likewise insisted on the giving up of the fugitives; but Syllæus would not abide by his agreement; refused to comply

comply with either of these demands, and immediately proceeded on a voyage to Cæsar. Herod finding this want of fidelity on the part of the Arabians, and perceiving that he could not recover his right by an equitable mode of proceeding, applied to Saturninus and Volumnius, for permission to do himself justice by the law of arms: and those governors having complied with his request, he immediately collected an army together, proceeded into Arabia, and marched seven stages in the course of three days. At length he arrived at a castle which bore the name of Repta, to which the robbers had retreated. He lost no time in assaulting this place, which he was fortunate enough to take on the first attack. The conquest being made, he demolished the several fortifications, but abstained from doing any farther mischief to the inhabitants. While these transactions were going forward, Nacebus, the general of the Arabians, marched to the relief of his countrymen; and was no sooner arrived than a battle ensued, in which very few, if any, of the troops of Herod were lost; but the Arabian general was slain on the spot, together with five and twenty of his people; and the rest of them were dispersed, and compelled to seek their safety in flight.

Herod's expedition into Arabia.

Herod having now revenged himself on the free-booters, for the insults that had been offered him, he proceeded to Trachon, with an army of three thousand Idumæans, in order to keep the irregulars in those parts within the bounds of subjection. To justify himself with respect to the above-mentioned proceeding, Herod dispatched a faithful narrative of the facts to the Roman governors presiding in Phœnicia, in which he acquainted them that in his late battle with the rebellious Arabians, he had done nothing but what he was authorised to do by full permission: and the governors having made an enquiry into the affair, found that Herod's allegations were consistent with truth.

He overawes the free-booters, by an army.

CHAP. XIV.

Artful Conduct of SYLLÆUS at ROME. CÆSAR writes a menacing Letter to HEROD. Account of the Insolence of the ARABIANS. HEROD's Embassadors are denied Audience of CÆSAR. SYLLÆUS endeavours to engross the Power of ARETAS. This latter sends Embassadors, with Letters and Presents to CÆSAR, who likewise refuses Audience to these Embassadors. NICOLAUS of DAMASCUS sent on a third Embassy, by HEROD.

Syllæus ingratiates himself with the emperor, and accuses Herod.

THE above is a fair representation of the truth: but the Arabians sent a very different account of the particulars to Syllæus at Rome, in which, by disguising some circumstances, and magnifying others, they made the whole appear contrary to the matter of fact. Now Syllæus had by this time so artfully insinuated himself, that he had obtained a personal knowledge of the emperor.

As Syllæus was walking one day before the royal palace, he received a packet of letters by an express, containing the account above-mentioned. When he had read the dispatches, he immediately changed his cloaths, put on a suit of deep mourning, and went away to Cæsar. Having obtained admittance, he told his melancholy story, which was interrupted by frequent tears and lamentations. The substance of it was, that Herod had entered Arabia with a large army; that he had overturned the form of government, and spread devastation throughout the country; that he had slain on the spot no less than two thousand five hundred noble Arabians, and that their general, Nacebus, who was his friend and relation, was among the slain; and that he had plundered the castle of Repta of an immense treasure which had been there deposited. He likewise represented that this arose from the advantage that Herod had taken of the weakness and neglect of Obodas, who was not furnished with a proper number of troops to make opposition to him, nor, during his (Syllæus') absence, had a general fit to take the command of those with which he was provided. Syllæus having mentioned these particulars, said farther, that he never should have thought of undertaking his present journey to Rome, but in the full confidence that Cæsar would make ample provision for all his people; and he boasted that if himself had been upon the spot, Herod should have severely repented the rashness of his undertaking.

His consummate subtlety, and scandalous relation.

Cæsar being exceedingly unhappy in his mind, on account of these unfortunate circumstances, made a number of inquiries among the friends of Herod, as well as among his own friends who had lately come out of Syria, demanding to know if Herod had marched his army any where without the limits of his own jurisdiction. These questions being answered in the affirmative, Cæsar entertained no doubt of the truth of all the rest that Syllæus had told him. He therefore, without farther hesitation, sent an angry and menacing letter to Herod, which was directed in the following singular manner: "To Herod, formerly my friend, hereafter my subject."

Cæsar sends a menacing letter to Herod

At the same time Syllæus wrote letters to the Arabians, informing them of the particulars of what had passed. When the Arabians, on the information of these letters, found that Herod was in disgrace with Cæsar, their insolence exceeded all bounds, and they became much more untractable than they had heretofore been. They absolutely refused to deliver up the malefactors, or even to pay their debts; nay, they went farther; they denied the payment of their rents, and refused to discharge all those common obligations which, by the mutual faith of society, one man owes to another. They likewise took advantage of the particular situation of affairs, and joined with the

Insolent conduct of the Trachonites to Herod.

the Arabian ravagers againſt the garriſons of Idumæa which belonged to Herod. They deſtroyed, pillaged, and plundered where-ever they went; and this more from motives of revenge, than from thoſe of advantage.

He ſends to Cæſar, who rejects his embaſſy.

Herod having now loſt the friendſhip of Cæſar, was compelled to ſubmit to thoſe and many other indignities; for by this time his credit began to fail him, and he was abandoned by his natural courage. On two ſeveral occaſions did he ſend embaſſadors to Cæſar, to endeavour to exculpate himſelf on the charges againſt him; but the firſt time the emperor refuſed to admit the embaſſadors to his preſence, and on the ſecond application he would not receive their diſpatches. During this time Herod had every thing to apprehend from the arts of Syllæus, who ſought all opportunities of turning to his own benefit the anxiety of mind in which he found Cæſar involved. Syllæus, fortunately for his own purpoſes, was near enough to Cæſar to take every advantage of the change of his diſpoſition; and finding that he was credulous and eaſy to be wrought upon, he diſpoſed him to give ſuch directions as were conſiſtent with his own intereſt: and, excluſive of all this, Syllæus had a proſpect of affairs of ſtill farther importance.

Obodas dying, is ſucceeded by Aretas in the kingdom of Arabia.

In the interim king Obodas departed this life, and was ſucceeded by Æneas, who took the name of Aretas. Syllæus was no ſooner informed of this circumſtance, than he exerted himſelf in a ſingular manner to get Aretas turned out of his office, and to engroſs the whole power to himſelf; and the methods he made uſe of were the propagation of calumnious reports, the giving bribes at court, and the making large promiſes to Cæſar. What principally encouraged him to an attempt of this kind was, a diſguſt that Cæſar had conceived to Aretas for entering on the adminiſtration of government without obtaining his conſent, or even making him acquainted with his intentions.

The embaſſy and preſents of Aretas rejected by Cæſar.

Aretas, the new king, now ſent embaſſadors to Cæſar, to pay his compliments of reſpect to the emperor, and to carry him letters, and preſents of large value; one of which, in particular, was a crown of gold, which had been purchaſed at an enormous price. The letters thus tranſmitted contained a direct charge againſt Syllæus, for having uſurped the authority of Obodas in his life-time, and the cauſing him to be poiſoned: he was likewiſe charged with violating the chaſtity of the wives of the Arabians; and with obtaining large ſums of money, in order to pave the way to his pretenſions to the government. But as Cæſar had heretofore denied audience to the embaſſadors of Herod, ſo now he treated theſe in the ſame manner, rejecting their preſents, and ſending them away without an anſwer to their diſpatches.

Herod ſends Nicolaus of Damaſcus on a third embaſſy to Cæſar

While matters were in this ſituation at Rome, the affairs of Judæa and Arabia grew every day more perplexed and diſagreeable: a general confuſion enſued, and there was no one who had ability or authority to allay the ferment. One of the kings was yet inſecure in the poſſeſſion of his new government, and the other was very far from being maſter of his ſubjects: for ſuch was the ſituation of Herod, that he had it not in his power to do himſelf juſtice, without offering an offence to Cæſar; ſo that he lay under a neceſſity of ſubmitting to all that might be offered to him: at length, however, being reduced to the moſt diſagreeable extremity, he came to a final reſolution to exert all his own intereſt, and that of his friends, with Cæſar, and determined to try the event of a third embaſſy to Rome; and Nicolaus was appointed embaſſador on this occaſion.

CHAP. XV.

The Animoſities in HEROD's Family increaſe. Duplicity of EURYCLES. He obtains Money from HEROD and ARCHELAUS. EURYCLES baniſhed from LACEDÆMON. Credulity and Jealouſy of HEROD, and their dreadful Effects. The Brothers, and the Witneſſes againſt them, conveyed to JERICHO. The Witneſſes ſtoned by the People. ARISTOBULUS betrayed by SALOME. HEROD ſends OLYMPUS and VOLUMNIUS with LETTERS to ARCHELAUS. His Anſwer. CÆSAR's Reconciliation with HEROD. A formal Accuſation againſt SYLLÆUS. SYLLÆUS charged by NICOLAUS, who defends HEROD. SYLLÆUS binds himſelf by an Oath, but forfeits his Word. He is ordered to be put to Death. A Letter of Condolence written by CÆSAR to HEROD.

Great diſſenſions in Herod's family.

THE family of Herod had been at all times rendered exceedingly unhappy by its inteſtine commotions; a caſe by no means uncommon in courts: but at preſent the animoſities ran higher than at any former period, and were principally occaſioned by the following circumſtance: There was a certain Lacedæmonian, named Eurycles, a man of noble deſcent, but of the moſt malicious turn of mind; prone to acts of ſenſuality, and vain beyond the power of language to deſcribe; but he was ſo conſummate an hypocrite, that it was not an eaſy matter to diſcern that he poſſeſſed any of theſe faults. Now Eurycles, by that admirable addreſs of which he was maſter, had inſinuated himſelf into an acquaintance with Herod, with whom he interchanged preſents, and to whom he rendered ſeveral good offices in the houſe of Antipater. By theſe means, and by being frequently in company with Alexander, he became familiarly acquainted with that prince alſo. Now Eurycles would be frequently hinting what an extraordinary degree of friendſhip there ſubſiſted between him and Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, and how profound a reſpect

Eurycles inſinuates himſelf into the friendſhip of Herod, &c.

ſpect the latter entertained for Glaphyra. Thus, by rendering himſelf an entertaining companion to every one about him, and by acting the part of an eaſy and general friend, he had an opportunity of hearing all that was ſaid, and ſeeing every thing that was done; ſo that he failed not of picking up a number of idle ſtories, which he applied to his own purpoſes whenever he found it convenient. In a word, he had ſo happy a method of applying himſelf to the paſſions, and ſo grateful a mode of complimenting the perſons of thoſe with whom he had to do, that to whomſoever he addreſſed himſelf, he was artful enough to perſuade the party that his or her intereſt was the chief object of his wiſhes, and that all the correſpondence he held with others was ſimply with a view to the ſervice and gratification of the perſon with whom he was converſing.

By a mode of addreſs thus artfully managed, he ſo far inſinuated himſelf into the eſteem and affection of Alexander, that he placed the utmoſt reliance on him, and confided in him as the keeper of all his moſt important ſecrets, and thought him the only man in the world that he could truſt in the full aſſurance that he ſhould not be betrayed. In this perfect confidence of friendſhip he related to him the whole hiſtory of his misfortunes; made him acquainted with the unkindneſs of his father; informed him of the death of his mother, and the credit that Antipater had obtained with the king. He ſaid that the oppreſſion of mind which he laboured under was become altogether too ſevere to be endured; and that the family averſion was at length arrived at that height, that he could no longer eat or converſe with his children.

Alexander entertained no kind of doubt but that the ſecrets would be ſafely depoſited in the breaſt of his friend: but Eurycles was no ſooner maſter of any part of the ſubject, than he went to Antipater, to whom he related, from time to time, all that had paſſed in the converſation. When he communicated theſe circumſtances to Antipater, he uſed to ſay, "It is true theſe matters are no immediate concern of mine; but in an affair which may be attended with ſuch dangerous conſequences, I cannot but think it my duty as a friend to adviſe you to conſult your own ſafety, and have a cautious eye on Alexander; for I have obſerved that he hath of late aſſumed a very great degree of confidence, ſo that he thinks it no longer neceſſary to diſguiſe the ſentiments of his mind; but, without any kind of ſcruple, declares, in the moſt explicit language, the malice that rankles at his heart, and openly avows the deſign that he has entertained to the prejudice of his father."

He obtains rewards of Antipater, Herod, and Archelaus.

This diſcourſe of Eurycles gave Antipater ſo high an idea of the ſincerity of his eſteem, and the diſintereſtedneſs of his friendſhip, that he acknowledged the favour by making him ſome preſents of great value; and having reflected on the nature and importance of the information, he came to a reſolution of acquainting the king with what he had heard, and taking his opinion on the ſubject. He therefore introduced Eurycles to Herod, who was already ſo prepoſſeſſed againſt Alexander, that it was no difficult matter to make him believe any thing to his diſadvantage: ſo that partly through his former prejudices, and partly from the hints of ſeveral circumſtances that were thrown out in the courſe of this converſation, his hatred to him became more violent and implacable than ever; a circumſtance with which Alexander was ſoon afterwards made acquainted. Herod conceiving that the good office which had been done him demanded a recompence, made a preſent of fifty talents to Eurycles, in gratification of his trouble; and this the latter had no ſooner received, than, in the true ſpirit of conſummate hypocriſy, he went immediately to Archelaus, to whom he extolled to the ſkies the virtues of his ſon Alexander; nor did he forget to hint that he had done himſelf the honour to endeavour to adjuſt the diſputes betwixt him and his father; and that he thought himſelf extremely happy in the ſucceſs with which his negociations had been attended. The artfulneſs of this addreſs ſo pleaſed Archelaus, that he likewiſe preſented him with a ſum of money; and being thus enriched by the ſucceſs of his villainies, he departed with his booty before there was an opportunity of detecting the impoſture. By this time Eurycles had retired into his own country, where he ſtill followed the ſame artful courſe of life, till at length a diſcovery being made of the iniquity of his conduct, he was brought to juſtice, and baniſhed from Lacedæmon.

The averſion of Herod to his ſons increaſes.

By this time the paſſions of Herod were wrought to ſuch a height, that he was not diſpoſed, as he formerly had been, to be ſatisfied with only lending an ear to the calumnious reports againſt his ſons, or to wait with patience till the voice of ſlander reached him in its common courſe; but his ſuſpicions were of ſuch a nature that they precluded the neceſſity of any one executing the office of a tale-bearer; and he made ſo many particular enquiries and ſcrutinies in ſearch of his own unhappineſs, as rendered it unneceſſary for any other perſon to take the trouble of carrying accuſations to him. Notwithſtanding this diſpoſition, however, he was ſtill as eager as ever to liſten to any informations againſt the brothers, from whatever quarter they were brought; nor did any thing afford him ſo high a ſatisfaction as the lending an attentive ear to theſe malicious ſtories.

The affairs of the family were at length in ſuch an unhappy ſituation, that the only ambition and contention ſeemed to be, who ſhould be the author of the greateſt degree of miſchief. The more malice that was evinced with regard to the ſons, the more acceptable the intelligence appeared to be to the father; and in all theſe informations the chief pretence ſeemed to be a generous concern for the ſafety of the king.

At this period there aroſe a circumſtance more fatal to the repoſe of the young princes than any which had yet befallen them. There were two perſons, the names of whom were Jucundus and Tyrannus, who had heretofore been of Herod's life-guard, who

who were remarkably diſtinguiſhed by their extraordinary ſtature and uncommon ſtrength; but they had been lately baniſhed from the court, on account of ſome offence that they had given. Now Alexander, being appriſed of the ſingular merit of theſe men, took them immediately into his ſervice, as a guard on his perſon, and treated them with the utmoſt degree of liberality. This circumſtance gave ſuch extreme offence to the king, that he gave orders that they ſhould be immediately put to the torture. This being done, they bore up under the ſeverity of the torments as long as human nature could ſuſtain the extremity of the pain; but being at length unable to endure any more, they made a confeſſion to the following purport: "That Alexander had ſolicited them to ſeek ſome favourable opportunity of killing the king, while he was engaged in a party of hunting; that he ſaid this matter might be the more eaſily effected, under pretence that the king had fallen from his horſe upon his own arms; a pretence that would have the greater weight, becauſe that, on a former occaſion, he had very narrowly eſcaped with his life from a ſimilar accident." The ſufferers farther declared that a ſum of money was ſecreted in the ſtable; and they ſaid, that in purſuance of an order given to the principal game-keeper, by Alexander, his ſervant had received a number of the king's darts and lances.

Through extreme torture, Jucundus and Tyrannus accuſe Alexander.

The governor of Alexandrion was the next man that was put to the torture. The charge exhibited againſt him was, that he had given his promiſe to the brothers to receive them into the caſtle, and likewiſe to deliver into their hands all ſuch of the royal treaſure as was therein depoſited. During the time that the governor was under the torture he poſitively denied every particular of this charge; but, on the contrary, his ſon ſaid that it was founded on fact, and produced a writing to the following effect, which he pretended was under the hand of Alexander: "If God permit, you need not entertain the leaſt doubt of hearing from us, as ſoon as we have prepared matters ſo as to be ready for you; therefore remember your promiſe, and do not fail to be ready to receive us into the caſtle." Herod having peruſed this paper, had now no farther doubt of the real exiſtence of the conſpiracy; but Alexander, during all this time, poſitively inſiſted that the whole charge was founded on a mere fiction and contrivance of Antipater, and that the writing was forged by the ſecretary Diophantus, who had heretofore diſtinguiſhed himſelf by exploits of this nature; and who was afterwards apprehended while perpetrating a ſimilar act, and received the puniſhment due to his crime.

Charge againſt the governor of Alexandrion, which he denies, when tortured.

Forgery of the ſecretary Diophantus, and his puniſhment.

At this time, Herod was at Jericho; and after the witneſſes had been tormented, he had them conducted to that place, in order to accuſe his ſons publicly before the people; but before they could have an opportunity of doing this, they were ſtoned to death by the multitude, who, during the firſt tranſports of their rage, would have treated Alexander and Ariſtobulus in the ſame manner, but that Herod, by the aſſiſtance of Ptolemy and Pheroras, prevented their falling a ſacrifice. However, they were committed to cloſe cuſtody, and ſpies were appointed to guard them; and to keep the cloſeſt watch on all their words and actions. Thus ſituated, they had no doubt but that their lives would fall a ſacrifice; and the people in general were of the ſame opinion.

The brothers are caſt into priſon.

In this great and utter diſtreſs, Ariſtobulus, after mature reflections on his ſituation, thought it might be prudent to try if he could inſpire his aunt and mother-in-law, Salome, with proper reſentment of his ſufferings, and a juſt indignation againſt the author of them. To this purpoſe he wrote to her, demanding, "If ſhe could think herſelf ſafe under a charge of holding a private correſpondence with Syllæus, reſpecting the king's affairs, in the hope of obtaining him for a huſband?" This paper Salome immediately carried to her brother; who, being tranſported with rage, gave inſtant orders that his ſons ſhould be confined ſeparately from each other, and that they ſhould themſelves put down in writing the particulars reſpecting the treaſonable deſign in which they were ſuppoſed to have been concerned. This was done, agreeable to the orders that were given; and both their accounts exactly correſponded: they declared that they had not been concerned in any kind of conſpiracy; and that they had never entertained the leaſt idea of ſuch a circumſtance. They confeſſed that they had entertained thoughts of making their eſcape from their preſent confinement; for that death itſelf was preferable to the life they were obliged to live, ſurrounded as they were by perpetual jealouſy and ſuſpicion.

Ariſtobulus betrayed by Salome.

At this period, Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, ſent in the character of an embaſſador to Herod, a perſon named Mela, a man of great rank and diſtinction in that country. Now Herod was diſpleaſed with ſomething in the conduct of Archelaus; and being willing to let him ſee that he reſented his behaviour, he gave orders that Alexander ſhould be brought out of the priſon, and re-examined in the preſence of Mela. The priſoner being brought, was interrogated reſpecting his intended eſcape; he was aſked whither he propoſed to have gone, and in what way he intended to have diſpoſed of himſelf. To this he replied, that his determination was to have gone to his father-in-law, Archelaus, in conſequence of his promiſe to conduct him in ſafety to Rome. "Nor (ſaid he) was my brother or myſelf ever guilty of any thing farther than this with regard to our father, notwithſtanding all that the falſe witneſſes, and others of our enemies may have pretended to the contrary." Alexander then expreſſed his earneſt wiſh that Tyrannus and his aſſociates had been examined in a more careful and particular manner; but he ſaid that the principal thing Antipater had

Alexander queſtioned by Herod before the embaſſadors of Archelaus.

had in view was, to get them diſpoſed of as ſoon as poſſible, in ſuch a manner as that it ſhould not be in their power to make any diſagreeable diſcoveries; wherefore his agents were employed to ſpirit up the mob againſt them, in conſequence of which they put them to death.

This examination being ended, Herod gave immediate orders that Alexander and Mela ſhould be conducted to Glaphyra, and that ſhe likewiſe ſhould be ſtrictly interrogated, to diſcover what ſhe knew reſpecting the horrid treaſon ſuppoſed to have been in agitation. No ſooner were they come within ſight of this moſt unfortunate princeſs, than ſeeing her huſband bound in chains, ſhe began to tear her hair, attempted to offer violence on herſelf, and wept and groaned as if her heart would have broke; nor did the prince give leſs ſignal proofs of the extremity of his grief: ſo violent, in fact, were the effects of their affliction, that they who had the care of them ſtood in aſtoniſhment, as perſons who had loſt their ſenſes; and ſeemed ſo far wrapt in wonder at the ſcene before them, that they neither knew what they were doing, or what buſineſs had brought them thither.

Examination of Glaphyra before Alexander and Mela.

At length Ptolemy, to whoſe care the prince had been committed, interrogated him, requiring to know whether his wife had been concerned in the plot; to which Alexander, in a kind of ironical manner, replied, "How can you entertain the leaſt doubt of that? Wherever I am, ſhe muſt undoubtedly be preſent." And then, in a more ſerious tone, he ſaid, "She is a woman dearer to me than my own exiſtence; ſhe is one of the worthieſt of wives, and the moſt excellent of mothers; nor can the whole world produce her ſuperior in both thoſe characters." He had no ſooner pronounced theſe words, than the princeſs declared that her conſcience acquitted her of all idea of guilt; but that if the acknowledging that ſhe had been culpable would tend, in any degree, to the preſervation of her huſband, ſhe would not heſitate to make ſuch acknowledgment, even though ſhe was ſure to die without an opportunity of retracting her declaration.

They both deny the charge.

But Alexander, hearing what ſhe ſaid, eagerly exclaimed, "No, no! We are not guilty of a ſingle circumſtance that hath been alledged againſt us; and we have merited a very different kind of treatment from the hands of thoſe who have been baſe enough to injure us by their ſuſpicions. With regard to the reſolution we had formed of getting away to our father, and then of eſcaping to Rome, if that is to be conſtrued into treaſon, we have nothing to do but to plead guilty." What Alexander had ſaid was confirmed in all its particulars by Glaphyra.

Herod ſends deputies, with letters and inſtructions, to Archelaus.

Now in what had paſſed during the above examination, there was ſufficient matter to exerciſe the thought of a man already jealous of injuries done him; and Herod hereupon fixed his ſuſpicions ſtill more ſtrongly than ever on Archelaus; whereupon he immediately diſpatched Olympus and Volumnius with letters to the ſuppoſed offender, giving them directions to ſtop at Eleuſa, a city of Phœnicia, and there deliver their diſpatches. They were likewiſe inſtructed to expoſtulate with him on the ſubject of the conſpiracy, on a preſumption that he had been engaged in the confederacy with the ſons of Herod.

After they had delivered their letters, their orders were to ſail forward to Rome; and to inquire of Nicolaus of Damaſcus, if Cæſar was more diſpoſed to favourable ſentiments than he had heretofore been. If this happened to be the caſe, they were to preſent other diſpatches to him, which gave an account of the proceedings againſt Alexander and Ariſtobulus, and likewiſe copies of the evidence on which their conviction had been founded.

He vindicates his conduct.

When the embaſſadors came to Archelaus, he told them, without heſitation, that he had expreſſed his readineſs to receive the young princes; which he had done, in the zeal of his heart, as the moſt probable method of conferring an eſſential obligation both on the father and the ſons; for he confeſſed his apprehenſion leſt Herod, yielding to the impetuous force of his paſſions, might have completed their deſtruction; but on the whole, he declared that he had not entertained any thoughts of ſending them to Cæſar, or of protecting them in any illegal proceedings to the prejudice of their father.

When Olympus and Volumnius arrived at Rome, they found Cæſar ſo much reconciled to Herod, and ſo extremely well diſpoſed towards him, that they made no ſcruple of delivering their diſpatches, according to the orders they had received. Theſe letters were put into a proper form by the management of Nicolaus, who had conducted the previous buſineſs of his commiſſion in the following manner: On his firſt arrival at Rome, and being introduced to the palace of the emperor, excluſive of the inſtructions with which he was charged, he drew up a formal accuſation againſt Syllæus, accuſing him of practices of the moſt flagitious nature imaginable; ample materials for which accuſation he had obtained from the Arabians themſelves, who were at that time greatly divided in their ſentiments of their own affairs. One of the charges againſt Syllæus was the murder of Obodas, and many perſons of the ſame family, for proof of which many letters of his own writing, which had been intercepted, were produced. Now Nicolaus, a principal part of whoſe commiſſion it was to induce Cæſar to think more favourably of Herod than he had done, made all proper uſe of the providential diſcovery of theſe intercepted letters, to promote the intereſt of his employer. Reaſoning with himſelf, he conſidered that if he ſhould commence his application by endeavouring to palliate or defend the conduct of Herod, the emperor would at once be ſtruck with the whole deſign of his commiſſion; but that if he introduced what he had to ſay, by proper reflections on the conduct of Syllæus, it would be

Syllæus accuſed before Cæſar by Nicolaus.

be an eaſy matter to juſtify Herod in the courſe of the converſation.

The matter brought to a hearing.

At length a day was appointed for the hearing of this buſineſs, when Nicolaus, being aſſiſted by ſome agents of Aretas, proceeded to alledge the following accuſations againſt Syllæus. He was charged with "having occaſioned the murder of his king and ſovereign; with murdering many of his ſubjects the Arabians; with taking up enormous ſums of money, for the purpoſe of diſturbing the public peace; with having been a notorious violater of the chaſtity of women, both at Rome, and in Arabia; and, finally, with having impoſed on the emperor himſelf by the propagation of the moſt improbable lyes and calumnious reports, which was evidenced by the account he gave of the conduct of Herod, the whole of which was totally foreign from the truth." He was proceeding to make good his allegations on all theſe charges, but Cæſar interrupted Nicolaus with reſpect to this laſt article, and deſired him to paſs over all the reſt, and to ſpeak to that ſingle circumſtance. "Make me acquainted (ſaid the emperor) with this particular part of the conduct of Herod. Did he not go into Arabia with an army? Did not two thouſand five hundred men fall there, by his arms? Did he not ravage the country, and carry off a number of priſoners?" In anſwer hereto Nicolaus ſaid, that he himſelf was as well able to give a proper account of the matter as any man exiſting. Having mentioned this, he averred that there was very little of truth in the whole ſtory, as it had been reported; and he aſſerted that Herod had been much leſs to blame in the whole conduct of the buſineſs than was generally ſuppoſed.

Evidence of Nicolaus.

Cæſar was aſtoniſhed at what Nicolaus had ſaid, and declared he would pay the utmoſt attention to what he had farther to advance; he thereupon related things in order as they had happened: he recounted the circumſtance of the five hundred talents which Herod had lent Syllæus upon his bond; ſaid that the time of payment had elapſed, and that Herod had a legal right to recover the debt from the country. He farther urged that the body of men to whom Syllæus had given the name of an army, did not deſerve that name, as it conſiſted only of ſuch a number as was ſufficient for putting in execution the legal claim of Herod; that the latter did not proceed in a raſh or violent manner, though the time of payment being more than expired, he had an undoubted right to ſue for his bond whenever it might be agreeable to him. On the contrary, he choſe rather, in the firſt place, to make application to Saturninus and Volumnius, who were then governors of Syria; and this appeal being made to them, Syllæus, in their preſence, at Berytus, bound himſelf by the ſacred obligation of an oath, and ſwore by the fortune of Cæſar, to pay all the money due to Herod within thirty days, and likewiſe to deliver up all the fugitives: but when the time was expired, neither the money was paid, nor were the fugitives reſtored. Hereupon Herod again made application to the governors, who gave it as their opinion, that he had a right to chuſe his own mode of redreſs. This therefore was the occaſion of Herod's going into Arabia, and gave riſe to the war which his enemies had ſo illiberally cenſured, with every circumſtance of aggravation. "But is it poſſible (ſaid Nicolaus) that this can be deemed a war, which was undertaken by the permiſſion and approbation of the governors; that had its juſtice founded in the proſecution of a lawful demand, when the detention of right had been endeavoured to be defended by the violation of a ſolemn oath, which had been ſworn before the gods, and ratified by the name of Cæſar?"

His account of the favourable treatment of the priſoners by Syllæus.

"Let us now (ſaid Nicolaus) ſpeak with regard to the priſoners. At firſt they conſiſted of about forty of the principal leaders of the Trachonite robbers, and theſe were followed by many others, who having made incurſions into Judæa, and ravaged the country, making great ſpoil where-ever they came, at length fled from the vengeance of Herod, and took ſanctuary in Arabia; where, when they were arrived, Syllæus not only gave them entertainment, though they ought to have been conſidered as the common enemies of mankind, but protected them, granted them lands, and accepted a ſhare of the booty which they ſo unjuſtly acquired. Now Syllæus had bound himſelf by a ſolemn oath to reſtore theſe very men, as well as the money that he had borrowed, within the limited time before-mentioned; and, Sir, I dare confidently aſſert (and call on any perſon living to contradict me), that Herod took no other priſoners in Arabia than theſe robbers: and even of theſe ſome made their eſcape."

"One ſtory more regarding theſe priſoners is well worthy the notice and attention of Cæſar, becauſe reſpecting that he has been impoſed upon in a more glaring manner than with regard to any other circumſtance. I can with truth declare, that at the time when a band of the Arabians attacked our troops, and a few of our men fell a ſacrifice, Herod found himſelf under a neceſſity, in his own defence, of repelling force by force; during the conflict Nacebus, their general, was killed, and with him fell twenty-five of his forces, but not a man beyond this number. Now Syllæus's account has made every man a hundred, and ſwelled theſe twenty-five to two thouſand five hundred."

This ſpeech of Nicolaus ſeemed to have the wiſhed for effect upon Cæſar, who turning towards Syllæus with a countenance in which was expreſſed the utmoſt vehemence of rage, demanded how many Arabians were ſlain in the action he had mentioned. Syllæus heſitated for a while, as if to recollect a circumſtance that he had forgot, and then acknowledged that he had been ſomewhat miſtaken with regard to the number.

Matters having proceeded thus far, the next buſineſs was, to read the conditions of the bond given by Syllæus to Herod, the arbitrations of the governors, and the remonſtrances that had been made by the ſeveral cities and towns, complaining of the various robberies that had been committed.

Nothing

Syllæus capitally convicted and condemned.

Nothing now remained to convince Cæsar of the iniquitous practices of Syllæus, against whom he passed sentence of death; and restored Herod to that share of favour which he had formerly held, confessing that he had been mistaken with regard to his conduct, or he never should have listened to those calumnious reports that had influenced him so much to his disadvantage, and provoked him to such unreasonable severities against him. He farther told Syllæus, that nothing less than his atrocious impudence, the lyes he had been guilty of telling, and the slanders he had propagated, could have induced him to fail of the usual respect for his best of friends.

The issue of the whole matter was, that orders were given for conducting Syllæus back to Arabia, where he was first to pay the debts he had contracted, and then to suffer an ignominious death. With regard to Aretas, his presuming to usurp the royal authority without having obtained the approbation and full consent of the emperor, Cæsar was extremely disgusted at the circumstance, and conceived an idea of transferring to Herod the government of the province of which he was possessed: but Cæsar changed his intentions, on reading the letters which were delivered him by Olympus and Volumnius, which letters were filled with the most bitter invectives against his own sons. Now the instructions that had been given to Olympus and Volumnius were, that if they found Cæsar in a mild and placable disposition, they should deliver their letters, which they did in pursuance of that order; but Cæsar, upon the perusal of them, having made proper allowance for his age, the violence of his passions, and the weight of his misfortunes, altered his resolution, which he had no sooner done than he ordered the embassadors from Aretas to be admitted. To these he gave audience, and reprehended them for the rash conduct of their master in assuming to himself the sovereign power without permission so to do. Having talked to them for a while in this strain, he received their presents, and confirmed Aretas in his authority, to the utter astonishment of the embassadors.

Letter of condolence from Cæsar to Herod.

Being thus reconciled to Herod, Cæsar wrote him a letter of condolence on account of the trouble he met with from his sons; allowing him free permission, and investing him with full power to proceed against them as parricides, if he should be convinced that they were engaged in the unnatural and infamous plot of which they were suspected: but if, on farther enquiry, he thought that there was nothing more to be alledged against them than simply a contrivance to effect their escape, he advised him to moderate his wrath, and let a more gentle reprehension take place of severer punishment. Upon the whole, the substance of his advice was, to assemble a council at Berytus, in which place a great number of Romans resided; and there to demand the assistance of the governors of the adjacent provinces, and to request the attendance of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, together with that of a number of persons of high rank; who having heard and concluded on the whole matter, should give their opinions, and finally decide the business.

CHAP. XVI.

A Convention summoned by HEROD at BERYTUS. His rancorous Persecution of his Sons, who, at the Instance of VOLUMNIUS are condemned to die. TYRO's generous Vindication of the unfortunate Princes, and his Remonstrance to HEROD. He is committed to Prison; and afterwards, with Three Hundred other Persons, torn to pieces by the Populace. Death of ALEXANDER and ARISTOBULUS by Strangulation. Cruelty of HEROD to his Relations.

Barbarous and unnatural behaviour of Herod towards his son.

THE receipt of the letter from Cæsar afforded the highest satisfaction to Herod, not only as it assured him of being restored to the favour of the emperor, but as it gave him full permission to dispose of his sons in such a manner as might be most agreeable to himself. It is something singular, and worthy of notice in the character of Herod, that whereas in former times, when he was in prosperity, though he had been a severe and rigid father towards his children, yet he had never shewn so bloody a disposition as to seek their lives; yet now, on this happy change and improvement of his circumstances, he became, from what cause it is hard to say, more severe and cruel than ever, and indulged this disposition to a most extravagant degree.

He summons a council at Berytus.

Agreeable to the advice of Cæsar, he summoned a council to meet at Berytus, consisting of all the persons recommended in the emperor's letter, excepting only Archelaus, which might be owing to an antipathy to the man, or to the fear that he might frustrate his designs. The parties being all met according to the summons, Herod did not think proper to bring his sons to the council, but left them at the village of Plantane in Sidon, which was but at a small distance, that they might be brought up if it should appear to be necessary. When the council were assembled, which consisted of one hundred and fifty persons, Herod went into the council-chamber without any attendants, and there, without reciting any part of the history of his own misfortunes, which might properly have introduced what he had to say, he began to exhibit an accusation against his sons. This charge was delivered in a very extraordinary manner, with equal vehemence and acrimony, and in language that very ill became his character as a father: it was accompanied with looks and behaviour of the most violent and menacing kind; and had more the appearance of the ravings of a madman, than the sober declamation

Exhibits an accusation against his sons.

tion of a man in his senses. His arguments were inconsistent and confused, and his discourse incoherent, unconnected, and almost unintelligible. He brought no proofs in support of what he said, by which the judges could form their opinion; but they were obliged to place implicit confidence in every thing the accuser advanced: thus, instead of being judges, they were made a kind of parties in the business, and rather took part against the prisoners than in their behalf. It is true that some letters which the young princes had written were read; but no proof arose therefrom that they had been guilty of disloyalty, or harboured any evil intentions towards the king. All that appeared from these letters was, that they had consulted on the means of effecting their escape, and there were some few intimations that they were dissatisfied with, and had taken offence at some part of their father's conduct. When Herod, in the course of his charge, came to remark on these parts of the letters, he, in the most violent and indecent manner, sought to exaggerate the crime, insisting that a clearer proof of a conspiracy could not exist: he likewise swore, in the most vehement manner, that death itself was not so dreadful in his idea as the language of those letters. "It is true (said he) that I might claim and assert that power over my children which hath been given me by the laws of nature, and ratified by the favour of Cæsar, not to mention the authority I derive from the express laws of my own country, which say, that 'If a man have a stubborn and rebellious son, which will not obey the voice of his father, or the voice of his mother, all the men of his city shall stone him with stones, that he die.' (Deut. chap. 21.) But I would rather decline the exercise of my undoubted authority in this case, and submit the matter to your opinions; not that I wish you to determine on an affair that is already determined in its own nature, but I would have your sentiments coincide with mine, in order to ratify the sentence: which will serve as a lesson of instruction to posterity, intimating what kind of punishment ought to follow such enormous crimes."

Partial conduct of the judges.

His absolute authority over his children confirmed.

It was now indisputably evident to the council, what were Herod's views: they saw by the manner in which the business was hurried forward, without even permitting the brothers to speak in their own defence, that the king had determined how he would act: wherefore, though very unwillingly, they voted, "that Herod might dispose of his children in the way most agreeable to himself." This vote being passed, Saturninus arose to give his opinion. He was a man of great dignity, and one who had discharged various offices of trust and consequence. He declared that he thought the prisoners ought to undergo some kind of punishment, but that of death would be too severe; saying that he felt the case the more sensibly, as he was himself the father of children. "I should be unhappy (said he) after such a variety of misfortunes as Herod hath suffered, that he should at length be oppressed with one so much more calamitous than all the rest." The three sons of Saturninus, who acted as deputies to their father, were the next who spoke, and they concurred with him in opinion. Volumnius now arose to deliver his sentiments, which were, that nothing less than death could atone for a crime of such enormous magnitude; and the majority of the company coinciding with him, the matter was decided to the prejudice of the brothers.

Saturninus speaks in favour of the brothers; and Volumnius against them.

Herod meets Nicolaus at Tyre, and informs him of the condemnation of his sons

As soon as the sentence was passed, Herod took his two sons with him, and proceeded to Tyre, where meeting Nicolaus, who was on his return from Rome, he informed him of the proceedings that had taken place at Berytus, and inquired, in his turn, what opinion the people of Rome had formed with respect to his sons. To this Nicolaus answered, that they were universally censured for the impropriety of their conduct; that the people said they ought to be confined in chains for what they had been guilty of; nay, that death itself would not be too great a punishment if the fact were clearly proved against them: since in case they were punished in a slighter degree, the public voice would declare that the prosecution was not so much founded in justice and reason, as in spleen and resentment: yet that, if Herod seemed more disposed to extend his mercy to them, he would do well to grant them their liberty, rather than by persisting in an act of severity, to perpetrate a deed which he might hereafter wish had never taken place. Having received this information, Herod continued for a considerable time in thoughtful meditation, totally silent, and as not knowing how to act; at length he invited Nicolaus to proceed to sea with him, and they took their departure for Cæsarea.

Nicolaus accompanies Herod to Cæsarea.

On their arrival at that place, they found that the general conversation turned on the story of Herod and his sons: the people seemed to be extremely anxious to know the event of the prosecution: it was the universal apprehension that the death of the brothers would be the consequence of the hatred that had been conceived against them. Pity for their situation seemed to penetrate every heart; but no one dared to speak his own sentiments, or to listen to those of others; so that the general resentment appeared to be smothered, and every motion, whether of grief or compassion, to be suppressed.

The young princes vindicated by Tyro;

There was one objection, however, to the truth of this observation. Among the king's troops there was a person named Tyro, an old soldier of very distinguished bravery, who had a son about the age of Alexander, that had been honoured with the friendship of the young prince. This man made no scruple to speak his mind with freedom, nor hesitated to deliver those truths which were industriously concealed by others. He made frequent and public declaration that all sense of honour and justice was banished from the face of the earth; that chicanery and ill-will had usurped

their places, and ſo deluded the minds of the public, that all ideas of right and wrong, of good and evil, were confounded. This freedom of behaviour could not but be attended with danger: but there was ſomething ſo nobly diſintereſted in this generous proof of courage and virtue, in ſo critical a juncture, that it attracted the regard of every one; and they that would have been fearful to have proceeded ſo far themſelves, could not but eſteem the man who riſked ſo much in the public cauſe: and, in fact, the man muſt have wanted all feeling and ſenſibility, who, in ſuch a ſituation, could have failed to expreſs the common ſentiments of humanity.

Tyro boldly expoſtulates with the king.

Tyro, not content with what he had publicly ſaid, went to the king, with whom he demanded the honour of a converſation; which being granted, he expreſſed himſelf to the following purport: "If, Sir, I do not give vent to the ſentiments of my heart, I muſt be wretched. I am not inſenſible of the danger of the office I have undertaken, nor of the language I am about to utter. The danger will be my own; but ſervice and advantage will accrue to Herod, if he pleaſe to pay a proper regard to what I ſay. Will you give me leave to aſk, Sir, if you retain your former underſtanding, and the ſenſe of things you heretofore entertained? Where is that greatneſs of mind, that dignity, that reſolution, which carried you through great difficulties in time paſt? Recollect you what is become of your friends and relations? Are they all loſt? For it is impoſſible that I ſhould include in that number, thoſe who can behold the accumulating miſeries of your court and family, once ſo happy, and expreſs no concern for the melancholy change of affairs? Are you totally blind, Sir, to your own intereſt? Cannot you perceive what an unhappy turn your circumſtances are taking? Are you determined on the deſtruction of the children of a wife who was once ſo dear to you, and who have themſelves ſo many virtues to recommend them? Is this, Sir, a time of life for you to think of truſting yourſelf to the direction of an ambitious young man, and to ſubmit to the conduct of thoſe among your relations whom you have heretofore, more than once, doomed to puniſhment for their crimes? Do you not perceive, by the utter ſilence and profound aſtoniſhment of the people, that your own conduct is tacitly condemned, and the fate of your ſons lamented, by the public? And let me inform you, Sir, that with regard to the military in general, officers and common ſoldiers included, they have the utmoſt commiſeration for the fate of the young princes, and are perpetually curſing thoſe to whom they conceive their diſtreſſes are owing."

Tyro and his aſſociates ſent to priſon by Herod.

While Tyro was ſpeaking with reſpect to his maſter's misfortunes, and repreſenting the treachery of the conduct of thoſe who ought to have ſerved him with fidelity, Herod heard him with a tolerable degree of patience: but when he exceeded the bounds of diſcretion, and violated the laws of politeneſs, by the bold, intrepid, and expoſtulatory manner of his diſcourſe, his freedom began to be very diſagreeable. Herod, reſenting the ſuppoſed inſult, demanded to know the names of thoſe officers and ſoldiers in particular, who had ſpoken with the freedom that Tyro had mentioned. Tyro made no ſcruple of giving up their names; on which the king gave immediate orders that the informer, and all the perſons accuſed, ſhould be apprehended and committed to priſon.

Information of Tryphon againſt Tyro, who, with others, are tortured.

This event had no ſooner taken place, than Tryphon, the king's barber, repaired to Herod, to whom he ſaid that Tyro had repeatedly made him offers of money, and promiſed him the friendſhip of Alexander, if, when he went to ſhave the king, he would take an opportunity of cutting his throat. As ſoon as this information was given, Tyro and his ſon, together with the barber, were all put to the torture. Tyro's ſon obſerving the ſeverity of his father's ſufferings, and the fortitude with which he bore them, together with the little hope that there was of a mitigation of his pains, called out to thoſe who tormented them, to take himſelf and his father from the rack, in conſequence of which he would relate all that he knew which might lead to a diſcovery of the truth. On the promiſe of preſent eaſe, he declared that his father had reſolved to murder Herod with his own hands, as he had private acceſs to him; and that he had determined to do this for the ſervice of Alexander, at whatever hazard of his own ſafety. In conſequence of this declaration the father was delivered from the extremity of his torture; but whether the confeſſion that the ſon had made was founded on fact, or only an artifice to obtain preſent eaſe, has always remained a matter of doubt.

Confeſſion of Tyro's ſon.

By this time Herod was come to a reſolution (if he had not formed this reſolution before) to carry the purpoſes of his deſign fully into execution, without entertaining any further doubts on the ſubject, or leaving room for repentance. Wherefore he convened an aſſembly of the people, and ordered that three hundred captains, with Tyro and his ſon, and the barber that had been evidence, ſhould be brought forth. This being done, the barber accuſed them to the multitude, who tore them all to pieces, not leaving a ſingle man alive. With regard to Alexander and Ariſtobulus, they were ſent to Sebaſte, where they were ſtrangled, in conſequence of an order given by their father; after which their bodies were depoſited in a ſepulchre at Alexandrion, near their grandfather on the maternal ſide, and ſeveral others of their anceſtors.

300 officers, with Tyro, and his ſon, killed by the populace.

Alexander and Ariſtobulus ſtrangled.

Remarks of Joſephus on Herod's proceedings.

It may not appear a matter of any great ſurpriſe to a reflecting mind, if an averſion ſo deeply rooted, and of ſuch long continuance, ſhould have rendered Herod inſenſible to all thoſe finer feelings that would have done honour to his humanity; but it is yet doubtful on which party the blame ought to fix: whether it ſhould be imputed to the natural ſeverity of the king's diſpoſition; to his unbounded ambition, that could not

not bear the idea of any apparent rival of his power; or whether there might not be ſomething reprehenſible in the conduct of the young princes, who, by a continual courſe of provocation, might have impelled the father to act in ſo implacable a manner. After all that can be ſaid on this ſubject, is not the whole determinable on the principles of that irreſiſtible power which cannot be controuled by human wiſdom? If I were to deliver my private ſentiments, I ſhould ſay, that I think all human actions are determined by a neceſſary chain of conſequences, and over-ruled by that providential power which we diſtinguiſh by the name of Fate, by which all our proceedings are directed; though not in ſo abſolute a manner but that our own endeavours may be allowed to contribute much to the determination of that fate, ſince the freedom of action undoubtedly remains with ourſelves. But this is an affair enveloped in myſtery, of which I ſhall ſay no more, eſpecially as the ſubject is particularly treated of in the books of our laws.

Probable motives of the ſons' conduct.

Let us now inquire into the motives by which the ſons might poſſibly be actuated: perhaps by that heat of blood by which the paſſions of youth are impelled, they might act in too bold and imperious a manner; they might be too ready to liſten to evil reports to their father's prejudice, and too partial judges of his life and conduct. They were probably malicious in the ſentiments they entertained of him, and too free in their converſation, which would of courſe expoſe them to the arts of ſpies and informers, who were ſeeking for every opportunity to procure evidence againſt them. But then, on the contrary, can we conceive any thing more atrocious and inexcuſable than the conduct of Herod, who, without being able to adduce any poſitive proof of a traiterous intention, without evidence to convict them, and even in failure of ſtrong preſumptive evidence that they had conſpired againſt him, could indulge the vehemence of his paſſions to ſuch a degree as to take away their lives? One would imagine that their merit would have argued ſtrongly againſt ſuch a procedure; for they were princes admirably accompliſhed in the perfections of body and mind: they were ſkilful in all the various exerciſes of youth, trained in the art of war, and deeply read in human learning: Alexander, in particular, was uncommonly perfect in theſe qualifications. If Herod could not have been ſatisfied without their being condemned; why did he not baniſh them, or cauſe them to be kept in priſon? If they had been diſpoſed of in either way, he need not have been under apprehenſion of farther treachery; nor need he have ſuſpected that the Romans would have eſpouſed their cauſe, and enabled them to have attacked him with an open force.

Herod's ſeverity cenſured.

The taking away their lives, therefore, with ſuch an impetuous haſte, to gratify his own intemperate frenzy, was an outrage of the moſt impious and tyrannical kind. Nor is any thing to be urged in mitigation of the crime; nor could ignorance or want of experience be pleaded; for Herod was well acquainted with the world, and of an age to have exerciſed the calm dictates of his ſober reaſon. Nor does the long delay in the execution of the intended vengeance, in the leaſt excuſe or palliate the crime; on the contrary, it is rather an aggravation of it: for if the deed had been done during the ſudden impulſe of an impetuous paſſion, ariſing from the preſent ſenſe of ſome atrocious injury, the enormity of the offence would have been in ſome degree extenuated. But when we reflect how long a time he took to conſider on this daring violation of the laws of God and nature, and that at length he determined to perpetrate it, we ſhall be compelled to acknowledge, that the action muſt have ariſen from the moſt abandoned profligacy and depravity of heart. Herod, however, during the remainder of his life, proved its conſiſtency with this melancholy ſpecimen; for he ſhewed no mercy on the reſt of his relations, even thoſe for whom he had formerly entertained the tendereſt affection: but the leſs compaſſion was due to them, becauſe they deſerved the puniſhment they underwent: yet the cruelty of Herod is not the leſs to be cenſured, as will appear in the courſe of the following pages.

Cruelty to his other kindred.

BOOK XVII.

Containing the HISTORY of REMARKABLE TRANSACTIONS, from the YEAR of the WORLD 3961, to 3973.

CHAP. I.

Hatred of the People to ANTIPATER. Arts employed by ANTIPATER to advance his Intereſt. He is counter-acted by SALOME, whom HEROD compels to marry ALEXAS. GLAPHYRA, and her Marriage-Portion, ſent back to ARCHELAUS her Father. Certain Contracts diſſolved by HEROD.

Antipater becomes odious to the people.

THE arts of Antipater having at length produced the execrable murder of the brothers, he conceived that he had made a conſiderable progreſs towards his intended deſign on the life of the father: but there were many obſtacles yet in his way; for though his ambition prompted him to proceed in the moſt

moſt rapid manner, yet the natural order of things would not yield to the impetuoſity of his deſires. It is true that after the death of the princes, there was no immediate impediment between him and the crown; at leaſt he was freed from all fear or danger of other competitors; but he had one very great difficulty to ſurmount, which was the implacable hatred that the people bore to him; to which was ſuperadded the enmity of the army, which he conſidered as of more conſequence than the other circumſtance, as princes depend upon their troops for a protection and defence againſt the inſurrections ariſing from faction and tumult.

Antipater acts as king, Herod retaining only the name.

He was himſelf, however, the occaſion of theſe misfortunes, by having, with an equal degree of folly and wickedneſs, conſpired the deſtruction of the princes: but if the exerciſe of power would have ſatisfied his ambition, he ought to have been content; for though Herod ſat on the throne, Antipater was the acting governor, all affairs were committed to his management, and he was king in every thing but in name. The very crime for which he ought to have ſuffered death, was deemed an inſtance of his loyalty and regard, as if in taking away the lives of the princes, he had conſulted the honour, welfare, and preſervation of the king: whereas, in fact, in the injury he did the ſons, he gratified his ill-will againſt the father; and his antipathy was of ſo rancorous a kind, that it was principally on account of the father that he entertained ſuch an inveterate malice towards them. In a word, Antipater conceived it would tend to promote his intereſt to complete the deſtruction of every perſon who could either give evidence reſpecting his treaſon, prevent his carrying it into execution, or that might be able to aſſiſt Herod in the fruſtration of his deſigns; and as he was now deeply embarked in the plot, he thought it would be dangerous for him to leave any part of his intended deſign unfiniſhed.

It is a fact that, after the death of Herod, he conſidered the government as his own of courſe; but then he was apprehenſive of the danger that might ariſe from delay, becauſe that if, in the interim, his real deſigns ſhould by any means be made known to his father, his ruin would undoubtedly be completed.

He conciliates the good-will of his father's friends.

For this reaſon he was exceedingly aſſiduous to obtain the good opinion of his father's friends, which he courted by every poſſible civility he could ſhew them, by making preſents of great value, and by loading them with ſuch favours of every kind, as he thought would obviate any impreſſion they might have received to his diſadvantage: and he was particularly attentive to Saturninus, governor of Syria, and his brother, and other friends who reſided at Rome. He even conceived a hope of bringing over Salome to his intereſt. Now Antipater was a perſon of a moſt ſingular good addreſs, and admirably ſkilled in the art of conferring an obligation; beſide that he exceeded almoſt every man exiſting, in a plauſibility of behaviour which diſguiſed the real ſentiments of his mind: yet all the artifice of his conduct was inſufficient to impoſe upon his aunt, Salome, who penetrated the depth of his deſigns; kept an attentive eye on all his motions, and countermined one artifice by another. He ſo managed affairs, that the daughter of Salome, the widow of Ariſtobulus, was eſpouſed to his uncle by the mother's ſide, and the other daughter was married to Callæus; but neither of theſe connections, however artfully contrived, was ſufficient to diſguiſe the wickedneſs of his deſign, or to render him leſs odious than his complicated crimes deſerved he ſhould appear.

Salome conſents to marry Alexas.

During all this time Salome was moſt diſtractedly in love with Syllæus; but Herod recommended her to marry Alexas, in which he was ſeconded by the advice of the empreſs Julia, who was, indeed, very peremptory with her not to act in oppoſition to this advice, unleſs ſhe was determined to forfeit the good opinion of her brother for ever; as he had moſt ſolemnly ſworn, that if ſhe refuſed to accept of this match, he would never afterwards acknowledge her as his ſiſter. Salome having reflected on the affair, acknowledged that the advice they had given ought in reaſon to be complied with, and conſented to give her hand to Alexas.

Herod ſends Glaphyra home to her father.

Soon after this event took place Herod ſent Glaphyra, the widow of his ſon Alexander, and the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, home to her father, and with her he returned the fortune that had been received in marriage, that no complaint might ariſe with reſpect to pecuniary matters: and he gave particular inſtructions that great care ſhould be taken with regard to the education of his grand-children. Now Glaphyra had borne two ſons to Alexander; and Berenice, the daughter of Salome, and wife of Ariſtobulus, had three ſons and two daughters.

He cauſes his grand-children to be eſpouſed.

Herod would frequently addreſs his friends reſpecting theſe children, of whom he would ſpeak with ſingular kindneſs, lamenting the ill fate that had attended his own ſons, and offering prayers to heaven that the children might be prevented from encountering the like misfortunes; that as they grew in years they might increaſe in goodneſs, and live to confeſs the obligations that they were under to their parents. He propoſed that the eldeſt ſon of Alexander ſhould hereafter marry the daughter of his brother Pheroras, and that the eldeſt ſon of Ariſtobulus ſhould wed the daughter of Antipater. He intended to give one of the daughters of Ariſtobulus to the ſon of Antipater, and the other daughter to his own ſon Herod, whom he had by the daughter of the high-prieſt; for polygamy is allowable among our people.

Antipater ſhews his averſion to them.

The chief view that Herod had in theſe intended alliances was founded in motives of pity to the orphan children; ſince he thought that theſe bonds of affinity would induce Antipater to treat them with a greater degree of humanity. But this intention fell ſhort of the propoſed effect, as Antipater now entertained no more regard for

for the children than he had heretofore done for their parents. In fact, the tenderneſs of Herod in this particular was ſo far from making a proper impreſſion upon Antipater, that, on the contrary, it increaſed his anger and jealouſy to the higheſt pitch. The greater the degree of favour the king ſhewed to theſe children on the one hand, the greater was Antipater's hatred to them on the other: in fact, he was afraid of what might hereafter happen, when they came to be of an age to aſſert their own rights; eſpecially if they ſhould be aſſiſted by Archelaus, and Pheroras, the tetrarch, whoſe ſon, according to the preſent appearance of things, would probably become the huſband of one of the daughters.

Antipater, likewiſe, ſuffered no ſmall degree of mortification, from the conſideration of the compaſſion the people entertained for the fate of the unfortunate princes; the veneration in which they held their memory; and the rooted antipathy they bore for thoſe whom they conſidered as the authors of their ruin. He knew likewiſe the anxious wiſh of the populace, for an opportunity to expoſe him for his treacherous and murderous practices with regard to his brothers. Nor was he leſs unhappy in mind when he reflected that, according to the preſent ſituation of affairs, his nephews had a very probable chance of acquiring a future ſhare in the government: nor could he deviſe any method to ſecure himſelf, but by prevailing on Herod to ſet aſide the marriage-contracts above-mentioned. He therefore made application for this purpoſe; and, with ſome difficulty, obtained the favour; and likewiſe that the daughter of Ariſtobulus ſhould be given in marriage to himſelf, and the daughter of Pheroras to his ſon: and upon this all the former plans of marriage were totally laid aſide.

Herod diſſolves certain marriage contracts.

Number of his wives and children.

At this time king Herod had no leſs than nine wives: by the firſt he had his ſon Antipater; the ſecond was the daughter of Simon the high-prieſt, who bore him a ſon, that was called by the name of Herod; the daughter of his own brother was the third; the fourth was his couſin german; but by theſe two he had no children; a woman of Samaria was the fifth, by whom he had two ſons, called Antipas and Archelaus, and a daughter named Olympia, who afterwards became the wife of Joſeph, a relation of the king. The ſixth wife was Cleopatra, of Jeruſalem, who was the mother of Herod and Philip, which latter received his education at Rome. Ballas was the name of the ſeventh wife, who made Herod the father of Phaſael; the eighth was named Phædera; and the ninth Elpis, by which laſt he had two daughters, who received the names of Roxana and Salome. With regard to the two other daughters of Herod, the children of Mariamne, and ſiſters of Alexander and Ariſtobulus (thoſe who had been refuſed in marriage by Pheroras), he wedded one of them to Antipater, the ſon of his ſiſter Salome; and the other to the ſon of his brother Phaſael, as hath been already mentioned.

CHAP. II.

The JEWS ſecured in their Profeſſions and the Enjoyment of their Liberties. The Death of ZAMARIS, who leaves a virtuous Family. The Death of JACIMUS, whoſe Son PHILIP is appointed General of the Army by King AGRIPPA.

Herod ſecures himſelf againſt the Trachonites.

AT this time Herod devoted his attention to ſecure the country from the incurſions of the Trachonites; for which purpoſe he came to a reſolution to build a large and extenſive village in the centre of the country; and to fortify it with a ſtrong garriſon, that might equally ſerve for the convenience of ſallying forth on the enemy, or ſecuring that part of the country from their inroads.

Zamaris leaves Babylon;

At the time that Herod was projecting the above ſcheme, a perſon informed him that a certain Jew, named Zamaris, had left the country of Babylon, attended by five hundred horſemen, armed with bows and arrows, near a fifth part of whom were related to him; and that he had marched his troops over the river Euphrates, to ſettle in the country adjacent to Daphne in Syria, where a caſtle named Valatha, not far from Antioch, had been given him by the governor Saturninus, as a place proper for his reſidence.

and is invited by Herod to ſettle in Batanæa.

On receiving this information, Herod ſent to invite Zamaris, and all the people who attended him, to come into his part of the country, promiſing them the poſſeſſion of lands, and all other accommodations, in the diſtrict of Batanæa, which bordered on the land of the Trachonites; together with an exemption from the payment of all duties, taxes and tributes, as well thoſe for their lands, as perſonal taxes, only on the condition of their protecting that quarter of the country againſt the invaſions and inroads of the robbers and plunderers. Zamaris conſidering theſe terms as advantageous, was very well diſpoſed to accept the offer, which he accordingly did; and on the land that Herod ſet apart for his accommodation, he erected a number of forts, and built a town, to which he gave the name of Bathyra. Being ſettled in this ſituation, he not only protected the inhabitants from the incurſions of the Trachonites, but likewiſe maintained the Jews from Babylon to Jeruſalem in the free exerciſe of their profeſſions, agreeable to the practice and duty prevalent among that people.

Zamaris is joined by great numbers of Jews.

Zamaris being thus happily provided for, was joined by immenſe numbers of thoſe among the Jews who made it a point of principle to adhere to the religion and laws of their anceſtors: by this means the country was ſoon peopled to a degree that is ſcarcely to be conceived; and the immunities, rights and advantages above-mentioned, the inhabitants were permitted to enjoy without diſpute or moleſtation, during the whole remaining part of the reign of He-

rod: it is true, that in the reign of Philip, who was his ſucceſſor, ſome ſmall taxes were laid upon them; but theſe were of very ſhort continuance. In the reign of Agrippa the Great, and in that of his ſon, who ſucceeded him, by the ſame name, the taxes laid on them were very burdenſome; nor were thoſe impoſed by the Romans afterwards more favourable; ſtill, however, their perſonal freedom remained unviolated; of all which more will be ſaid in the ſubſequent parts of this work.

His death, character, children, &c.

The Babylonian, Zamaris, to whom the command above-mentioned had been given by Herod, lived a long life, diſtinguiſhed by the exerciſe of every virtue, and the exertion of every law of honour; and dying, left his children in poſſeſſion of thoſe amiable qualities for which their father had been celebrated. Among theſe children was one named Jacimus, who was a man remarkable for his bravery, and he had the reputation of being one of the moſt accompliſhed perſons of his age. This Jacimus ſerved among the guards of the kings of Babylon; and died at a very advanced age, leaving behind him one ſon, named Philip, for whom king Agrippa conceived a great eſteem, and made him general of his army, in reward of his ſingular valour, and the unexampled integrity of his conduct.

CHAP. III.

The whole Care of the Government devolves on ANTIPATER. The Women devoted to the PHARISEES, refuſe to ſwear Allegiance to the King and to CÆSAR. The PHARISEES fined, and Payment made by the Wife of PHERORAS. The Wife of PHERORAS informed againſt. He is adviſed to part with her, but abſolutely refuſes. HEROD forbids all Communication between ANTIPATER and his Mother.

Herod puts great confidence in Antipater.

WHILE the affairs of Herod were in the ſituation above-deſcribed, the chief management and conduct of the public buſineſs was in effect in the hands of Antipater, for whom Herod entertained the greateſt regard, and placed the utmoſt confidence in his loyalty and affection. This truſt, however, Antipater abuſed in the moſt ſhocking manner: but he had the art of diſguiſing the hypocriſy of his conduct by ſuch crafty and ſpecious pretences, that Herod paid the moſt implicit attention to all he ſaid, taking it for granted that he would not deceive him in a ſingle circumſtance: ſo that the ſubtlety of his conduct did not render him leſs dangerous than the exertion of his power.

Tranſactions between Pheroras and Antipater.

Now, between Pheroras and Antipater there was the utmoſt appearance of a cordial intimacy; the former being deceived, and induced to be on friendly terms with him, by the arts of the women, who were in the faction of Antipater. Now Pheroras did not dare to act in oppoſition to the ſentiments of his wife, his mother in law, or his ſiſter; though in fact he had an utter averſion to them all, on account of the indignities they had heretofore offered to his virgin daughters. But it would have been a point of great imprudence to quarrel with people ſo neceſſary to the principal buſineſs, who were likewiſe acquainted with ſo many ſecrets of importance, and conſequently bound to keep thoſe of each other. Excluſive of all this, Antipater maintained the moſt intimate correſpondence with them, both on his own account and on that of his mother; for between theſe women there was a moſt perfect coincidence both of ſentiments and conduct.

Treacherous combination between the ladies at court.

At this time, however, there were frequent quarrels about trifles, between Pheroras and Antipater; but this happened chiefly at the inſtance of Salome, who was perpetually exciting their jealouſies of each other. Salome was exceedingly well informed of the nature of the plot from the beginning to the end; and had nearly reſolved in her own mind to make a diſcovery to Herod of the whole conſpiracy. Now at this time the conſpirators had obſerved that their meetings were watched, that their correſpondence was ſuſpected to be carried on in a myſterious manner, and that the king was jealous of, and diſpleaſed with their proceedings: wherefore they had a conference together, and reſolved that, for the future, their meetings ſhould not be held in ſo public a manner, but that they would pretend to have diſputed and quarrelled, and would frequently mention each other with diſreſpect in company; but particularly when Herod himſelf was within their hearing, or any other perſon whom they ſuppoſed would carry the news to the king: and this was to be the conſtant rule of their conduct; but the plot was to be privately carried on as if no ſuch agreement had taken place. It hath been before obſerved, that Salome was privy to the whole contrivance, all the ſteps of which ſhe had traced from its beginning to its preſent ſtate, through every part of its progreſs. Her method was, that as ſoon as ſhe had gleaned any intelligence by which ſhe could inflame the quarrel, ſhe carried it immediately to her brother, and made ſuch additions to the tale as her preſent invention could ſupply. She uſed to relate to him every circumſtance of the correſpondence they held; reported the ſubſtance of their ſecret conſultations, and adviſed Herod to take proper ſteps for his ſecurity; for that there could be no doubt but his life was in imminent danger. With regard to their quarrels and opprobrious language when they were in the preſence of other company, ſhe ſaid that theſe were only artifices to blind the eyes of others; for that when they were by themſelves they were extreme good friends, though undoubtedly enemies to thoſe to whom ſhe wiſhed that friendſhip might be kept a ſecret. In a word, what diſcoveries ſhe made loſt nothing in the relation: ſhe carried every circumſtance to her brother; who, by this time, began to think that there was ſome foundation for

Caution of the conſpirators.

Salome diſcovers the intrigue.

what

what she advanced; but Herod concealed his sentiments with great care; nor did he give implicit credit to every thing that his sister said, for he was not unacquainted that her disposition was sufficiently malicious to make an exaggerated report of every thing that she had heard.

Descriptive character of the Pharisees.

The ladies of Herod's court were extremely devoted to a sect of men among the Jews who took a singular pride in what they deemed legal righteousness, and were very ostentatious of being thought more holy than other people. This sect bore the name of Pharisees: they were an assuming and artful set of men, equally remarkable for their cunning and arrogance; and being instigated by no small share of vanity and pride, they made no scruple of affronting kings, and of despising all kinds of regal authority. It may not be improper to give an instance of this. When the whole body of the Jewish people received orders to take an oath of fidelity to Herod and to Cæsar, these people, to the number of above seven thousand, alone refused to comply with the injunction. Some time afterwards a fine was levied upon them for this refusal; upon which the wife of Pheroras paid the money for them. Now it happened that the Pharisees had acquired a reputation for the spirit of prophecy; and the people believed that they received the special assistance of divine revelation: in return, therefore, for the singular favour that had been done them in paying the fine, they propagated a report that the kingdom should be transferred from Herod and his family, to the issue of the princess and her husband Pheroras. This circumstance coming to the knowledge of Salome, she immediately intimated it to the king, and informed him what arts of bribery and corruption had been made use of in order to procure such a prediction.

They refuse to swear allegiance, and are subjected to a fine.

They are reputed to be prophets.

Their predictions.

Some of the Pharisees put to death.

Hereupon a strict search and inquiry was made, in consequence of which several Pharisees were apprehended, and put to death, as having been the chief abettors of the seditious prophecy; and among these was Bagoas the eunuch, and a youth named Carus, who was a particular favourite of Herod, on account of the singular beauty and elegance of his person. Exclusive of these, several persons belonging to Herod's own family were convicted of being concerned in the conspiracy: and these convictions arose from the testimony of the Pharisees themselves. Now, previous to this, the Pharisees had flattered Bagoas that he should be considered as the parent and benefactor of the prince that was hereafter to fill the throne: they predicted too, that the new king should be prosperous in all his undertakings, and that the government should be established in his family by the perpetuity of a race of legal descendants.

The wife of Pheroras accused.

Within a little while after the Pharisees had been tried, convicted and executed, Herod caused a number of his friends to be summoned in council, before whom he exhibited a complaint against the wife of Pheroras, in which it was alledged, that "it was owing to her counsel and advice that his brother had rejected the offer of the royal virgins to him in marriage, in so contemptuous a manner as he had done; that contrary to all law, and in a most unnatural manner, she had, to the utmost of her power, promoted a quarrel betwixt brethren, not only by her words, but by her actions: that she had taken part with the obstinate and rebellious Pharisees, by discharging for them the fine which Herod himself had ordered them to pay: and that she was, in a greater or less degree, concerned in the whole conspiracy." For these reasons Herod was of opinion that Pheroras would but act agreeable to his duty, if he were to dismiss so abandoned a woman, one that had fomented such differences between those who were nearly related: and this he thought ought to be done without farther difficulty or intreaty; especially as affairs were now advanced to such a length, that Herod would never hereafter acknowledge Pheroras for his brother, if he did not disown that woman for his wife.

Herod advises Pheroras to divorce his wife;

Pheroras could not but be very sensibly affected by what Herod advanced on this occasion: but nevertheless he made a public declaration, that though he was willing to pay all possible duty and respect to his prince and brother, yet he could not entertain the least thoughts of abandoning his wife; that nothing in the world should induce him to part with her, and that death itself was preferable to the idea of living without her. This refusal gave great uneasiness to Herod; but for the present he concealed his resentment, and contented himself with enjoining Antipater and his mother not to have any correspondence with Pheroras, and forbidding the ladies of the court to indulge themselves in their accustomed conversations. They readily promised to pay obedience to the order of the king; but nevertheless met privately, and conferred in the usual manner: and Antipater and Pheroras were more frequent in conversation than ever. A report was propagated at this time, that a love-intrigue subsisted between Antipater and the wife of Pheroras; and that their acquaintance and connection was promoted by the mother of Antipater.

which he refuses to comply with.

The offence that Herod had taken at the conduct of Antipater, and the resentment that he had expressed against it, began now to give him great uneasiness; and apprehensive of what might happen, in case the king's anger should increase, he immediately wrote to his friends at Rome to procure him an order to wait upon Cæsar without loss of time. This favour being granted, Herod dismissed Antipater, loaded with presents of great value, and likewise with his last will and testament, in which Antipater was declared his successor; and in case of his death the government was to descend to his son Herod, whose mother was the daughter of the high-priest.

Antipater is sent to Rome by Herod.

At this period went likewise to Rome Syllæus, the Arabian, who had left unperformed some affairs which Cæsar had commanded him to transact. When Syllæus

Syllæus charged with treasonable practices.

was

was at Rome, Antipater accuſed him before Cæſar, in the ſame manner that Nicolaus had heretofore done. He was likewiſe accuſed by Aretas, with having, contrary to his will and command, put to death, at Petra, ſeveral perſons of unqueſtionable character, among whom were Sohemus, a man diſtinguiſhed by the eminence of his virtue, and Tabatus, a ſervant of Cæſar. The following were the particulars of the affair. Among the number of Herod's guards was a certain Corinthian, in whom the king repoſed a very great degree of confidence. Syllæus offered this perſon a conſiderable ſum of money to kill the king, and the affair had ſo far proceeded that they were come to an agreement. Now Syllæus having told the particulars of this intended aſſaſſination to Tabatus, he repaired to the king with the intelligence of it. Hereupon the Corinthian was immediately put to the torture; and being ſtrictly queſtioned reſpecting the deſign, he at length acknowledged it, and charged two Arabians with being concerned in the plot, one of whom was a perſon of very diſtinguiſhed rank, and the other a man in whom Syllæus repoſed the utmoſt confidence. Theſe parties being alſo put to the torture, they acknowledged that they had come thither with a view to urge the Corinthian to carry his intended deſign into execution, and alſo to give him their aſſiſtance if it ſhould be found neceſſary. Informations being taken of all that was ſaid, Herod tranſmitted them to Saturninus, and he ſent them to Rome, where the affair was to be further inquired into, and the merits of it finally determined.

Account of the intended aſſaſſination of the king.

CHAP. IV.

PHERORAS being ſent [illegible] to his Government, makes an Oath that he will not return during the Life of HEROD. HEROD being taken ill, ſends for PHERORAS, who apologizes for his Non-attendance on account of his Oath. Sickneſs and Death of PHERORAS. Inquiry concerning his Death, and Proceedings in conſequence of it.

Pheroras retires to his government.

HEROD finding that Pheroras had ſo much tenderneſs for his wife, that he was obſtinately reſolved not to renounce her, gave orders that he ſhould return immediately to his government; and this he did with great readineſs; but was ſo much chagrined at the manner of his being diſmiſſed, that he ſolemnly ſwore he would never come back while the king lived; and he held his reſolution firmly; for Herod being ſoon afterwards taken ill, ſent for Pheroras to pay him a viſit, and receive ſome neceſſary ſecret inſtructions previous to his death: but the latter declined his attendance, ſaying that he was bound by a ſolemn oath, which he could not think of violating. Herod, however, ſtill retained a very tender affection for his brother, as will appear by the following circumſtance; for Pheroras being in his turn ſeized with a fit of ſickneſs, the king went, without the ceremony of an invitation, to pay him a viſit. Pheroras dying of this diſorder, the king iſſued orders that his body ſhould be carried to Jeruſalem, where it was interred in a very diſtinguiſhed manner.

His oath.

Death of Pheroras, and his honourable funeral.

Antipater was at this time at Rome: but this misfortune was productive of great miſchiefs to him; for in a courſe of time the divine juſtice ſummoned him to a full account for the death of his brothers. I ſhall next relate, in the proper order, all the particulars reſpecting this affair, as they will tend to prove an example to mankind; and may ſerve as a caution to after ages, for perſons to conduct themſelves, in every event of life, agreeable to the rules of virtue, and the ſtrict laws of juſtice.

After the death of Pheroras, two of his freemen, of the Trachonite nation, for whom he had conceived a very ſingular regard, made earneſt application to Herod, requeſting that a careful inquiry might be made into the cauſe and manner of their maſter's death; and if it appeared to have been the conſequence of any unfair practices, that ample vengeance might be taken on thoſe to whoſe arts he had fallen a ſacrifice. They acquainted Herod (who paid a very particular attention to all they advanced) that on the evening in which Pheroras was ſeized with his illneſs, he had ſupped with his wife, when a mixed liquor was given him, that ſeemed to have a particularly diſagreeable taſte, and was extremely nauſeous to him on the firſt ſwallowing of it. They ſaid that this was carried to him by an Arabian woman, and that it was diſguiſed under the name of a love-potion; but was, in fact, a moſt ſubtle poiſon; and in the preparation of ſuch draughts theſe women excel all others in the univerſe. On inquiry it appeared that the woman on whom this crime was charged was the intimate friend and confident of Syllæus's miſtreſs, and that the mother and ſiſter of Pheroras's wife had been to her to prepare the poiſon; and that they returned from her but the very day preceding that on which the fatal draught was adminiſtered.

The Trachonites requeſt an inquiry to be made concerning the death of Pheroras.

Death of Pheroras cauſed by poiſon.

Herod was ſo agitated with paſſion at the hearing of this melancholy tale, that he gave immediate orders for a number of women, thoſe who were free, as well as ſlaves, to be put to the torture. They bore their ſufferings for a conſiderable time, and no diſcovery was made; but at length one of them, in the extremity of her pain, made an exclamation to the following purport: "Would to God that the mother of Antipater was now in my ſituation; for that wicked woman hath been the cauſe of this extreme diſtreſs that we ſuffer." Herod conceiving that he had now a clue to guide him in his inquiries, immediately came to a reſolution to ſearch the whole affair to the bottom. In purſuance of this deſign, he learnt every particular of the intrigue, dived into the

Several women being put to the torture, the female conſpiracy is diſcovered.

the whole myſtery of their management, and acquired a knowledge of the particulars that paſſed at all their ſecret meetings, conſultations and cabals. He now heard the ſubſtance of ſeveral diſcourſes which had paſſed between himſelf and Antipater, which were ſubjects of common converſation among the women, who were even acquainted with the circumſtance of his having given a talent to keep ſecret ſome particular affairs from the knowledge of Pheroras. Theſe female evidences farther mentioned the hatred which Antipater entertained for his father, and that, in converſation with his mother, he would very frequently ſay, "I believe the old fellow will never die." Yet at this period Antipater himſelf was ſo far advanced in years, that if the government had then deſcended to him, he could not have expected any great, or long-continued enjoyment of it: beſides, there were ſo many children and grand-children, that his proſpect of ſucceeding to the throne was at beſt but very remote and uncertain: and, as affairs were at that time ſituated, in caſe himſelf was to die, the right of ſucceeding to the throne would remain with his brother, and not with his ſon. The evidences farther ſaid, that it was a common practice with Antipater to cenſure his father for his cruelty and inhumanity to his own ſons; and ſay that his barbarities went ſuch lengths, that he himſelf was obliged to go to Rome, and Pheroras to retire to his own government, by way of conſulting their perſonal ſafety.

Herod turns Doris, mother of Antipater, out of his palace.

As this account correſponded, in almoſt every particular, with what Herod's ſiſter had heretofore informed him of, he made no farther doubt or ceremony with regard to the giving orders reſpecting Doris, the mother of Antipater, who was now conſidered as convicted of the moſt material part of the treaſon: directions were therefore given that ſhe ſhould be immediately ſtripped of all her jewels, which were of very conſiderable value, and turned out of the palace; and theſe orders were punctually complied with. Reſpecting the women of the family of Pheroras, the king behaved in a more favourable manner to them, in conſequence of the information they had given.

Plot of Antipater to poiſon the king.

No degree of evidence was now wanting againſt Antipater; but that part of the charge reſpecting his conduct which appeared to criminate him in the higheſt degree, and to be the leaſt worthy of forgiveneſs, aroſe from the confeſſion of a Samaritan likewiſe named Antipater, who held an office of truſt under the other Antipater. This man, excluſive of other charges againſt his maſter, declared that he had left a moſt venomous poiſon in the hands of Pheroras, to be adminiſtered to the king during the abſence of Antipater, when leſs ſuſpicion would attend the perpetration of the deed. The informer declared that this poiſon was brought from Egypt, by a perſon named Antiphilius, a friend of Antipater, whoſe uncle Theudion, the brother of Doris, his mother, ſent it to Pheroras, who committed it to the care of his wife.

Examination of the widow of Pheroras.

Hereupon Herod ſent for the widow of Pheroras, in order to examine her reſpecting the particulars of the affair: ſhe confeſſed the circumſtance, and pretended as if ſhe would go and fetch the poiſon; but threw herſelf from one of the galleries of the palace into the court; but happening to fall on her feet, the hurt ſhe received did not prove mortal. As ſoon as ſhe was tolerably well recovered, Herod again ſent for her, and promiſed pardon both to herſelf, and every branch of her family, on condition that they would make an ample diſcovery of the whole truth: but he threatened that, if either through obſtinacy, or any other cauſe whatever, they ſhould ſecrete any part of the intended plot, he would puniſh them in the ſevereſt manner. Hereupon the widow of Pheroras made a ſolemn oath that ſhe would relate the whole affair, with all its circumſtances; nor ſeek to conceal a ſingle particular; and it was the prevailing opinion that ſhe did not falſify her word. The particulars of her ſtory, addreſſed to Herod, were as follows:

Her confeſſion, which is confirmed by others.

"The poiſon in queſtion was brought out of Egypt by Antiphilius, where it had been prepared by a brother of his, who practiſed as a phyſician. It was purchaſed by Antipater, for the purpoſe of deſtroying your majeſty. It was delivered by Theudion to Pheroras, who committed it to my care. Some time afterwards, when my huſband fell ill, he was ſo deeply impreſſed with a ſenſe of your kind and generous behaviour, in the friendly viſit you were kind enough to make him on that occaſion, that he ſent for me to attend him, and addreſſed me as follows: 'Antipater has ſeduced me to be concerned in a moſt horrid and inhuman plot to poiſon both my brother and his father. Now I am impreſſed with ſo deep a ſenſe of the king's unalterable regard and tenderneſs to me, and of my own ſituation as one on the verge of eternity, that I am determined, by the bleſſing of God, not to depart this life loaded with the guilt and infamy of having been concerned in a conſpiracy big with ſuch aggravated enormity: therefore, I charge you, let the poiſon be immediately brought hither and thrown into the fire in my preſence.' On his giving theſe directions, I inſtantly fetched the poiſon, and diſpoſed of it as he had commanded me; excepting only a very ſmall quantity of it, which I reſerved for my own uſe, in caſe it ſhould happen, that after the death of my huſband, I ſhould be reduced to ſuch an unhappy ſituation, as to think of having recourſe to ſo deſperate an alleviator of my pains."

Having ſaid this, ſhe produced the remainder of the poiſon, which was contained in a box, and ſubmitted it to the examination of all preſent. Not long after this, the mother of Antiphilius, and likewiſe one of his brothers, were put to the torture, and confirmed ſome circumſtances that had been advanced by the wife of Pheroras, particularly that reſpecting the box of poiſon. An accuſation was likewiſe exhibited againſt one of the king's wives, who was the daughter of the high-prieſt; but ſhe confeſſed not a ſingle circumſtance. Notwithſtanding

Herod divorces one of his wives, and disinherits his son.

ing this, Herod totally disclaimed and discharged her, and struck her son, who was likewise named Herod, out of his will, though he had designed him for his successor, in case of the death of Antipater previous to his own. He likewise deposed from the office of high-priest his father-in-law, Simon, the son of Boethus; and promoted to that dignity, in his stead, Matthias of Jerusalem, the son of Theophilus.

Confession of Bathyllus, and accusation of Archelaus and Philip, sons of Herod.

In the mean time there arrived from Rome, Bathyllus, one of the freemen of Antipater: and this man being put to the torture, acknowledged that he had brought poison to Pheroras, and the mother of Antipater, which was intended to be used in case what had formerly been provided should fail. About this time Herod received a number of letters from Rome: but these were all sent by the contrivance and direction of Antipater, and the management of his friends, whom he gratified by presents, and in other ways, for the share they had in this business. These letters were filled with remarks on the freedom taken on all occasions by Archelaus and Philip, in their conversation respecting Herod, with whom, it was insinuated, they took great liberties respecting the murder of Alexander and Aristobulus, for whose unhappy fate they pretended to have the most generous compassion: and suggesting that themselves were now only summoned back, in order to be treated with the same severity as those who had hitherto fallen sacrifices to the resentment of the king. Now these things (as hath been hinted above) all arose from the contrivance of Antipater, who managed the whole business; and in order to put a plausible face on the affair, wrote complimentary letters on this occasion to Herod. In these letters he insinuated that the young men were of warm dispositions, and therefore, perhaps, the more excusable, though they had not behaved or conversed with so much caution a respect as might have been wished and expected: and the letters contained much other matter to a similar purpose.

Instance of Antipater's unpopularity.

Antipater had sought to obtain a number of friends at court, by writing obliging letters, and distributing to the amount of three hundred talents in presents. Now it was a circumstance deemed very extraordinary, that, in the space of seven months (for the inquiry had been going on during all that time), Antipater should never receive the least intimation of the business in hand: but so great was the care taken to watch and guard all the avenues of the palace, and so universal the ill-will that the people bore to Antipater, that not a man was to be found who chose to risque his own safety, by giving him the necessary information to prevent his destruction.

CHAP. V.

Letters pass between HEROD and ANTIPATER. The latter receives Intelligence of the Death of PHERORAS. ANTIPATER proceeds to SEBASTE, where the People receive him only with Curses and Imprecations.

Herod, in a letter to Antipater, hastens his return home.

LETTERS having been sent to the king from Antipater, intimating that he was on the point of adjusting his business at Rome, and making proper preparations for his return, Herod sent him, by way of answer, a complaisant and artful letter, in which he advised him, by all means, to make what expedition he could towards home, lest, during his absence, any thing should happen that might prove disagreeable to him. This letter contained not a single word that might tend to make him uneasy, other than a few reflections on the conduct of his mother; but he said that all disputes would be easily adjusted on his arrival. Herod's letter was likewise replete with professions of kindness and friendship, apprehending that if Antipater had supposed any artifice had been used, he might have delayed his journey, and then it was doubtful if he might not have made interest at Rome, to have got Herod removed from the government, and himself established in his place.

Antipater is informed of the death of Pheroras.

The letter from Herod came to the hands of Antipater, while he was at Cilicia, on his journey; and when he arrived at Tarentum he received other letters, giving him advice of the death of Pheroras, a circumstance that gave him great uneasiness, not on account of any affection that he bore to the deceased, but because the poisoning of the king, which the other had engaged for, had failed. When he came as far as Celenderis, a city of Cilicia, the guilt of his conscience, or rather the fear of punishment, made him hesitate if he should proceed forwards, or return. The odium that had been cast on his mother's character hurt his mind; and debating with his friends on the situation of affairs, they were divided in opinion how he ought to act. Some thought it would be prudent to wait a while, and see what would be the event; while others conceived it might be right to advance with all possible expedition, as they made not the least doubt but that, on his appearance, he would be able fully to justify his conduct. They urged that it was nothing but his absence that gave his enemies so great an advantage over him, by affording them an opportunity of propagating a number of idle reports. Being determined by those arguments, he continued his journey to Sebaste, the port which Herod had built, at a most enormous expence, in honour of Cæsar.

His ill reception by the people.

The fate of Antipater began now to be predicted by the people in general. He, who when he went from home, was attended by the blessings of the public, the most fervent vows being offered for his prosperity, had not now a single person to bid him welcome, or to pay him the respect that was due to his rank: on the contrary, the multitude combined to heap curses on his head; the people universally imploring Heaven to avenge the death of his brothers by the punishment of the murderer.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

JUDAS and MATTHIAS inveigh againſt the Golden Eagle. They, with forty others, taken Priſoners. They juſtify their Conduct, but are ſent in Bonds to JERICHO. MATTHIAS depoſed, and JOZAR advanced in his ſtead. The Ringleaders of the Sedition burnt alive. HEROD ſends for SALOME and ALEXAS. A horrid Order given by HEROD.

Illneſs of Herod, and ſome particulars of his will.

HEROD being taken extremely ill, made his will, and having, through the aſperſions of Antipater, loſt all good opinion of Archelaus and Philip, he appointed, his youngeſt ſon to ſucceed him. He bequeathed a thouſand talents to Cæſar, and five hundred more to Julia the empreſs, his children, friends and freemen. To his ſiſter Salome he bequeathed a large fortune, in conſideration of her unceaſing affection for him; and the reſt of his poſſeſſions, in money, lands and revenues, he left to his ſons and grand-children. Herod was now on the verge of ſeventy years of age, and as his illneſs increaſed greatly, his recovery was deſpaired of: he was exceedingly paſſionate and furious, and his diſpoſition was ſo much ſoured by his illneſs, that it was impoſſible to do any thing which would afford him ſatisfaction. In fact, what gave him the moſt uneaſineſs was his own pride, in conſequence of an idea which he entertained that the people had taken an antipathy to him, and hated him to ſuch a degree as to take ſatisfaction in whatever made him unhappy: and he was rather confirmed in this opinion than otherwiſe, by a diſturbance which happened during his illneſs, occaſioned by the inſtigations and artful management of certain men of eminent diſtinction, who took the lead in the affairs; of which the following are the particulars:

Sedition raiſed by Judas and Matthias.

Among the Jews there were two men who had acquired a ſingular degree of reputation, for their diſtinguiſhed knowledge in general, and their ſingular ſkill in the practice of the law in particular. Theſe perſons were likewiſe very great favourites with the people, in conſequence of the care they took in educating their children in the knowledge and practice of their ſeveral duties, and the profeſſions for which they were intended, to which the preceptors devoted almoſt the whole of their time. The names of theſe men were Judas, the ſon of Sariphæus, and Matthias, the ſon of Margolothus. Theſe two eminent perſons had no ſooner received information that the king's friends deſpaired of his life, than they immediately impreſſed the young men with an idea of ſetting about the buſineſs of reformation: adviſed them to deſtroy all theſe new erections and ſtructures which Herod had cauſed to be built, contrary to the ancient laws of the country; and they aſſured them, that they ſhould infallibly meet with an ample reward, if they approved themſelves valiant champions in defence of the truth: they adviſed them likewiſe to reflect, that all the diſturbances and contentions which had happened in the royal family, as well as the deſperate diſeaſe under which the king laboured, were ſimply denunciations of the divine vengeance againſt him for having violated the antient cuſtoms: and this point was particularly inſiſted on by Judas and Matthias.

They adviſe the people to pull down the golden eagle.

Among others, a ſingular inſtance of ſuperſtitious magnificence was the dedication of a golden eagle, of extraordinary weight, and immenſe value, which was placed over the portal of the temple. Now this being clearly contrary to the directions contained in our laws, which poſitively prohibit the uſe of ſuch ornamental figures in ſuch ſituations, Judas and Matthias adviſed their followers to pull down the eagle, in an addreſs to the following purport: "We confeſs that it will be an enterpriſe attended with ſome danger; but an honourable death is to be preferred to a life of ignominious eaſe. You cannot forfeit your lives in any way that will redound more to your credit, than in the aſſertion of the laws and rites of your country, which will immortalize your names. If this diſtinction be not ſought for, the brave and the ignoble will be equally undiſtinguiſhed in the ſame common grave: wherefore perſons of unſullied honour, and ſuperior virtue, would act well even to court death, which is but a common fate, by ſeeking a proper and glorious opportunity to embrace it; and thus depart from a troubleſome world with ſatisfaction. The dread of mortality, and even the pain of dying are taken away, when a man departs this life in the conſciouſneſs that he has acted a proper part in it, and he at once tranſmits both the fame and the reward of his actions to thoſe that may ſucceed him."

It is deſtroyed by the populace.

This addreſs was no ſooner ended than a report was ſpread of the death of the king; which added to what they had juſt heard, had ſuch an effect upon the people, that they were animated in the higheſt degree, and though is was now noon-day, they got upon the portal, pulled down the eagle, and cut it to pieces with their axes, in the preſence of an immenſe number of ſpectators who were aſſembled in the temple. The news of this outrage had no ſooner reached Herod's commander in chief, than he aſſembled a large body of troops, and haſtened away to the ſpot, to prevent the perpetration of farther miſchief; though, in fact, he found what had happened to be much leſs conſiderable than he had imagined. When he came to the ſpot there was no appearance of an enemy to be ſeen, except a rabble of people might be deemed ſuch, who had neither arms, nor were under diſcipline, and were eaſily diſperſed, on the firſt attack made upon them: the leaders, however, Judas and Matthias, with about forty of their adherents, maintained their ground, as they made it a point of honour not to fly on this occaſion.

Theſe

Judas and Matthias taken into cuſtody, and examined by Herod.

Theſe being immediately taken into cuſtody, were conducted to Herod, who demanded of them how they dared to commit ſuch an outrage upon the ſacred figure of the eagle; on which they made a reply in ſubſtance as follows: "We have for a conſiderable time paſt entertained thoughts of this affair, and having at length come to a reſolution of carrying it into execution, we conceive that we have acted as men of honour and ſpirit ought to have done. As to the deed we have done, it was in aſſertion of the honour of Almighty God, in purſuance of that great teacher whoſe diſciples we are proud to be thought. We beſeech you, Sir, not to deem it an act worthy your aſtoniſhment, if we have given a preference to the laws which were tranſmitted to us by Moſes, and which he received from God himſelf, to any other laws or commands whatſoever. We cannot conceive of ourſelves as ſufferers for any criminal action; but for having done our duty, and obeyed the dictates of our conſciences: and, in a cauſe of this kind, we are ready to ſubmit to death, or to any other puniſhment that may be inflicted." It was evident that in all they ſaid and did reſpecting this matter, there was a perfect correſpondence between their ſentiments and actions, and that they were as ready to abide the conſequence as they had been to tranſact the deed.

They are ſent bound to Jericho.

Soon after this Herod ſent them in bonds to Jericho, where he convened a large aſſembly of the Jews, and being himſelf at this time very much indiſpoſed by illneſs, he was carried into the council-room in a chair, where he made the following ſpeech on the occaſion: "You are not inſenſible of the unabating ardor, and unwearied pains with which I have conſulted the intereſt of the public: you know that at an immenſe charge, I have re-conſtructed the temple, for the accommodation of the people: a work which, in the ſpace of an hundred and twenty-five years, the whole race of the Aſmonæan family were unable to accompliſh. You are appriſed that I did not only rebuild this fabric, but endowed it, and enriched it with ornaments, and preſented it with ample donations, correſpondent with the magnificence of the work: yet at length, when I conceived that, after my deceaſe, my memory would have been preſerved by the diſtinguiſhed ſplendor of my works, and that the good offices I had done would have perpetuated my glory, I am inſulted while living; for benefits conferred, indignities are offered: the people are witneſſes of the affronts given to me at noon day: the gifts and ornaments I have beſtowed on the temple are torn from thence: and ſacrilege is the conſequence of a pre-determined malicious proceeding: but it is not to me ſo much as to God, that the affront is offered."

The principal people of the council, unable to judge how far Herod might be tranſported by the impulſe of his cruelty, thought it the moſt prudent method to ſecure themſelves by an early declaration of their opinion. This they did by averring, that they were wholly innocent of the fact complained of, and, that according to their ſentiments, the rioters merited the ſevereſt puniſhment. This declaration was very pleaſing to the king: but he deprived Matthias of the office of high-prieſt, preſuming that he was concerned in the contrivance, and beſtowed it on his brother-in-law Jozar. While the above-named Matthias exerciſed the pontifical office, it happened on a particular night, preceding a day appointed for faſting, that he dreamt he ſlept with his wife; by which circumſtance he became unqualified for the diſcharge of his duty the next day, on which occaſion his near relation Joſeph, the ſon of Elemus, was commiſſioned to ſupply his place for that day. Herod having deprived Matthias of the office of high-prieſt, iſſued orders that the other Matthias, the principal in the late tumultuous proceedings, ſhould be burnt alive, together with all his aſſociates. There happened to be an eclipſe of the moon on the night theſe orders were carried into execution.

The high-prieſthood taken from Matthias, and given to Jozar.

Herod's illneſs now increaſed to a ſhocking height, and was univerſally deemed to be a judgment on him for the exceſs of his crimes. He had an inward fever which parched him to an exceſſive degree, that it ſeemed as if his inſide was burnt. His appetite was voracious as that of a dog: he was tormented with a cholic, and ulcers in the bowels; his feet and groin were ſwelled with tumours; his ſecret parts were filled with worms, and putrifying; he had a peſtilential and painful tentigo, with cramps, contractions of the nerves, and an aſthma: in a word, ſo extraordinary were his ſufferings, that men of ſkill, philoſophy, and religion, combined in the opinion that he was viſited by the immediate hand of God*. Yet though his pains were as ſevere as his diſorder was hopeleſs of cure, he himſelf was the the only perſon who did not deſpair, but ſtill continued to ſend far and near for freſh phyſicians, and to inquire for new remedies.

Herod's ſevere diſtemper, and the torments attending it.

At length he paſſed over the river Jordan to the hot baths at Callirrhoe, which make their way into the lake of Aſphaltites. Theſe waters are very agreeable in taſte, excluſive of the mineral virtue they poſſeſs. When he was at this place, his phyſicians gave orders that he ſhould be placed up to the ſhoul-

* We need not wonder that the vengeance of heaven ſhould fall uncommonly heavy upon this monſter of barbarity and wickedneſs, when we reflect on the many enormous crimes he had been guilty of during his government; among which we may reckon his murdering, ſoon after the birth of Chriſt, "all the children that were in Bethlehem, and all the coaſts thereof, from two years old and under," Matt. ii. 16. In ſhort, his whole life ſeemed to compoſe one unvaried ſcene of pride, ambition, vice, and cruelty, rendering him deteſtable both to God and men.

ders

ders in a veſſel of oil; which being done, he was ſeized with ſuch a fainting fit, that his attendants, ſuppoſing him to be dead, burſt out into ſuch cries and lamentations, that he was, for the preſent, recovered by the noiſe they made.

Herod by this time began to ſee that he had but flattered himſelf with that continuation of life which was not to be expected; whereupon he ordered a donation of fifty drachmas to be given to each of his ſoldiers, and having directed larger ſums to be diſtributed among his officers and friends, he returned to Jericho: but he had not been long at that place before the wickedneſs of his diſpoſition tempted him to think of taking leave of the world, by an act more dreadful and diabolical than perhaps ever entered into the mind of any other man to conceive. He iſſued a ſummons to all the Jews of the greateſt diſtinction in the country, to attend him at Jericho without loſs of time, and denounced the penalty of death on their omiſſion. Having made their appearance agreeable to the order, he directed that they ſhould all be ſhut up together within the circus, or tilt-yard, without the leaſt inquiry as to their guilt or innocence.

Shocking inſtance of his cruelty when near death.

This being done, he ſent for his ſiſter Salome, and her huſband Alexas, and on their attendance addreſſed them in the following manner. "I am now drawing towards my end. My pains are very great; and I muſt yield to the inevitable ſtroke of death, the fate which is allotted to mankind in general. I muſt acknowledge that it would give me ſome kind of concern, to think that I ſhould be deprived of thoſe funeral honours which is cuſtomary to pay to ſovereign princes. I am not inſenſible what kind of treatment I am to expect at the hands of the Jews. They have deteſted me during my life, and will rejoice to learn the news of my death: but it is yet in the power of you two to afford me ſome ſatisfaction even in my laſt moments: and I think that you owe me this obligation, in return for all the favours I have conferred on you. I therefore beſeech you to attend to the orders I give, and I yet promiſe myſelf one of the moſt honourable funeral ſolemnities by which any prince was ever diſtinguiſhed: the thought even now glads my heart, that at the concluſion of my life there ſhould be a general mourning, in which every tear that is ſhed ſhall proceed from the unfeigned dictates of the heart. That this purpoſe may be effected, I direct that as ſoon as ever my body ſhall be breathleſs, the circus be encompaſſed by ſoldiers, and the word of command being given, let every man within it be put to death. But let no mention be made of my decree till this work be accompliſhed. By the careful performance of this order you will doubly oblige me: in the firſt place by the execution of my will, and in the ſecond by occaſioning a general mourning to celebrate my death." Herod accompanied this ſpeech with inceſſant tears, and beſought Salome and Alexas, by all the ſacred ties of friendſhip, mutual confidence, and conſanguinity, to be punctual and faithful in the diſcharge of what he had committed to their care; and they ſolemnly promiſed him an unreſerved obedience to all his commands.

Reflection on his final act of barbarity.

I am aware that ſome perſons, on recollection of the horrid barbarities of Herod to his neareſt relations in former inſtances, will be of opinion that the ſteps taken may be in ſome meaſure juſtified by the neceſſity of his being cruel in his own defence, to prevent the ill effects of their mutual jealouſies and competitions: but his character, in this laſt act, marks him for one of the moſt unnatural ſavages that ever was diſtinguiſhed by the human form. When he found his life advancing haſtily to a period, he left orders to doom others to deſtruction, taking effectual care that the whole nation ſhould mourn for him, ſince, in obedience to his commands, it muſt happen that at leaſt one in each family would fall a ſacrifice to the rigid order. What adds to the infamy of this proceeding is, that there was no provocation, or injury intended, nor any plauſible reaſon or pretext for the perpetration of it. Among perſons actuated by any ſenſe of religion or the common feelings of humanity, the greateſt enemies are reconciled by the approach of death, and all animoſities are buried in the grave.

CHAP. VII.

CÆSAR writes to HEROD, that ACME is put to Death, and ANTIPATER left to his Father's Diſpoſal. HEROD prevented from killing himſelf by AHIAB. ANTIPATER, ſuppoſing the King dead, offers to bribe the Keeper to let him eſcape. The Keeper gives the King Intelligence of this Circumſtance, who orders one of his Guards to kill ANTIPATER. HEROD appoints ARCHELAUS to ſucceed him: he is acknowledged King. HEROD's pompous Funeral.

Acme put to death at Rome

AT the period that Herod was giving his final orders to his relations, his embaſſadors arrived from Rome, with an anſwer to the letters they carried to Cæſar, the purport of which was in ſubſtance as follows: "That Acme had been put to death by the order of Cæſar, for having held a correſpondence with Antipater, but that the emperor left the death or baniſhment, or other puniſhment, of Antipater to the diſcretion of the king his father." Herod ſeemed to be greatly pleaſed at the conſideration that Acme had received condign puniſhment, and much gratified by the permiſſion to act as he thought proper with his ſon. But the pains of his illneſs ſoon increaſed to a great degree; and in a kind of greedy fit of hunger, he aſked for a knife and an apple, as it was his common cuſtom to pare his own apples, and eat them by degrees, as his inclination demanded them. He was no ſooner ſup-

Herod attempts to deſtroy himſelf, but is prevented.

plied with the knife, than he was obſerved to look about him as if he entertained an idea of ſtabbing himſelf; but being attentively watched by his nephew Ahiab, he was prevented from perpetrating the deed juſt as he had lifted his right hand to make the ſtroke; Ahiab ſeizing it, and making a loud exclamation. The noiſe occaſioned by this circumſtance alarmed the court a ſecond time; and the people in general entertained no doubt but that the king was at the point of death.

Antipater being informed of this circumſtance, was confident in his own mind that his father was dead; and as he had no doubt but that he ſhould now procure his liberty, he likewiſe entertained ſanguine hopes of obtaining poſſeſſion of the throne. Impreſſed with this idea, he ſpoke to his keeper to admit of his diſcharge, making him ample offers of gratification, at preſent, and promiſing that he ſhould be preferred when he came to the crown, if he would comply with his requeſt: but the keeper, ſo far from acceding to the terms, went immediately and informed the king of all that had happened. Now

Antipater ſlain by Herod's order.

Herod entertained no ſmall degree of enmity to Antipater before this circumſtance, which however inflamed his paſſions to ſuch a degree, that, though he was in the agonies of death, he ſtarted up in a violent rage, and with the utmoſt bitterneſs of language, and vehemence of action, gave orders to one of his guards to go that inſtant, and diſpatch Antipater, and commanded that his body ſhould be buried in the caſtle of Hyrcania, in a private manner.

Herod appoints Archelaus to ſucceed him.

Herod, before his death, gave orders for an alteration in his will, by which he gave the kingdom to Archelaus; and having in his former will declared that Antipas ſhould ſucceed to the government, he now appointed him tetrarch of Galilee and Peræa. He gave to his ſon Philip, the brother in law of Archelaus, the provinces of Trachon and Gaulon, with thoſe of Batanæa and Panias, under the denomination of a tetrarchy. To his ſiſter Salome he gave Jamnia, Azotus, and Phaſaelis, with fifty thouſand pieces of coined money; and to his other relations he bequeathed caſh or land as legacies. He left ten millions of pieces of ready coin, with gold and ſilver plate, and variety of all kinds of rich furniture to Cæſar; and to the empreſs Julia and her friends five millions in coin. This will being executed, Herod died, in the thirty-ſeventh year after he had been declared king of the Jews by the Romans, thirty-four years after Antigonus had been expelled, and five days after the death of Antipater.

His character

Herod was diſtinguiſhed by the cruelty of his diſpoſition; he was greatly influenced by the violence of his paſſions; arbitrary in his conduct, yet generally ſucceſsful in his undertakings. He aroſe from the condition of a private man to that of a king; he encountered many difficulties, but got through them in an extraordinary manner, and lived to a full age. With regard to his diſturbances with his children and family, though I ſhould deem him unhappy, yet he was far from being ſo in his own opinion, as he generally prevailed againſt all oppoſition.

The leading men in the circus diſcharged.

Salome and Alexas made a point of keeping the death of Herod a profound ſecret, and going immediately to thoſe eminent perſons who were confined in the circus, told them, in the name of the king, that they were at liberty, and might immediately depart and follow their lawful occupations, for there was no farther reaſon to reſtrain their conduct: and this generous device was extremely acceptable to the Jews in general.

The king's death made public.

As it was now deemed proper to make the king's death public, the troops were ordered to aſſemble at the amphitheatre at Jericho, where Herod's letters to the army were read. Theſe contained the moſt liberal acknowledgments of the zeal and fidelity of their paſt ſervices, and they were requeſted to continue the ſame affectionate obedience to Archelaus, who was now appointed to ſucceed to the throne. This being done, Ptolemy, the keeper of the king's ſeal, now read the will of Herod, in which was this particular clauſe, "That the will itſelf was not to be allowed valid, or of force, till it had received the ſanction of Cæſar's approbation." As ſoon as the will was read, the people ſhouted, with loud acclamations of "God ſave king Archelaus!" the officers and ſoldiers uniting in wiſhing him a happy reign, and promiſing that the ſame degree of duty and fidelity which had been paid to his predeceſſor, ſhould be continued to the new king.

Archelaus ſaluted as king.

Pomp and order of Herod's funeral.

It now remained to take proper care of the funeral ſolemnity, and this was the particular buſineſs of Archelaus, who directed that it ſhould be conducted with the utmoſt pomp and grandeur, and determined to appear himſelf in the character of principal mourner. The body was placed on a litter adorned with gold, and embelliſhed with precious ſtones of great value: it was covered with purple, and on the head was a diadem, over which was a crown of gold, and in the right hand was a ſceptre. By the ſide of the corpſe marched the ſons and relations of Herod: Theſe were followed by numbers of ſoldiers in different diviſions: the royal guards going firſt; next to them the troops of Thrace; then the Germans, and after them the Galatians: all of them dreſſed and armed as if going to battle. Theſe were followed by the reſt of the army, each diviſion commanded by its proper officers; and five hundred domeſtics of the court, carrying ſpices and perfumes, brought up the rear. In this funeral pomp they proceeded to Herodium, eight furlongs diſtant from Jeruſalem, where the body was interred, according to former orders given for that purpoſe.

Courteous behaviour of Archelaus to the people.

Archelaus having, agreeable to the cuſtom of the country, devoted ſeven days to the celebration of the funeral rites of his father, and the cuſtomary term of

mourning

mourning being now ended, he entertained the people assembled on the occasion, and then departed to the temple; where being seated upon a throne of gold, he received the congratulations and good wishes of the public. These he answered in the most affable and respectful manner, saying that he deemed it a proof (after the ill treatment they had received from his father) of their great good-will, that they received him so favourably; and assuring them that he would never forget this instance of their friendship. "For the present (said he) I do not pretend to assume the name of king, as I think that I have no right so to do till Cæsar has ratified my claim by an approbation of the contents of my father's will. The want of Cæsar's authority prevented me from assuming the dignity, when the army at Jericho pressed my acceptance of it, as I was not lawfully invested with the possession: but when the time shall arrive when my title to govern shall admit of no farther dispute, it shall be the business of my life to consult your pleasure and advantage in all things, and to give you occasion to acknowledge that my reign over you is more agreeable than ever you found that of my father."

The modesty and affability of discourse and behaviour by which the new prince appeared to be distinguished, was extremely acceptable to the people, who seemed to rely (as is common in such cases) with the most implicit confidence on the sincerity and veracity of every thing that he said. Indeed such was their apparent confidence in him, that they determined to make an immediate trial of his liberality by a request of various favours. Some of them entreated a remission of taxes, others requested the liberty of their friends, many of whom had been apprehended, and confined a long while in prison, by the command of Herod; and a third sort exclaimed vehemently against several duties and impositions which had been laid on such of the necessaries of life as were brought to the public markets.

He grants their requests.

Archelaus having considered the nature of their demands, and the critical juncture in which they were made, thought it a point of prudence to comply with them all: and after the sacrifice was ended, he invited his friends home with him, where a splendid entertainment was provided.

CHAP. VIII.

A Faction seek to embroil the Government. A Tumult approaching to Rebellion. The Temple crouded by factious JEWS. ARCHELAUS cuts off Three Thousand. SALOME an Enemy to ARCHELAUS. ARCHELAUS departs for ROME, and VARUS for ANTIOCH. ANTIPAS repairs to ROME, and claims the Succession. ARCHELAUS informed against by SABINUS. He gives in his Defence. A Council summoned by CÆSAR. ANTIPATER speaks against ARCHELAUS, who is charged with Usurpation, and arbitrary Proceedings. ANTIPATER appeals on the Matter of Fact. CÆSAR's Behaviour to ARCHELAUS.

A factious tumult among the Jews.

AT this period there was a faction of Jews, who, being discontented with the measures of government, used to hold frequent and private meetings, in which they concerted schemes of opposition to the public proceedings. After some consideration they could not fix on any more proper subject of complaint, than the affair of Matthias and his companions, whom Herod had executed for destroying the golden eagle. While the king lived, they were afraid to make any open attempt to vindicate the honour of the reformers, or to justify their conduct: but now he was dead, they were outrageous in their invectives, and clamorous in their abuse, loading his memory with every opprobrious epithet. They would frequently assemble in the most tumultuous manner, demanding that Archelaus should give them satisfaction by a rigorous execution of justice on those friends of Herod who were most instrumental in procuring the death of the reformers; as if the dead could be benefited by punishing the living: and they particularly required that the high-priest whom Herod had promoted should be removed, and some man of character be advanced in his stead.

An officer sent by Archelaus to pacify them.

Archelaus was far from being pleased with this peremptory behaviour; but as he was on the point of departing to Cæsar, for the ratification of his power, and instructions for his conduct, he thought it prudent to accommodate matters on the best terms possible; wherefore he sent a principal officer to try what effect a moderate conduct and reasonable arguments might have on the people; who addressed them as follows:

"This is certainly an improper time to think of revengeful measures. The persons who were punished were lawfully convicted; and your interposition in the present manner is an assumption of power to which you have no right. You will do well to reflect that Archelaus is now on the point of his departure for Rome; and on his return with a ratification of his commission, there is no doubt but that every grievance will be redressed: in the interim it is requisite that you should live in peace and friendship with each other, and not incur the penalties of seditious practices."

The outrageous multitude refuse to hearken to terms.

So violent an opposition was made to this speech, and it was followed by such outrageous exclamations, that the man who should have attempted to quell the tumult, would have done it at the hazard of his life. The multitude said that they had the law in their own hands, and as Herod was dead, they would be revenged for the destruction of those friends whom he had assassinated while living; and they were astonished that any hesitation should be made on this subject. So violent were their passions, that they confounded

confounded all ideas of right and wrong, conceived that their preſent humour ought neceſſarily to prevail, and ſeemed to forget the means of conſulting their own ſafety, while they ſought the deſtruction of others. Mean time, the king himſelf, and ſeveral other perſons, made proper application to them, to ſooth their paſſions; but an effect was conſtantly produced contrary to what was wiſhed; they became more violent than ever; and if their numbers had been equal to their ſpirit, a rebellion would have concluded what commenced only in a tumult.

A party of the ſeditious croud into the temple at the paſſover.

At this time the feaſt of the paſſover, or unleavened bread (which is the memorial of the deliverance of the Iſraelites from the land of Egypt), being near at hand, an immenſe number of people more than was uſual, from contiguous as well as more diſtant parts, came up to Jeruſalem, to worſhip God, and offer ſacrifices on the occaſion. A number of factious Jews now crouded into the temple, and there remained, declaring that they would not abandon their ſituation, though they had no other reſource to prevent their ſtarving than begging their bread. It was found that their intentions in taking up this ſituation was to conſole with the multitude for the loſs of their two favourite teachers, Judas and Matthias, and to inſtigate the people to revenge their deaths. This tumult ſeemed to wear a threatening aſpect, when, in fear of ill conſequences, Archelaus ſent an officer, with a party of the guards, to ſuppreſs it in time, before the rebellious diſpoſition had ſpread among the people in general: orders being given, that if any obſtinate reſiſtance was made, the ringleaders of the mutiny ſhould be ſeized, and carried before Archelaus, that they might be puniſhed by way of example to the reſt.

Archelaus ſends a body of forces to reſtrain their rage; and 3000 are cut off.

Immediately on the appearance of the ſoldiers, the factious crew abuſed them in ſo clamorous and outrageous a manner, that the whole multitude ſeeming to be inſpired with a general ſpirit of revenge, aſſailed them with ſtones, and other weapons, and killed them all except the commanding officer, and a few wounded men, who made their eſcape with him. This being done, the people proceeded with their ſacrifices as before. At length the conteſt grew to ſuch a height, that Archelaus was under a neceſſity to ſuppreſs the inſurrection, or he muſt have fallen a victim to its rage: wherefore he ſent all his troops to encounter the rabble, iſſuing particular orders to his cavalry to prevent any ſuccours being ſent in, and to put to the ſword every perſon who ſhould attempt to make his eſcape. Three thouſand of their men were cut off by this body of horſe during the action, and the reſt of them fled to take ſhelter in the adjacent mountains. This conteſt was no ſooner ended than proclamation was made that every man ſhould peaceably return to his own habitation; and notwithſtanding the boaſts of the mutineers, they now appeared to be all happy to ſave themſelves by a compliance with theſe terms; and in the fear of worſe conſequences, they were contented to abandon the celebration of the feſtival.

Departing for Rome, Archelaus appoints Philip to the adminiſtration during his abſence.

Archelaus now departed on his journey to Rome, taking with him his mother and Nicolaus, and Ptolemy; with many others of his friends: the care of the kingdom, and the management of the houſhold being left to his brother Philip during his abſence. Salome and her family were likewiſe of the train, and a number of his other relations, who went under the pretence of uniting their intereſts with his, in order to inſure him the ſucceſſion to the government; but, in fact, their deſign was rather to hinder than to promote his intereſt; for they had come to a previous reſolution to exhibit a complaint againſt him, reſpecting the buſineſs of the temple. However, all the company ſet out together, and when they arrived at Cæſarea they met Sabinus, who was procurator for Cæſar in Syria; and who was travelling with all expedition towards Judæa, to take charge of the money that had belonged to Herod; but Varus happening to meet him on the way, prevented his journey, as he himſelf was going on the ſame buſineſs, Ptolemy having given him an invitation, by the command of Archelaus. Sabinus therefore, in reſpect to Varus, gave himſelf no concern with regard to the forts of Judæa, nor ſealed up their treaſure; but left every thing as he found it, in the poſſeſſion and under the controul of Archelaus, till Cæſar ſhould finally determine on the buſineſs: but ſoon after this, when Archelaus had embarked for Rome, and Varus ſet out on his journey towards Antioch, Sabinus proceeded immediately to Jeruſalem, where he took up his reſidence in the palace, and having ſent orders for the king's officers, civil and military, to attend him, he demanded their keys and their books; but they told him that, by the command of Archelaus, all was made ſecure, for the uſe and emolument of Cæſar, and every article was to remain in the ſtate they received it till Archelaus ſhould return.

Sabinus and Varus meet in Judæa.

Treacherous conduct of Sabinus.

About this period, Antipas, another of the ſons of Herod, ſet out on a voyage to Rome, in the hope of obtaining poſſeſſion of the kingdom for himſelf. Salome exerted her influence to perſuade him to this meaſure, pretending that he had a prior right to the government, ariſing from the tenor of Herod's former will, and inſinuating that the firſt will ought to remain in force. Antipas took with him in this expedition, his mother, and Ptolemy, the brother of Nicolaus; a man who had been, for a long time, the intimate friend of Herod, and was always particularly attached to his party. But the perſon who, above all others, encouraged Antipas to this ambitious purſuit, and who had the greateſt degree of intereſt with him, was Irenæus, a man famous for the arts of perſuaſion, and who had been greatly concerned in the king's buſineſs, and for a long period of time. Other perſons were not wanting in their advice

Antipas goes to Rome, in order to obtain the kingdom to himſelf.

advice to the prince, desiring him to recollect that Archelaus, as his elder brother, had the right of seniority, exclusive of that which had been conferred on him by the will of his deceased father: but the arguments of Irenæus, added to the impulse of his own ambition, bore down all other considerations, and determined him to proceed to Rome. When he arrived at that city, his relations universally joined his interest; not out of any particular regard they had for him, but from an aversion they entertained for Archelaus: though in fact, what they principally wished was the possession of their liberties under a Roman governor: at any rate, however, they conceived that they should be more agreeably governed by Antipas than Archelaus, and for this reason they employed their interest for the former.

Sabinus lodges a complaint against Archelaus.

By this time an information against Archelaus had been presented to Cæsar by Sabinus; and hereupon Archelaus commissioned Ptolemy to present the emperor with a memorial of what he had to urge in his own favour. This memorial contained the foundation of his claim; the heads of his father's will; an account of what cash he left behind him, and with it was sent the ring with which the money was sealed up: Archelaus referring himself, on the whole, to the good pleasure of the emperor. When Cæsar had read these writings, perused the letters of Varus and Sabinus, considered what value Herod had left in money, what the annual revenue of the government amounted to, and what arguments Antipas had urged in behalf of his own claim; he summoned an assembly of his friends to meet in council, and deliberate on the whole matter; and then gave audience to the claimants.

Cæsar calls a council.

The president on this occasion was Caius, the son of Agrippa, by the emperor's daughter Julia, whom Cæsar had adopted. The first person who stood up to speak was Antipater the son of Salome, an admirable orator, and an irreconcileable enemy to Archelaus. He delivered his sentiments in terms to the following purport:

Accusation of Archelaus, before Cæsar, by Antipater the son of Salome.

"I confess I am not a little astonished that Archelaus should be at this time seeking to ratify his title to a kingdom, over which he hath already exercised so absolute and sovereign a power, without having previously applied for, or given himself any concern about the obtaining the ratification or consent of Cæsar. What I refer to is, his late massacre of such a number of the Jews on one of their solemn festivals. If we should, for the sake of argument, allow that the punishment itself was merited, yet that must be considered as murder in an usurper, which, in a lawful prince, would have been but an act of justice. If he took upon him to exercise regal authority without permission obtained from Cæsar, it was an insult to the emperor; and his conduct was yet more atrocious if he presumed to behave in this manner in his character of a private man: so that he has now no right to expect a delegation of power from Cæsar, after he has done what ought to deprive him of the original right of dispensing that power. He has taken on himself, at his own will and pleasure, to change the officers of the army; he has placed himself on the throne, and, as a sovereign prince, has heard and determined causes: he has received public addresses and petitions, and given answers to them: and in all these matters he has acted without that proper warrant or authority which could have been granted to him by no one but Cæsar. Exclusive of all these matters, he likewise discharged from the circus those that were committed thither, and on his own single authority."

Antipater's other charges against Archelaus.

Antipater, on this occasion, made many other objections to the conduct of Archelaus, some of which were undoubtedly true, and others not altogether improbable, if we reflect on his youth, and allow for that ambitious heat by which he might be impelled by a sudden rise to the summit of power and fortune. Among other things to his disadvantage was mentioned the extravagant impropriety of making a sumptuous entertainment on the very night succeeding that of the death of his father; which the people themselves deemed so ungrateful an insult on the memory of so kind a parent, that they were struck with horror on the occasion, and were on the point of breaking into an outrage, from a consideration that he could so far impose on the public, as to personate so perfect a grief in the day-time, and immediately spend the night in all the licence of unbounded riot and luxury.

His appeal to, and recital of matters of fact

Antipater having urged these particulars, continued his speech as follows: "Is it possible that Cæsar can imagine that a man of this wicked turn of mind will evince any greater share of gratitude to the emperor for the possession of a crown, than he has shewn to a father, who has acted so tenderly towards him? What proof could be given of an unfeeling heart, greater than that of singing, feasting, revelling and rejoicing on the death of a parent, as he might have done on the destruction of an enemy? What pretence can this man have to solicit Cæsar to make him a king, after he has already presumed to invest himself with the regal authority, without the emperor's permission? The horrid murders perpetrated in the temple are greatly aggravated by the sacredness of the place in which they were committed; nor less so that they were done on a solemn festival, when strangers and citizens were equally offered up as so many sacrifices to brutal rage: the holy place was filled with human bodies; nor was this atrocious crime committed by a stranger, but by one who had usurped the dominion, and acted as invested with royal power, to give the better countenance to his savage and inhuman proceedings. His father was so well acquainted with his disposition, that he never entertained a thought of him for a successor, while he continued in the possession of his rational faculties: on the contrary, he had devised the government to Antipas, by his former will, made when he was in his full senses, and in perfect health both of mind and body. Or let us

but ſuppoſe that the opinion which Herod entertained of Archelaus, was the ſame when he made his former will, as when he made the latter; has he not ſince been guilty of crimes ſufficient to ſhew that he will make an execrable king, ſince he has preſumed to act by a ſelf-delegated power, and has not ſcrupled to murder people, even in the temple, when he was only a private man?" Antipater having ſaid thus much, concluded his diſcourſe by appealing to ſeveral of his relations, who attended on this occaſion, for the truth of what he had advanced.

Nicolaus ſpeaks in the defence of Archelaus.

This ſpeech being ended, Nicolaus ſtood up on the behalf of Archelaus, and argued in the following manner. He ſaid that the tumult in the temple was carried to ſuch a height, that there was no other way of ſuppreſſing it but by the deſtruction of the rioters; and therefore that the blood of thoſe who were ſlain on that occaſion reſted on their own heads: that the behaviour of the rioters might ſeem an act of inſolence to Archelaus; but, in fact, the affront was offered to the authority of Cæſar, when, contrary to the law of nature and nations, and in violation of the ſacredneſs of the place and occaſion, thoſe men were murdered, who were only ſent thither in a regular manner to put an end to the mutiny. "Now (ſaid he) theſe are the men that Antipater (equally void of honour, and deſtitute of ſhame) would ſeek to defend, provided that, in ſo doing, he may but gratify the rancour of his malice againſt Archelaus. It is evident that they who firſt began to offend are to anſwer for the crime, and not they whom neceſſity compelled to take arms in their own defence. With regard to the remainder of the articles that have been charged on Archelaus, the accuſers themſelves are equally blameable with reſpect to them, ſince they themſelves conſented to the very deed againſt which they now complain; excluſive of all which, they have repreſented the affair as much worſe than it really was; through envy to the principal perſon concerned, though he was a near relation, one that had merited every bounty his father could beſtow, and had conferred many favours on the family in general. With regard to the authority of the king's laſt will, I cannot help remarking, not only that he was in his full and perfect ſenſes when he cauſed it to be written, but that ſecond wills, equally with ſecond thoughts, are generally the beſt. One full proof that Herod was deliberate in the making this will, ariſes from his having ſubmitted the validity of it to the determination of Cæſar; and Cæſar poſſeſſes too liberal a mind to think of encouraging an ungrateful behaviour in a ſet of people, who having, during the life-time of Herod, been under innumerable obligations to his bounty, now ſeek, on his death, to deſtroy the effects of his will. It is to be preſumed that Cæſar will give full ſcope to his benevolence in favour of a faithful friend and ally, who ſubmits to his imperial determination with the utmoſt reliance; and not permit that dignity and juſtice by which he has been diſtinguiſhed through the whole world, to be inſulted by envious and calumnious reports. Is Antipater equally ready with us to pay a proper deference to the will and authority of Cæſar? I confeſs it would be no eaſy matter to form a judgment how Herod could be ſo far miſtaken as to the perſon on whom he intended to beſtow the government, and yet ſo perfectly right in the diſpoſition of it."

Archelaus behaves ſubmiſſively before Cæſar, who gives a favourable opinion of him.

As ſoon as Nicolaus had ended his ſpeech, Archelaus caſt himſelf at the feet of Cæſar, who immediately raiſing him from the ground, ſaid, with an air of ſingular humanity and kindneſs, that he had approved himſelf worthy of a crown; which was deemed a kind of tacit acknowledgment of his right to ſovereignty. Cæſar, finding that the young prince was happy in his preſent reception, diſmiſſed the aſſembly, declining for the preſent to give his final reſolution on the buſineſs, and allowing himſelf time to conſider whether he ſhould eſtabliſh Archelaus alone in the government, or divide it among the whole family, ſince they all equally depended upon the imperial bounty.

CHAP. IX.

The JEWS grow ſeditious. SABINUS oppoſes them in the Abſence of VARUS; to whom he applies for Aſſiſtance. The JEWS attack the ROMANS from the Galleries of the Temple. The Galleries fired by the ROMANS, the JEWS deſtroyed, and the Temple plundered. The Country harraſſed by JUDAS, a Robber. SIMON, late a Servant of HEROD, pretends to the Crown. A Battle between SIMON and GRATUS. SIMON conquered, taken, and beheaded. ATHRONGES aſpires to the Government. Himſelf and his four Brothers taken. SEPPHORIS reduced to Aſhes by VARUS. The JEWS fly at the approach of VARUS, who puts two Thouſand to Death. VARUS returns to ANTIOCH. An embaſſy of JEWS ſent to CÆSAR, who gives them Audience in the Temple of APOLLO. Complaints of ARCHELAUS, who, as well as HEROD, is defended by NICOLAUS.

Sedition and revolt of the Jews.

WHILE the above-mentioned affair remained unſettled, Malthace, the mother of Archelaus, was ſeized with a fit of illneſs, which deprived her of her life. About this time intelligence arrived from Varus, the governor of Syria, that the Jews, who from the time of the departure of Archelaus, had been exceedingly diſpoſed to acts of mutiny, had lately revolted; but that Varus, by ſuddenly attacking them with his troops, before they had time to aſſemble in very great numbers, had the happineſs to ſuppreſs the ſedition; and having puniſhed the principal mutineers

neers in an exemplary manner, he returned to Antioch, leaving at Jeruſalem only one legion, to prevent farther commotions.

Sabinus oppoſes them. It appears, however, that this proviſion was inſufficient for the purpoſe: for no ſooner had Varus departed, than Sabinus, the deputy-governor in Syria for Cæſar, thinking the above-mentioned reinforcement would enable him to be at leaſt on equal terms with the multitude, determined to turn his arms againſt the Jews. Thus reſolved, he worried and provoked them in every poſſible inſtance, rendering them impatient of ſuch cruel treatment: he made attacks on many of their caſtles and forts; and under pretence of rendering ſervice to the public, made a general ſearch to diſcover the depoſits of conceaſed treaſure; but his real intentions were to obtain money ſufficient to enrich himſelf.

Diſturbances at the paſſover At this time the feaſt of the paſſover (which is the moſt diſtinguiſhed feſtival kept by our nation) drew nigh; and on this occaſion many thouſands of Jews, from all parts of the country, repaired to Jeruſalem: ſome of them came with an intention of paying their religious adoration, but great numbers were inſpired only by motives of revenge. They aſſembled together, not only from the adjacent country of Judæa, where their ſufferings had been the moſt ſevere, but from Galilee, Jericho and Idumæa, and likewiſe from the towns beyond Jordan, with a reſolution to puniſh the conduct of Sabinus in the moſt exemplary manner. Being aſſembled, they parted their troops into three diviſions, one of which took poſſeſſion of the circus; the ſecond placed themſelves on the north-eaſt ſide of the temple; and the third took their ſtation in the weſt, adjacent to the royal palace. Being thus ſituated, they incloſed the Romans between them, and began to make preparations for the attack.

Sabinus ſends to Varus for relief. This intrepid behaviour of the people furniſhed no ſmall degree of ſurprize to Sabinus, who perceiving that there was no doubt but that they were reſolutely determined either on death or conqueſt, he inſtantly diſpatched meſſengers to Varus for reinforcements, urging that if the expected relief was not immediately ſent, the legion that he had left in the city would be infallibly deſtroyed.

In the interim Sabinus aſcended to the top of a high turret, a part of the caſtle of Phaſael, which was built in honour of the brother of Herod, who was killed in battle by the Parthians. From this place he made ſignals with his hand, that the Romans ſhould ſally forth, and make an attack upon the Jews; inſolently expecting that others would venture their lives in ſupport of meaſures brought about by his avarice, while he was afraid to make one of the number, and take his ſhare of the common danger. Notwithſtanding the unreaſonableneſs of this expectation, the Romans obeyed the orders, and a ſmart engagement enſued. The ſoldiers behaved in a manner that did great honour to their perſonal courage; but the Jews were by no means diſmayed, though their people fell in conſiderable numbers. At length the Jews took poſſeſſion of ſome of the outward galleries of the temple, which having aſcended, their archers and ſlingers annoyed the enemy with ſtones and arrows, appearing in ſafety, rather as ſpectators of the battle than actors in it; for ſuch was their ſituation, that the Romans could not do any execution on them in return. For a conſiderable time the battle was continued under theſe diſadvantages; till at length the Romans made a large fire under the galleries, which being built of wood, the flames ſpread with great rapidity, and ſoon aſcended to the roof; the pitch, wax, and oil, that had been uſed in thoſe parts that were gilt, contributing greatly to the increaſe of the fire, the whole was ſoon in ſuch an univerſal blaze that there was no proſpect of eſcaping: death ſurrounded them on every ſide: great numbers met their fate by the fall of the building, others were put to the ſword on the ground; ſo that, upon the whole, of all thoſe who had taken poſſeſſion of the galleries, not a ſingle perſon eſcaped. Several aſtoniſhed even to diſtraction, devoted themſelves to the flames in mere deſpair: others threw themſelves on the points of their ſwords: a number thought to ſave themſelves by retiring to holes and corners; but theſe were all put to death by the ſoldiers; for being totally unprovided with arms, it was impoſſible they ſhould make any defence. When the fire began to abate, the Romans made their way through the ruins till they came to the place where the ſacred treaſure was depoſited: a great part of which the ſoldiers ſtole and carried off; but Sabinus pretended that not above four hundred talents of the whole booty came to his hands.

The Jews gall the enemy from the temple galleries, which are fired by the Romans, to the great deſtruction of the Jews.

The temple rifled by the Roman ſoldiers.

The diſtreſſes of the Jews were now aggravated in a very high degree; numbers of them having loſt many of their deareſt friends and relations; and all of them having occaſion to lament the ſacrilegious robbery of the temple. Yet notwithſtanding the reaſon they had to abandon themſelves to deſpair, a conſiderable number of the moſt reſolute among them aſſembled together, and ſurrounding the palace, they threatened that they would ſet fire to it without loſs of time, and if any one ſhould attempt to eſcape from the flames, he ſhould be inſtantly put to the ſword; but this vengeance was not to take place, if they would immediately abandon their ſtation, and depart: and they likewiſe promiſed indemnity to Sabinus and all his adherents, if they would inſtantly retire: and the majority of the court was on the ſide of Sabinus.

The place beſet by the Jews, who threaten to burn it.

At this period Rufus and Gratus departed to the Roman intereſt, having with them three thouſand of Herod's ſelect troops, excluſive of a party of horſe that was under the immediate command of Rufus; which afforded a conſiderable and well-timed relief. Still, however, the Jews continued their operations with unceaſing

Rufus and Gratus depart to the Romans.

unceaſing ardor: they mined the walls, threatened the enemy, yet adviſed them to depart while there was any degree of ſafety in ſo doing; nor run the riſk of driving to deſperation a people who were reſolved, whatever might be the conſequence, to maintain their liberties inviolate, and to preſerve thoſe laws and rights ſacred which their anceſtors had tranſmitted as their inheritance. Sabinus ſeemed not ill-diſpoſed to have complied with theſe injunctions, but he was afraid to truſt to the promiſes of the Jews, from a conſciouſneſs how ill he had deſerved at their hands: beſides, he thought that the terms which were offered him were too advantageous to be ratified: and for theſe reaſons he reſolved to attempt the maintenance of his preſent poſt, in the hope that Varus might ſend him aſſiſtance before he ſhould be compelled to abandon it.

Commotions in Judæa.

While affairs at Jeruſalem were thus ſituated, many other inſurrections took place in different parts of Judæa, and in the adjacent countries, partly ariſing from motives of revenge, and partly from a view to advantage. On this occaſion a number of forces which Herod had diſbanded, amounting to about two thouſand, aſſembled in a body, under the command of Ahiab, a nephew of Herod, with a reſolution to attack a party of the troops of Archelaus: but Ahiab, not inſenſible that thoſe he had to cope with were veteran ſoldiers, and men of approved valour, did all in his power to avoid coming to action, by retreating to ſecure places, where it was not an eaſy matter to encounter him.

The country harraſſed by Judas a robber.

Nor were theſe the only diſturbances that happened: for Judas, the ſon of Ezekias, the famous robber that formerly gave ſo much trouble to Herod (though in the end he ſubdued him), occaſioned freſh ſcenes of confuſion. This Judas, having put himſelf at the head of a number of deſperate men, whom he had raiſed at Sepphoris, a city of Galilee, cauſed all his adherents to take arms, and made an incurſion into the king's country, where he made ſeizure of the magazines and military ſtores, took poſſeſſion of the money belonging to the king; rendered himſelf an object of terror to the inhabitants; ravaged and deſtroyed the country wherever he came, and at length aſpired even to the regal government: this, however, he did not by the uſual arts of ingratiating himſelf with the people, or by giving any proof of his attachment to the laws of honour (for of theſe he had no idea), but by the wanton perpetration of every miſchief that lay within his power.

Simon, late ſervant of Herod, aſpires to the ſovereignty, and commits great ravages.

During the confuſion occaſioned by this ſtate of public affairs, there came into notice one Simon, heretofore a ſervant of king Herod, who was remarkably diſtinguiſhed by his uncommon ſtrength, the height of his ſtature, and the ſingular grace and comelineſs of his perſon. The vanity and impudence of this man impelled him to aſpire to the crown. He procured a number of guards to attend him, and was every where received as a prince, by the undiſcerning multitude, who ſaluted him with exclamations of "God ſave the king!" In fact, he conſidered himſelf as the moſt fit perſon in the world to be advanced to the regal government. That he might give a proper ſpecimen of his dignity, he began by burning and rifling the palace at Jericho, ravaged ſeveral others of the king's houſes in the ſame manner, and permitted his adherents to make booty of whatever they found therein. Nor would his depredations have ended here, if his career had not been prevented in time; but Gratus, one of the king's captains, who was at that time aſſociated with the Romans, advancing with his troops againſt Simon, a moſt violent and obſtinate engagement happened between them. The forces under the command of Simon, which came from the other ſide of the river Jordan, exhibiting much greater proofs of courage than ſkill in the action, were ſoon routed and cut in pieces: Simon, who attempted to make his eſcape over ſome difficult paſſes, was taken priſoner, on which Gratus gave orders for his being beheaded.

He is routed by Gratus, and loſes his head.

The palace of Amatha burnt by the populace.

This rage for a new mode of government was every where prevalent among the common people. A licentious multitude, not unlike thoſe who followed the fortunes of Simon, burnt to the ground the royal palace of Amatha adjoining to the river Jordan. The people appeared to be univerſally inſpired with a violence of ſentiment that approached even to madneſs; occaſioned principally by the abſence of their king, who by the arguments of reaſon, and the enforcements of law, might have kept them within the bounds of their duty. It is true that foreigners were brought in to reclaim them: but ſo inſatiable was their avarice, and ſo unbounded their pride, that the people at large were only ſufferers by what was intended for their advantage.

Ambitious views, and outrageous acts of Athronges and his brothers.

At this time there appeared a man named Athronges, who was diſtinguiſhed neither by birth, virtue or fortune, being a ſhepherd of the loweſt rank: but he was remarkable for the enormous ſize of his perſon, and the uncommon ſtrength of his limbs. Thus qualified, he ſought to obtain a ſhare in the government, and reſolved to riſk his life that he might acquire to himſelf the prerogative of doing as much miſchief as might be agreeable to his own inclination. Now Athronges had four brothers, neither of which was leſs remarkable than himſelf for bulk and ſtature; and under the command of each of them was a number of ſoldiers, which they deemed an eſſential circumſtance towards obtaining the principal point which they had in view. Great numbers of people flocked to the ſtandards of theſe five brothers: Athronges ſent out his four brethren on different parties, to act as deputies to him, while himſelf acted the part of a ſovereign, ſitting in council with a crown on his head, making reſolutions and iſſuing orders reſpecting affairs of ſtate.

Particulars of their irregularities and cruelty.

This mock monarchy continued for a conſiderable time, during which the royal ſtyle and title were kept up, and he ſeemed to have more obedience paid to him

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than was requiſite; for Athronges exerciſed unlimited authority, and his decrees were not to be controverted. When the Romans or the king's ſoldiers became ſubject to his will he acted with the utmoſt cruelty, for he was equally an enemy to them both; to the one party for the freedom they had taken during the time of Herod, and to the other on account of injuries of a later date. Animoſities now grew daily to a greater height; one enormity made way for another; the reſentment became implacable; cruelties were committed for the ſake of cruelty, and the deſtruction made with the view to the obtaining of booty was ſo great, that no perſon could poſſeſs his own life in ſafety.

They are all taken, and the tumult ſuppreſſed.

The partizans of Athronges, iſſuing from an ambuſh near Emmaus, attacked a Roman convoy that was bringing corn and arms to the camp, and killed on the ſpot Arius the captain, with about forty of his troops, all men of diſtinguiſhed bravery; and it is probable that the reſt of the forces would have ſhared the ſame fate, if Gratus had not joined them with a party of ſoldiers, and relieved them juſt in the very moment of danger: but, as it was, they were obliged to leave their dead behind them, ſo narrow was their eſcape. The brothers of Athronges and himſelf ſtill kept fighting for a conſiderable time, doing material injury to the Romans, but ſuſtaining much greater themſelves; and in the end they were all taken priſoners in the following manner: One of them was made captive in a battle with Gratus; a ſecond by Ptolemy; Archelaus took the eldeſt into cuſtody; and the other two finding their caſe deſperate, that their men were worn out with toil and ſickneſs, and that they had no hope of redreſs, or proſpect of receiving freſh recruits, at length likewiſe ſurrendered themſelves to Archelaus, who pledged his honour, and took an oath for the performance of certain ſtipulated conditions: but this happened a conſiderable time after the ſurrender of the other brothers.

Confuſed ſtate of Judæa.

While things remained in this ſtate of licentious confuſion, every party of malecontents wiſhed to impoſe kings of their own choice on the public; by which the government was greatly diſturbed, and the Jews, in particular, were perpetually dividing into freſh factions; but things were not altogether ſo unhappily ſituated among the Romans.

Varus prepares to relieve Sabinus.

The intelligence that Sabinus had conveyed to Varus reſpecting the danger of his ſituation, made the latter extremely apprehenſive for the ſafety of the third legion, which was all the force that they had in Syria; wherefore he aſſembled the other two legions, with four troops of horſe, and the auxiliary forces of the king and the tetrarch, and proceeded immediately towards Judæa, to give ſuccour to the beſieged, appointing a rendezvous at Ptolemais, in his way to which he took fifteen hundred men with him from Berytus.

Aretas aſſiſts the Romans.

Excluſive of this reinforcement, Aretas the Patræan (the ſame who through a miſunderſtanding with Herod had gone over to the Romans), furniſhed him with a large body of cavalry and infantry. When all theſe united forces were met together at Ptolemais, Varus deputed a command of part of the army to his ſon, in conjunction with one of his particular friends, directing them to march into Galilee, which is in the neighbourhood of Ptolemais. On this incurſion into the country, the ſon of Varus met with ſome oppoſition; but he was every where ſucceſsful: he took Sepphoris; ſold the inhabitants thereof as ſlaves by public auction, and reduced the city to aſhes. In the mean time Varus proceeded with his army towards Samaria, but he did no injury to that city, as he knew the inhabitants were diſpoſed to acts of loyalty, and of a very peaceable diſpoſition. He now encamped in the village of Arus, which was the property of Pompey: but this village was burnt by the Arabians, who ſought to do every injury to the friends of Herod, in deteſtation of the memory of that prince. The army proceeded to Sampho; but that place, though exceedingly well fortified, was rifled by the Arabians, who afterwards ſet fire to it: in fact, great ravages were made, both by fire and ſword, during the whole of this expedition.

Arus and Sampho burnt by the Arabians.

Varus gave orders for the burning of the city Emmaus, in reſentment on account of a number of his ſoldiers having been there ſlain; but he firſt permitted the inhabitants to quit the city. Proceeding from this place towards Jeruſalem, his army no ſooner came in ſight of that place, than the Jews, who had beſieged the legion ſtationed therein, abandoned their ſituation, and every one began to conſult his own ſafety. Varus cenſured the Jews of Jeruſalem with the utmoſt ſeverity on account of the paſt tranſactions; but they urged in their defence, that the circumſtance happening at a time when ſuch immenſe multitudes of people had crouded to Jeruſalem, the inhabitants had not occaſioned the war, but the ſtrangers; and that the former, ſo far from having acted in oppoſition to the Romans, had run an equal riſk with them in the conſequence of the encounter. With regard to Sabinus, he had left the city privately, and retired towards the ſea-coaſt, ſo that Varus could not by any means get him in his poſſeſſion.

Varus orders Emmaus to be burnt.

Varus puniſhes the moſt guilty ringleaders of ſedition, and pardons many of the rioters.

Things being thus ſituated, Varus ſent meſſengers through the country, to inquire who were the principals in the late revolt; and having convicted a great number on the cleareſt evidence, he cauſed about two thouſand to be executed on this occaſion; but others he pardoned and diſmiſſed. The troops under Varus having, contrary to his intentions, and in the violence of military rage, committed many very unjuſtifiable actions, he now diſmiſſed the greater part of his army, for which he had little farther occaſion. After this, however, being informed that ten thouſand Jews had collected themſelves together, he gave orders that a large detachment ſhould attack them in their quarters; but this attack was unneceſſary; for they delivered themſelves priſoners at diſcretion to Ahiab, without offering

ing to make the leaſt reſiſtance. Varus now gave the common people their liberty, and pardoned all the rioters in general, except the principal people concerned in the commotion, among whom were ſome perſons related to Herod, who had engaged in the conteſt, in defiance of regard to their affinity, and the laws of honour and conſcience. The public diſturbances being thus in great meaſure compoſed, Varus returned to Antioch, leaving the ſame legion in garriſon at Jeruſalem that was there before.

The Jews ſend an embaſſy to Cæſar, who gives them audience.

The inſurrection in Judæa was no ſooner ended, than Varus found a freſh ſcene of difficulty by a circumſtance that happened at Rome, of which the following are the particulars. Varus had given permiſſion to the Jews to apply to Cæſar, for leave to live among themſelves, and act according to their own laws. In conſequence hereof fifty of them were joined in a commiſſion to make the neceſſary requeſt, and above eight thouſand more were to ſecond their application. On this occaſion Cæſar gave orders that ſeveral of his particular friends, and other perſons of the greateſt eminence in the city, ſhould attend him in the temple of Apollo, a ſumptuous edifice which himſelf had built. To this place the deputies repaired, followed by a great number of Jews; and Archelaus and his friends likewiſe attended: but the relations of the king knew not how to act in this emergency; for as, on the one hand, they had an utter antipathy to Archelaus, and therefore could not eſpouſe his intereſt, ſo, on the other, it was impoſſible that they ſhould take part with the deputies, without making it apparent to the emperor that they were enemies to a prince to whom themſelves were related. Philip, the brother, likewiſe attended on this occaſion, having, in conſequence of the advice of Varus, come out of Syria, with a view to aſſiſt Archelaus, for whom he entertained the moſt ſingular eſteem and regard. Philip, however, was not at this time deſtitute of hope that if the deputies ſhould ſucceed in their application, and the children of Herod ſhould be adjudged to ſhare in the dignity, he might himſelf obtain a portion of the kingdom.

The Jewiſh embaſſadors accuſe Herod and Archelaus

The deputies began their addreſs by making an humble and earneſt application that, for the future, kings might no longer reign over them, whoſe power was intolerable. They recounted the hiſtory of the iniquity and miſmanagement of Herod, who, they ſaid, though a king in name, was a tyrant in the exerciſe of his power. They urged that he was not only an adept in the vulgar modes of oppreſſion, but artful in new contrivances to improve on the wickedneſs of thoſe who had gone before him. "It would be needleſs (ſaid they) to attempt the making a calculation of the number of lives that have fallen ſacrifices to his inhumanity, ſince they who ſurvived were yet more wretched than others who were deſtroyed; for terror and danger perpetually ſurrounded them, under a maſter devoid of every principle of humanity, who equally diſpoſed of their perſons and fortunes as his humour directed. Wherefore did his vanity inſpire him to laviſh ſuch an uncommon expence on ſtrangers? Why did he repair, rebuild, beautify and enrich ſuch a number of their cities, but that he had deviſed a mode, peculiar to himſelf, of diſtreſſing his own ſubjects in the higheſt degree, in order to gratify his vanity by the applauſe of foreigners; and prided himſelf by making a deſert of what had been a plentiful and flouriſhing country? What numbers of the nobility has he doomed to death, on the ſlighteſt pretences, and in violation of all law and equity, ſimply to reap the advantage of their forfeited eſtates! And has he not received the fortunes of many others as a compenſation for their lives, which he pretended were forfeited? With regard to the collection of the cuſtomary taxes, he could not be ſatisfied with the payment which each perſon made, according to the ſum for which he was taxed, but bribes and farther gratifications muſt be given to collectors and other dependents of the court, as well as to thoſe who were their agents, to prevent their being otherwiſe ill treated. We ſay nothing of the horrid inſults offered equally to virgins and to married women; but chuſe to let them reſt in oblivion, in tenderneſs to the reputation of thoſe that ſuſtained the injury: but, in fact, the moſt ſavage beaſt of the foreſt could not have ruled over us in a more tyrannical manner than Herod did. The misfortunes conſequent on his reign were indiſputably the greateſt that ever were endured by the people of our nation: wherefore they might very reaſonably be permitted to pay their compliments to Archelaus on the death of his father, ſince they were certain that it was impoſſible a worſe prince ſhould ſucceed him. The people too, to ſhew the reſpect they entertained for the ſon, were not leſs forward to promote the funeral honours of the father; and were anxious, by every inſtance of obedience and affection, to teſtify the deſire they had of obtaining the favour of the reigning prince: but it was not long before they had melancholy occaſion to know that Archelaus was the true ſon of ſuch a father: for he was not even eſtabliſhed in his government before he gave them a ſpecimen of what they were hereafter to expect, when they ſhould be wholly at the diſpoſal of his mercy. For the preſent his whole fortune was dependent on the bounty of Cæſar; yet willing to give his new ſubjects an inſtance of his regard to juſtice, his modeſty, and his virtue, he cauſed three thouſand citizens of his own tribe to be ſacrificed, and this even in the temple, with as little remorſe as if they had fallen victims to the rigid laws of their country. It now remains that the public ſhould form an opinion of the inſolence of this wicked man, who with the moſt ſhameleſs effrontery, after having been guilty of committing ſo violent an outrage, can think of charging the crime upon others, and at the ſame time of making pretenſions to the government."

Recapitulation of Herod's criminal actions.

Odious character of Archelaus.

In a word, the deputies concluded what they had to ſay by making a ſhort requeſt

Their requeſt to Cæſar.

to

to Cæsar, the purport of which was, that he would alter the form of their government, and no longer permit them to live under the oppression of a monarchy: they intreated that they might be annexed to Syria, and ruled by such persons as Cæsar should think proper; saying that it would then be evident whether they were a people who sought to make innovations, and to live in the perpetration of acts of turbulence; or were disposed to obey the laws of order, and to pay a proper deference to the authority of legal government.

Nicolaus pleads in defence of Herod and Archelaus

As soon as the deputies had concluded their address to Cæsar, Nicolaus began to speak in defence of Herod and Archelaus; and what he said was to the following purpose: "I would wish to ask, that if Herod was guilty of all the crimes that have been charged upon him, how it happened that his accusers never thought fit to call him to an account for it during his life-time, when the justice of Cæsar would so readily have afforded them satisfaction? With regard to what is charged on Archelaus, the act was not so properly his own, as impelled upon him by the violence of a turbulent faction, which had first insulted the laws by the most seditious kind of behaviour, and then destroyed those who were delegated to quell the uproar. And to what does the crime of Archelaus amount, more than that, by being at the head of a stronger power, he has suppressed a dangerous insurrection?" Nicolaus now turning to those who had made the complaint, said, "No peace is to be expected during the prevalence of the present spirit of confusion; and while these people are permitted to judge for themselves, and direct as they please, they will never acknowledge that they are satisfied with any grants in their favour."

CHAP. X.

The Generosity of CÆSAR to the Sons of HEROD. The Allotments granted to them severally.

Cæsar's decision respecting the succession.

CÆSAR having heard what arguments were advanced by each party, dismissed the assembly, and having taken a few days for consideration on the business, declared that Archelaus should succeed to the half of Herod's dominion, under the title of an ethnarch, though not of king; but yet that he should come into possession of the kingdom when his merit should entitle him to so honourable a distinction. The other half of the kingdom was divided between the two sons of Herod, Philip and Antipas, the latter being the same who oppcsed Archelaus with regard to the government of the whole. The share allotted to Antipas was the country beyond Jordan, and the district of Galilee, with an annual revenue of two hundred talents. To Philip was given a yearly revenue of one hundred talents, with the lands of Batanæa, Trachonitis, Auranitis, and part of the palace which bore the name of Zenodorus. To Archelaus were given the countries of Judæa, Idumæa and Samaria, to which last Cæsar remitted a fourth part of their duty customarily paid, on the account of the inhabitants having remained loyal, when those of the other districts rebelled. The tower of Straton, with Sebaste, Joppa and Jerusalem, likewise came to his share; but the inhabitants of Gaza, Gadara and Hippon, having conformed to the Grecian mode of living, Cæsar had annexed them to Syria, and they were no longer considered as dependencies on the kingdom. On the whole, six hundred talents was deemed to be the revenue of Archelaus.

His generous allotments to Herod's sons,

This was the adjustment of the patrimony of the sons of Herod. With regard to Salome, Cæsar granted her a palace in Ascalon, within the dominions of Archelaus, exclusive of the cities of Jamnia, Azotus, and Phasaelis, which her brother had bequeathed to her by will, together with five hundred pieces of minted money; so that her whole revenue was estimated at six hundred talents annually. The rest of the legacies which had been left to the relations of Herod, were likewise confirmed to them by Cæsar, agreeable to the tenor of his will. Exclusive of what Herod had bequeathed to his two unmarried daughters, Cæsar made them a present of two hundred and fifty thousand pieces of silver each, and caused marriages to take place between them, and the two sons of Pheroras. But what distinguished the conduct of Cæsar for a generous magnificence beyond every other circumstance, was the division which he made of his own legacy among the sons of Herod, of all which valuable bequest he retained only a few pieces of plate, and these rather as a remembrance of the giver, than from any particular regard he had to the articles bequeathed.

and bountiful grant to Salome.

CHAP. XI.

A JEW personates ALEXANDER the Son of HEROD. He goes to ROME in great State and Splendor. The Imposition is discovered by CÆSAR. The Man, confessing the Cheat, is condemned to the Gallies, and the Person by whose Advice he acted is put to Death.

The Jews imposed on by a spurious Alexander.

ALL matters respecting the will and legacies of Herod being now adjusted, the public attention was engaged by a singular circumstance. There was a young man, of the nation of the Jews, who had been educated at Sidon with a freeman of Rome. Now this young Jew happened to bear so perfect a likeness to Alexander, the son of Herod (whom his father had ordered to be put to death) that they who recollected the former could not discern any difference in their persons. The Jew thinking to make advantage

of this circumſtance, would frequently throw out hints that he was related to the royal family; and intimate in an artful manner, that he had ſome proſpect of obtaining the poſſeſſion of the crown.

Method adopted for carrying on the impoſture.

While he was ruminating on this buſineſs, he happened to fall into converſation with an artful man of his own nation and tribe; one who underſtood the nature of court intrigues and contrivances, and was admirably calculated for the carrying on any ſcene of extraordinary wickedneſs. Having deliberated together on the ſubject, the ſubſtance of the ſharper's advice was, that the young fellow ſhould aſſume the name and character of that very Alexander who was ſaid to be dead; and they agreed to propagate the ſtory in this manner: that the perſon to whom the care of the execution of the two brothers (Alexander and Ariſtobulus) had been entruſted, had ſubſtituted two other perſons in their ſtead, and by this means preſerved both their lives. This device not only pleaſed the imagination of the impoſtor, who was happy in the thought of the part he had to act; but the people in general ſeemed to give a ready aſſent to the impoſition; inſomuch that in going to the iſle of Crete, and from thence to that of Melos, the Jews placed the moſt implicit confidence in his ſtory; and to the ſuppoſed credit of his affinity to the royal family, and advanced him ſeveral conſiderable ſums of money. By this time the young adventurer was ſo impreſſed with the idea of his imaginary conſequence, that he formed a hundred romantic ſchemes, and began to conſider whom he would take into his favour, and what places and preferments he would beſtow.

He goes to Rome;

Filled with theſe great, but airy imaginations, he proceeds towards Rome, being accompanied by a number of his new courtiers and adherents. Having reached Puteoli, he had no ſooner landed at that place than immenſe numbers of Jews crouded about him, and all thoſe who had any acquaintance with knowledge of Herod, acknowledged and received him as their king. The credulity of the populace had now ample matter to work on, and was a ſtrong preſumption in its favour; for the likeneſs between this perſon and the prince was ſo very extraordinary, that many of the intimate friends of the latter, on the very firſt ſight of the impoſtor, did not only ſay, but ſwear that he was Alexander, and could not poſſibly be any other perſon.

The Jews reſort to him;

Intelligence of this extraordinary affair being conveyed to Rome, all the Jews in that city came out to meet the ſuppoſed prince, offering praiſes and thankſgivings to heaven, for that Providence which they thought had decreed a deliverance ſo truly ſurpriſing. No expence was ſpared to celebrate his arrival: he was carried in a litter, with the ſtate and magnificence of a prince, and followed by immenſe crouds of people, who ſhouted for joy, and offered up their prayers and vows for his ſafety and proſperity, as is common in caſes of ſuch a nature; but theſe honours took their riſe chiefly from the reſpect they bore to Mariamne, his ſuppoſed mother.

Cæſar examines into his claim;

Cæſar, having reflected on the matter, could not be induced to believe the ſtory, for he thought Herod was not a likely perſon to have been impoſed on in an affair of ſuch importance. However, not to determine too haſtily, he diſpatched a freeman of his, named Celadus, who had been a cotemporary and companion of the two princes, to bring to him the ſuppoſed Alexander, that he might ſee and converſe with him. But when Celadus came to him, he was as much deceived as to his identity as the reſt of the world had been. Notwithſtanding this, however, Cæſar could not be impoſed upon in the affair; for though the two perſons bore as ſtrong a reſemblance to each other as imagination can conceive, yet, upon a clear inſpection, ſome circumſtances were diſcernible in which their perſons diſagreed; particularly with regard to the hands of the ſuppoſititious Alexander, which had become hard and callous through labour; and his ſkin was obſerved to be coarſer than that of perſons generally is who are brought up in all the refinements of court delicacy. Cæſar likewiſe remarked, that the ſuppoſed prince and his tutor agreed exactly in their tale; yet he was ſtill convinced that the whole was an impoſition. He enquired of the youth what was become of his brother Ariſtobulus; and ſince they both obtained their liberty at the ſame time, how it happened that they did not make their appearance together, and put in a joint claim to the crown. To this the impoſtor anſwered, that Ariſtobulus remained at Cyprus, being apprehenſive of danger on the voyage, ſince, if it had happened that they had both been loſt, there would have remained no one of the race of Mariamne; for which reaſon care was taken for the ſafety of Ariſtobulus, to prevent ſuch a contingency.

He expoſtulates with him

The impoſtor continuing poſitively to affirm this, and his coadjutor agreeing with him in every part of the ſtory, Cæſar took the young man into another apartment, and addreſſed him in the following manner. "Remember that it will be at your peril if you impoſe upon me by fallehood; but if you ſpeak the truth, your life ſhall be ſpared. Therefore I deſire that you will immediately inform me who and what you are, and who it was that inſtigated you to this procedure; for you are yet too young to have engaged in ſo diabolical a plan, if you had not been encouraged by the artifice of others."

Detects the impoſition, ſends the pretender to the gallies, and puts his adviſer to death.

When the youth found that he was thus hard preſſed, and that evaſions would no longer anſwer any good purpoſe, he recounted to Cæſar the whole hiſtory of the affair, and gave up his adviſer; and told all the manner of their proceeding. Hereupon Cæſar condemned the adviſer to death; but kept his promiſe with the impoſtor, whom he condemned to the gallies, as he was of a ſtout habit of body, and well able to endure ſuch labour. With regard to the Jews of Melos, they were deemed to have been ſufficiently puniſhed in the expence they had ſuſtained by way of ſupporting the impoſition.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

ARCHELAUS, for mal-adminiſtration, baniſhed, and all his Goods confiſcated. Recital of his Dream, which is expounded by SIMON an Eſſene. GLAPHYRA's Dream, reſpecting her former Huſband.

Conduct and tranſactions of Archelaus.

THE ethnarchy having been beſtowed on Archelaus, he took poſſeſſion of it on his return to Judæa; and not long afterwards removed Joazar, the ſon of Boethus, from the office of high-prieſt, having been charged with being concerned with a ſeditious faction; and Archelaus now conferred the office on his brother Eleazar.

The ethnarch now, at a very great expence, rebuilt the palace of Jericho; and of a fine ſtream watering the village of Neara, he conveyed the half to a grove of palm-trees, which he had lately planted in a meadow adjacent thereto. He likewiſe cauſed a new village to be erected, which he denominated Archelais, in imitation of his own name. Soon after this, in oppoſition to the laws of his country, he married Glaphyra, the daughter of king Archelaus, and the widow of his brother Alexander, though intermarriages with the wives of brothers are expreſsly forbidden by the laws of the Jews; and by this wife he had ſeveral children. Eleazar, the high-prieſt, was but a ſhort time in poſſeſſion of that elevated ſtation; for he was depoſed from the office, and Jeſus, the ſon of Sias, appointed in his ſtead.

His ſubjects complain of him to Cæſar, who baniſhes him to Vienne

When Archelaus had held the reins of government about ten years, the principal people among the Jews and Samaritans were ſo greatly diſpleaſed with his mode of adminiſtering public affairs, that they united in an addreſs to Cæſar, complaining of his conduct. They were the more emboldened to make this complaint, becauſe they knew that a too rigorous execution of juſtice was contrary to the will and inclination of Cæſar, who had given him the moſt poſitive commands to rule over his people by the laws of equity, impartiality, and benevolence. When Cæſar became acquainted with this complaint, he ſent for Archelaus, who was his agent at Rome, commanding his attendance without loſs of time, and directing him to go immediately, and bring to him the other Archelaus; without even honouring him with a letter to notify his buſineſs. Archelaus had no ſooner received his commiſſion, than he haſtened into Judæa, where he met with the other Archelaus at an entertainment with his friends, told him the command of Cæſar, and deſired he would inſtantly come with him. On their arrival at Rome, Cæſar heard the charge and defence, and then ſentenced Archelaus to be baniſhed to Vienne, a city of Gaul, and ordered that all his goods ſhould be confiſcated.

Account of his ſingular dream;

Not long before the above-named Archelaus was ſent for to Rome, he had a ſingular dream, the particulars of which he recited to ſeveral of his friends, and which are as follows. He imagined that he beheld ten ears of wheat, all ripe and full, and ſome oxen devouring them. When he awaked, this dream ſo ſtrongly impreſſed his mind, that he could not refrain aſking the meaning of it from ſome perſons who were eminent for their ſkill in the explanation of ſuch kind of myſteries. However, the interpreters differing in ſentiment, Simon, an Eſſene, obtained permiſſion of the reſt, to give his explanation of the above-mentioned dream: and his determination was, that it foretold ſome misfortune that was to happen to Archelaus; for he ſaid that the dreaming of oxen, which are animals deſtined to ſlaviſh labour, implied miſery; and likewiſe a change of affairs, becauſe when the ground was turned up the ſituation and appearance of things were changed. He ſaid that the ten ears of corn ſeemed to intimate an equal number of years, which revolve in a regular courſe; and that it was apparent that the reign of Archelaus was nearly concluded. Thus did Simon explain the above-mentioned dream; and on the fifth day after it happened, Archelaus the agent of Cæſar arrived in Judæa, with orders for the other Archelaus to wait upon the emperor.

and that of his wife Glaphyra, who ſoon after dies.

Glaphyra his wife, the daughter of Archelaus the king, had likewiſe a dream of a ſingular kind. This Glaphyra (as hath been before obſerved) was firſt married to Alexander, the ſon of Herod, and the brother of Archelaus. After her firſt huſband was put to death by the order of his father, ſhe was married to Juba, king of Mauritania; and after his deceaſe ſhe remained a widow with her father in Cappadocia, till Archelaus fell violently in love with, and married her, having firſt diſcharged his former wife, Mariamne. While ſhe was the wife of Archelaus, ſhe had the following dream: Her imagination painted the figure of her firſt huſband, Alexander, advancing towards her: and then, when ſhe intended to have claſped him in her arms, with every demonſtration of love and joy, he began to expoſtulate with her in the following manner: "Alas! Glaphyra, thou haſt verified the old obſervation, that there is no confidence to be placed in women. Was I not the huſband of thy virginity; and had we not children, the pledges of our mutual love? How then couldſt thou ſo far forget the mutual obligations we were under to each other, as to engage in a ſecond marriage; and after that to be wedded a third time, and even then to my brother Archelaus; thus violating the honour of my family in a moſt ſhameful manner? However, our former love ſhall not be forgotten, and it ſhall be my care to deliver thee from the ignominy of this laſt connection." Glaphyra repeated the particulars of this dream to ſeveral of her female acquaintance, and died within a few days after it happened.

BOOK XVIII.

Containing the HISTORY of various TRANSACTIONS, from the YEAR of the WORLD 3973, to 4003.

CHAP. I.

The Government of SYRIA committed to CYRENIUS. Dreadful Outrages committed by JUDAS, a GAULANITE, and SADDUCUS, a PHARISEE. The burning of the Temple. A fourth Sect set up by JUDAS and SADDUCUS.

Cyrenius made governor of Syria.

AT this period Cæsar sent as a governor into Syria, Cyrenius, a man distinguished by the eminence of his character, a senator of Rome, and one who had arrived at the dignity of a consul, after having gone through all the offices of honour which lead to that eminent station. He was attended by Coponius, the master of horse, who went with him in the character of governor of Judæa; but as Judæa was at this time annexed to Syria, Cyrenius was charged with the business of taxing the people, and likewise directed to seize on the money and effects that had belonged to Archelaus.

The Jews murmur, and excite a rebellion on account of the taxes levied by Cyrenius.

For some time, at first, the Jews were extremely uneasy at this mode of taxation; but they were at length induced to submit to it, and comply without giving any farther trouble, partly by the advice, and partly by the authority of Joazar, the high-priest, and son of Boethus. About this time, one Judas, a Gaulanite, of the city of Gamala, began to distinguish himself. This man combined with a Pharisee, named Sadducus, to entice the people to revolt. They urged that taxes were only badges of slavery; and that it would become the dignity of the whole people to unite in an assertion of their liberty: they said that one fortunate and well-timed stroke would render them independent for ever; and would contribute no less to the security of their possessions than to the advancement of their reputation.

Shocking outrages committed by them.

There were but few arguments necessary to excite the multitude to acts of violence; nor is it in the power of language to describe the havock that was made in the country by these outrageous depredators: friends and enemies were equally robbed and murdered without distinction: massacres and assassinations were dreadfully frequent; and all this was done under the pretence of promoting the common good; of advancing liberty, and securing property; but the fact is, that malice and private interest were the leading motives. While the people were thus mutually seeking the destruction of each other, by all the severities of an intestine war, they were likewise engaged in a foreign war, and had to struggle with all the aggravated calamities of a severe famine; yet, for a considerable time, nothing could put a period to the course of destruction in which they were engaged, till at length a fire seized the temple, and burnt it to the ground.

War and famine follow, and the temple destroyed by fire.

Judas and Sadducus the principal incendiaries.

Such was the unhappy consequence of seeking after new laws and customs, and endeavouring to abolish those established. Judas and Sadducus were the authors of this confusion, who, from a particularity of disposition, were inclined to add a fourth sect to the three former: and the idea of innovation so charmed the multitude, that a great party joined them; which not only occasioned the present disturbances, but laid the foundation of much future calamity: in this place, therefore, it will be proper to treat of those mischievous principles and opinions from which such fatal consequences have arisen.

CHAP. II.

Opinions and Practices of the PHARISEES and SADDUCEES. Mode of Living, and Sentiments of the ESSENES. Their Doctrine and Government. Account of a fourth Sect who were for absolute Liberty.

Different sects among the Jews.

IN ancient times, among the Jews, there were three distinguished sects of religion; known by the names of the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes; of each of which it may not be improper to say something in this place, though a farther account of them will be found in my second book of the wars of the Jews.

The Pharisees

The manner of living among the Pharisees is simple and austere: they indulge not in any luxury. They are extremely conscientious

ous in an adherence to the dictates of their reason; and listen to their elders without presuming to contradict them, for they pay the highest veneration to their advice. They hold that Fate governs all things; but yet not in so absolute a manner as to exclude the operations of free will: for they say that though God orders and appoints every thing that is done; yet that, in matters which have a regard to good and evil, this does not prevent the concurrence of the will. The immortality of the soul, and a future state of rewards and punishments in another world, form a part of their faith. They say that the righteous will arise to the possession of happiness, and the wicked be condemned to endless chains and darkness. Their reputation was highly advanced among the people, by the propagation of these doctrines; and agreeable to their ideas and advice, all things were transacted in the solemn offices of prayer, and other acts of devotion: so great was the opinion that the people entertained of the equity, temperance, and wisdom of these men.

The Sadducees.

On the other hand, the opinion of the Sadducees was, that the soul and body die at the same time; and that the only obligation people are under, is, to observe the law: with these sentiments, they pride themselves on a right they have to dispute with their teachers on matters of the highest importance. There are but few of these people, but they are generally persons of distinction. Now when these are advanced to bear public offices, they are compelled, though against their sentiments, openly to adopt the opinion of the Pharisees, or otherwise the common people would not permit them to hold their stations.

The Essenes.

The third sort, the Essenes, say that the world is absolutely governed by the providence of God, without any other interference. They acknowledge the immortality of the soul, and say that justice is the chief of all virtues, which they assert by their practice as well as doctrine. They send gifts to the temple, but do not attend in person, as they sacrifice in a way peculiar to themselves, and with a greater degree of religious ceremony. They are singularly strict in their morals, rigid in conversation: husbandry is the only business they follow. They are more distinguished for their love of justice than either the Greeks or Barbarians: and boast of it as a virtue to which they have unceasingly applied. They enjoy their effects in common, knowing no such thing as the distinction of rich and poor. They neither marry nor keep servants; considering marriage as an encroachment on the natural rights of mankind; and the other circumstances as attended with more trouble than convenience; wherefore they rather incline to give assistance to each other, by a mutual interchange of good offices. This is the mode of living among these people, who are deemed to be above four thousand in number. From among their priests they chuse their treasurers and commissaries, who are men of unsullied honour; and it is their business to distribute the fruits of the earth sufficient to feed and support the whole people. On the whole, their living resembles that of the Plisti among the Dacians.

A fourth sect, who disallowed human government.

Judas Galilæus was the founder of the fourth sect of religion, which did not differ in any great degree from that of the Pharisees; principally, indeed, in their holding the maxim of uncontroulable liberty. They asserted that there was no other Lord or superior than God; and rather than call any man by the name of *Master*, they would expose themselves, and their nearest relations, to any degree of punishment, though ever so severe. But this fact is so well attested, and has been confirmed by such repeated observation and experience, that it is unnecessary to urge any thing in proof of it: besides, no language can convey a tolerably adequate description of the fortitude which these people evinced in their contempt of pain.

Ill-timed cruelties of Gessius Florus.

The animosities mentioned in the former chapter were greatly inflamed by the tyrannical cruelties of Gessius Florus, at that time governor of Judæa; the consequence of which was, that the people at length absolutely revolted from the Romans.

CHAP. III.

HEROD and PHILIP settled in their Tetrarchies. The Temple profaned by the SAMARITANS. The Death of SALOME. The Death of AUGUSTUS, who is succeeded by NERO. JUDÆA governed by VALERIUS GRATUS. Changes in the High-Priesthood. GRATUS succeeded by PONTIUS PILATE. A City built by HEROD, and called TIBERIAS. ORODES killed. ARTABANUS beaten by VERONES, who is himself routed in a Second Battle. The Death of ANTIOCHUS King of COMOGENA. GERMANICUS sent to settle the Government. PISO poisons him.

Effects of Archelaus disposed of.

THE forfeited effects and estates of Archelaus having been sold by Cyrenius, he adjusted a mode of taxation, agreeable to the orders he had received. This happened in the thirty-seventh year after the battle of Actium, in which Antony was conquered by Cæsar. At this time a violent insurrection happened among the people, in opposition to Joazar, the high-priest, whom Cyrenius deprived of his dignity, and directed that he should be succeeded by Ananus, the son of Seth.

Ananus made high-priest in the room of Joazar.

Herod and Philip had now taken possession of their tetrarchies, and adjusted affairs in the best manner possible. Herod fortified Sepphoris, encompassed it with a wall, and made it the capital bulwark of Galilee. This being done, he fortified a town, which had borne the name of Betaramphtha; but, ambitious to do honour to the empress, he changed its name to that

Transactions of Herod and Philip, the tetrarchs.

of

of Julias. Philip employed himself in enlarging and beautifying Paleas, which was situated at the head of the river Jordan, and he called it by the name of Cæsarea: likewise the village of Bethsaida, on the bank of the lake Gennesareth, which he increased till it was equal in size to a capital city. This place grew populous and rich, and in respect to Julia, the daughter of Cæsar, it likewise received the name of Julias.

Disturbances in the temple.

Previous to this (as hath been remarked) Coponius was sent with Cyrenius into Judæa: and during his government the following disturbance arose. On the feast of the paschal, otherwise called the feast of unleavened bread, it is customary for the priests to set open the doors of the temple after midnight. Now it happened that a number of Samaritans had come privately into the city of Jerusalem, and having waited till the doors were opened, they immediately rushed into the temple, and taking up the bones of the deceased, threw them about into the galleries, and other parts of the building. For the future the priest directed that a better guard should be kept, being warned by the insolence of this proceeding.

Marcus Ambirius succeeds Coponius as governor.

Death of Salome, and her bequests.

Not long after this Coponius returned to Rome, and was succeeded in his government by Marcus Ambivius, during whose administration died Salome, the sister of Herod. She bequeathed to Julia, exclusive of her toparchy, the city of Jamnia, Phasaelis on the plain, and Archelais: together with several plantations of palm trees, famous for the admirable fruit they produced.

Rufus made governor, in whose administration Augustus Cæsar dies.

Ambivius was succeeded by Annius Rufus, during whose administration Augustus departed this life, at the age of seventy-seven years. He had ruled the commonwealth fifty-seven years, six months, and two days, having been an associate with Antony in the government for the space of fourteen years of that time. He the second of the Roman emperors.

Nero succeeds Augustus.

Augustus was succeeded by Tiberius Nero, his son in law, and the son of his wife Livia, being the third emperor of Rome. Now Nero bestowed the government of Judæa on Valerius Gratus, in the place of Annius Rufus. From

Gratus appointed governor of Judæa.

Ananus he took the office of high-priest, and bestowed it on Ismael, the son of Fabius, who, in a very short time afterwards was removed, to make way for Eleazar, the son of Ananus, the late high-priest. Eleazar held the office for about a year, when he was deprived of it, and it was bestowed on Simon, the son of Camith; who had likewise possessed it about a twelvemonth, when he was directed to resign it, in favour of Joseph, who

Pontius Pilate succeeds Gratus.

was surnamed Caiaphas. At this time Gratus, having been eleven years in possession of the government, returned to Rome, and was succeeded by Pontius Pilate.

Tiberias built by Herod.

Nero was now the particular friend of Herod, the tetrarch, to whose honour the latter built a city, to which he gave the name of Tiberias. He caused this city to be erected near the hot-baths of Emmaus, on the borders of the lake Gennesareth, the most commodious spot of ground in the whole country of Galilee. This city was peopled partly by strangers, and partly by the people of Galilee, some being compelled to go and reside there, and many persons of some distinction fixed on this place for their habitation by choice. It was peopled much sooner than it would have been, because great numbers flocked thither from all parts of the country: persons of all ranks and degrees, down to the meanest; some of whom were thought to be slaves. Several considerable privileges and immunities were bestowed on them by Herod, to encourage them to settle in this place: to some of them he gave houses, and to others lands, that the violation of the laws might be the less regarded: for as the place was filled with sepulchres, and polluted by dead bodies, the inhabitants were deemed unclean for seven days after their residence there.

Phraates, king of Parthia, murdered by his son, who is afterwards destroyed by the people.

About this period Phraataces, the son of Phraates, king of the Parthians, treacherously murdered his father. The circumstances hereof are related in the following manner. Cæsar having sent to Phraates a variety of presents, among the rest was an Italian woman, whose name was Thermusa. Phraates took this woman to his bed, and had by her a son, to whom he gave the name of Phraataces. At length being enamored of her beauty and conversation, he married her, though he had several legitimate children of his own before. Now Thermusa entertained an idea of putting her son in such a situation that he should stand a chance of becoming king of Parthia: but she was conscious that it could not be effected unless the legitimate sons of Phraates were removed out of the way. She therefore applied to her husband on this subject, and he readily agreed to yield to her request; for she was so great a favourite, that he found it impossible to refuse any thing that she asked. The young princes were therefore dispatched to Rome as hostages, and Phraataces was educated at home, as heir-apparent to the throne. But he grew uneasy in his situation; and being impatient to wait for the reversion of a crown, which he thought he might have in possession, he entered into a conspiracy with his mother, to pave an easier way to the government by the murder of the king; and this was accordingly effected: and shrewd suspicions arose, that Phraataces lived in a course of incestuous familiarity with his mother. The consequence was such as might have been expected; for the people were so enraged against Phraataces, for the known murder, and the supposed incest, that, before he had taken possession of the government, an insurrection happened among the people, by whom he was destroyed.

Orodes invited to take the crown of Parthia; but is soon after killed by conspirators.

Now the lascivious conduct of the above-named Thermusa being deemed sufficient to have polluted the blood of Phraates; and the Parthian nobility considering that their nation could not well be governed without a king; they determined

termined that they would place any king upon the throne, who was not of the family of the Arſacidæ; and in conſequence of this reſolution, they ſent embaſſadors to invite Orodes to accept of the government. It is true he was of the royal line; but the ſingular cruelty of his diſpoſition had rendered him ſo obnoxious to the people at large, that he was attacked by a band of conſpirators, and killed on the ſpot: the Parthians being always provided with their ſwords. Different accounts have been given as to the way in which he fell: ſome ſay at a ſacrifice, others at a banquet; but the moſt generally received opinion is, that he was hunting when he met with his fate.

The Parthians ſend an embaſſy to Rome, whence Vonones is ſent to take the kingdom.

Hereupon the Parthians ſent an embaſſy to Rome, requeſting that one of their hoſtages might be appointed their ſovereign, to fill the vacancy occaſioned by the late death: and having fixed their choice on Vonones, preferably to the reſt of the brothers, a recommendation was given of him, as a prince every way deſerving of the honour that was offered him, in the command of two of the moſt diſtinguiſhed empires in the univerſe; meaning thoſe of Rome and Parthia. But the Parthians ſoon repented of the choice they had made, he being at once of a proud diſpoſition, and fond of variety. They ſaid they had too much ſpirit to ſubmit to be governed by a ſlave, which was the ſenſe in which they underſtood the word hoſtage; and they were perpetually applying this word to their ſovereign, as a term of reproach. They ſaid he was not a king whom the laws of arms had compelled them to obey; but one who had been impoſed on them, in conſequence of the making a ſcandalous peace. While their paſſions were agitated by the moſt violent emotions, they diſpatched meſſengers to Artabanus, at that time king of the Medes, who was of the family of the Arſacidæ; and he very readily came to them, attended by a numerous army.

Artabanus repulſed by Vonones, who is afterwards totally deſerted.

As the greater part of the people of Parthia yet continued unſhaken in their loyalty, Vonones immediately attacked Artabanus, and drove him back again to his own country: but the latter ſoon procuring a conſiderable re-inforcement to his army, immediately advanced, and attacking Vonones, in a ſecond battle totally routed him, and it was with great difficulty he ſaved his own life, eſcaping into Seleucia with a few horſemen. Artabanus, taking advantage of the confuſion into which he had thrown the Parthians, purſued them with uncommon ardour, committing great ſlaughter; and then retired to Cteſiphon with his victorious troops. The kingdom of Parthia now fell into his poſſeſſion, in right of this conqueſt.

Vonones flies to Armenia, and afterwards delivers himſelf up to Syllanus, governor of Syria.

In the interim Vonones retired into Armenia, having conceived an idea that he ſhould be able to ſubject that country to his dominion: and he directly diſpatched an embaſſy to Gæſar, intreating aſſiſtance to carry this project into execution: but whether the emperor had not ſufficient confidence in his perſonal courage, or whether he himſelf did not think it prudent to diſoblige the Parthians, who at this time threatened to make war upon him, he abſolutely refuſed to comply with the propoſal, and would not afford the leaſt aſſiſtance. This refuſal was fatal to the hopes of Vonones, who likewiſe found that the principal people of Armenia, which bordered on Niphates, all eſpouſed the cauſe of Artabanus. Wherefore, having deliberated on his ſituation, he ſurrendered himſelf to Syllanus, the governor of Syria, who, in conſideration of a former acquaintance that he had with him at Rome, received and entertained him in the moſt diſtinguiſhed manner. Artabanus, having now happily ſettled his affairs, beſtowed the kingdom of Armenia on his ſon Orodes.

Death of Antiochus king of Comogena.

Antiochus, king of Comogena, dying about this time, there enſued, on his deceaſe, a violent diſpute between the principal people and the vulgar: the latter wiſhing to be governed by a king, as they had heretofore been; and the former inclining to reduce the kingdom into the ſtate of a province. Hereupon the ſenate of Rome iſſued a decree, that Germanicus ſhould depart into the eaſt country, to adjuſt the differences that had ariſen; but Providence ordered that this circumſtance ſhould end in the ruin of this excellent prince; for after he had compoſed the commotions in Syria, he fell a ſacrifice to poiſon, through the management of Piſo; as will be related in another part of this work.

Death of Germanicus by poiſon.

CHAP. IV.

Account of planting Standards in JERUSALEM, with the Image of CÆSAR on them. The Author's Teſtimony concerning JESUS CHRIST. DECIUS MUNDUS enamoured of PAULINA. His criminal Intercourſe with her in the Temple, for which the infamous Authors are puniſhed with Death, and himſelf baniſhed.

Images of Cæſar brought by Pilate into Jeruſalem.

A Body of troops having removed from Cæſarea, to take up their winter-quarters in Jeruſalem, Pilate, the governor of Judæa, permitted their bringing a number of ſtandards into the city, on which were the image of Cæſar, in direct contradiction to the laws of the Jews, which expreſsly forbid the uſe of all ſuch emblems and devices: and, for this reaſon, colours with pictures on them had never been brought into the city by any former governor. This general rule was firſt tranſgreſſed by Pilate; and what added to the offence was, that they were brought into the city in the dead of the night, and there planted, unknown to the inhabitants. In the morning, when the citizens obſerved what had been done, they aſſembled in great numbers, and immediately went to Pilate at Cæſarea, requeſting of him that the obnoxious images might be removed

The Jews petition againſt them.

removed to another place. They continued several days, in the hope that Pilate would comply with their requeſt; but he was peremptory in his refuſal, pretending that ſuch a requeſt could not be complied with, as it would be an affront to the emperor.

On the Jews' earneſt importunity, and determined conduct, the images are at length removed.

The Jews ſtill continued importunate in their demands; when at length, on the ſeventh day of their attendance, Pilate gave directions to a party of ſoldiers to provide themſelves with their arms, and take their ſtation at an appointed place. This being done, he aſcended a tribunal, which he had ordered to be placed in the circus, as a ſpot the moſt convenient from which to ſurpriſe the people. All this time the Jews thronged about him, urging him to give an anſwer reſpecting the buſineſs that ſo greatly agitated their minds. Hereupon Pilate gave a ſignal to his ſoldiers, and ordered them immediately to advance, and cut the throats of all thoſe who did not depart home, and remain at peace. On this the Jews threw themſelves flat on the ground, and ſtretched out their necks; thereby intimating that the laws of their country were much more dear to them than their lives. This unparalleled inſtance of reſolution had ſuch an effect upon Pilate, that he iſſued immediate orders for the taking down of the images, and that they ſhould be carried back to Cæſarea, from whence they were brought.

By order of Pilate, a great havock is made of the Jews.

At this time Pilate having formed a deſign of bringing to Jeruſalem an aqueduct, from the diſtance of two hundred furlongs from the city, he demanded that money ſhould be advanced from the holy treaſury, to diſcharge the expence of this undertaking. This gave ſuch great offence to the people, that they aſſembled in a body amounting to many thouſands, thinking that the clamour of an outrageous multitude might prevent his carrying his ſcheme into execution. It happened (as it frequently does in popular inſurrections) that among the immenſe number of complainants, there were ſome who abuſed Pilate perſonally, and inſulted him by the moſt opprobrious epithets. Provoked by this circumſtance, he gave directions to a number of his ſoldiers to diſguiſe themſelves in the dreſſes of countrymen, to conceal clubs under their coats, and form a ring about the multitude; intimating likewiſe, that if the former ſcurrilous behaviour ſhould be continued, he would give them a ſignal, on which they ſhould act agreeable to inſtructions they had received. All this was done according to order; and the abuſive language being renewed, Pilate gave the ſignal; on which the ſoldiers began to attack with their clubs, and, in fact, exceeded the commiſſion they had received; for the innocent were equally involved in the calamity with the guilty. The conteſt, however, proved very unequal; for one party being armed, and the other altogether defenceleſs, many of the Jews were killed, great numbers wounded, and the whole body diſperſed, ſo that there was a total end of the inſurrection.

The author's honourable teſtimony concerning Jeſus Chriſt.

About this period there aroſe to notice one JESUS, a man of conſummate wiſdom, IF INDEED HE MAY BE DEEMED A MAN. He was eminently celebrated for his power of working miracles; and they who were curious, and deſirous to learn the truth, flocked to him in abundance. He was followed by immenſe numbers of people, as well Jews as Gentiles. This was that Chriſt whom the princes and great men of our nation accuſed. He was delivered up to the croſs by Pontius Pilate; notwithſtanding which, thoſe who originally adhered to him never forſook him. *On the third day after his crucifixion he was ſeen alive*, agreeable to the prediction of ſeveral prophets: he wrought a great number of marvellous acts: and there remain, even to this day, a ſect of people who bear the name of CHRISTIANS, who acknowledge this Chriſt for their head.

Relation of a ſcandalous act in the temple of Iſis.

About this time a moſt diſagreeable misfortune befell the Jews: but the account of this I ſhall poſtpone till I have related the particulars of a very ſcandalous tranſaction that happened at Rome, on occaſion of a ſacrifice to Iſis. At the city above-mentioned was a woman equally diſtinguiſhed by her birth and her virtue. Her name was Paulina. She was very rich; beautiful beyond the power of deſcription, and of a deportment ſo modeſt that there was not the ſlighteſt taint on her character. She was the wife of Saturninus, who was a man every way worthy of the poſſeſſion of ſuch a woman.

Decius Mundus enamoured of Paulina.

Now it happened that Decius Mundus, a Roman knight, who was himſelf young and accompliſhed, fell violently in love with Paulina, whoſe rank exempted her from all neceſſity of yielding through the force of money or preſents: but this circumſtance did but ſo much the more inflame the paſſions of Mundus, who proceeded ſo far as to make her an offer of two hundred thouſand drachmas, on the condition of ſleeping one night with her. This offer being rejected with the contempt it deſerved, he found that his paſſion increaſed to ſuch a degree, that life became altogether inſupportable; wherefore he formed a reſolution at once to end his life and paſſion, by ſtarving himſelf to death.

Ide's vile and artful conduct

Now it happened at this time that there was a freed-woman, a ſervant of the father of Mundus, an artful creature, named Ide, who was rather more verſed in intrigue than was conſiſtent with the character of a perſon of reputation. This woman, remarking the behaviour of Mundus, and thinking that the arguments of reaſon would have no weight to influence his conduct, ſhe proceeded in a different manner; encouraged him to hope for a happy iſſue of his paſſion, and ſaid that ſhe did not deſpair of obtaining him the poſſeſſion of Paulina, which ſhe thought might be procured for the ſum of fifty thouſand drachmas.

This

Method whereby she procures a criminal intercourse.

This proposal afforded the highest satisfaction to Mundus, who deposited the money in her hands: but the woman was conscious that Paulina was not to be won by a bribe: wherefore, having considered of the affair, and reflecting on the extreme reverence that she entertained for the goddess Isis, she devised the following contrivance. Having assembled a number of the priests of Isis, she swore them to keep inviolably secret what she had to reveal to them; and the better to insure their compliance, she gave them twenty-five thousand drachmas, and promised them the same sum when the business should be completed: this being a prevailing argument, she related to them the circumstances of the affair, and warmly solicited their interference, to introduce Mundus to the company of Paulina. The temptation was so great, that the priests found they had it not in their power to resist it, and promised their best assistance; in pursuance of which, the eldest of them immediately went to Paulina, and having demanded a private audience, informed her that he waited upon her with a message from the god Anubis, who was violently enamoured of her, and could not refrain from requesting that she would pay him a visit. Paulina made the priest extremely welcome; and was so delighted with the idea of the great honour that was to be conferred on her, that she could not help mentioning to the ladies of her acquaintance the singular regard that was entertained for her by the god Anubis. She likewise recounted the circumstance to her husband; told him that an appointment was already made, and that she should eat and sleep with the god. The husband, having had the most indubitable proofs of the virtue of his wife, seemed very well pleased with a circumstance so much calculated to raise his jealousy.

Mundus effects his purpose in the temple of Isis.

At the time appointed Paulina repaired to the temple, where she supped; and the hour of rest being come, one of the priests locked her into a room, where, in the dark, instead of meeting with the god, she found Mundus, with whom she passed the night, without having the least idea but that she had been honoured by the embraces of Anubis. Early in the morning, before the priests who were in the secret had arisen, Mundus got up, and quitted the temple; and some time afterwards Paulina returned to her husband, to whom she related the story of the honour that had been done her: and she likewise recounted it to her female friends, in terms of grateful rapture. There was something so singular in this affair, that they could scarcely credit it; and yet they hardly knew how to doubt it, from the high character that Paulina had acquired for her inviolate modesty.

Paulina insulted by her lover.

Three days after this extraordinary adventure, Mundus happening by chance to meet the lady, said, "O Paulina! what obligations am I not under to you, for your kindness in saving me the two hundred thousand drachmas with which I would have presented you, and at length complying without a bribe! It is a matter of indifference to me whether you entertain a regard for Mundus or not, so you will but permit him to gratify his passion in the character of Anubis:" and having said this, he departed.

Punishment of the priests and other parties concerned.

When Paulina came to reflect on what had happened, and to consider how vilely she had been tricked out of her virtue, she tore her garments through vexation, related the affair to her husband, and intreated him, by the love he bore her, to procure some punishment to be inflicted on the offenders. Hereupon Saturninus acquainted the emperor of the affair, who having strictly examined into it, gave orders that the priests should be crucified, together with Ide, who was the contriver of the plot, and the principal occasion of its being carried into execution against a woman of such an amiable character. He likewise ordered that the temple of Isis should be pulled down, and her statue thrown into the river Tiber. With regard to Mundus, he was only banished: allowance being made for the force of passion in so young a man. Thus much with regard to the story of Paulina. I now proceed to give an account of the calamities of the Jews at Rome, agreeable to my promise.

CHAP. V.

Four abandoned JEWS assume the Characters of Doctors of the Law. Complaint of their disorderly Proceedings being made to TIBERIUS, by SATURNINUS, the JEWS are commanded to leave the City. Account of a SAMARITAN Impostor. PILATE routs the SAMARITANS. MARCELLUS appointed Governor of JUDÆA, and PILATE ordered to ROME.

Account of four Jewish impostors.

THERE was at Rome at this time a Jew, of the most infamous character imaginable, who had been compelled to leave his country, to avoid the rigour of the law. Now this man, combining with three others, of characters equally infamous and abandoned, they assumed the appearance of rabbies, read publicly on the laws of Moses, and pretended to expound them to the people. By this conduct they obtained a number of disciples, and among the rest a woman named Fulvia, who was a person of honour and character, and inclined to the profession of Judaism. Now Fulvia having altogether submitted to the authority and discipline of these men, they prevailed on her to entrust them with oblations of gold and purple, for the use of the holy temple at Jerusalem; but as often as they received her bounty they converted it to their own use. Now this abusive practice coming to the knowledge of Fulvia, the wife of Saturninus, she prevailed on her husband to make the affair known to Tiberius;

They defraud Fulvia of much wealth; but, being detected, are expelled from Rome, and great numbers of Jews banished.

rius; in consequence of which the emperor issued orders that all the Jews should immediately leave the city. Of these, four thousand were entered upon the consul's roll, to serve as soldiers, and sent into Sardinia; exclusive of whom there were great numbers who refused to bear arms, on account of their religion; and these were punished by a variety of torments, and then banished; the whole body of the Jews suffering on account of four men of abandoned characters.

A Samaritan deceiver imposes on the credulous.

Nor were the Samaritans, at this time, without their share of misfortunes. It happened that there was a notorious impostor among these people, who by the most ridiculous stories, and extravagant lyes, would frequently assemble a croud about him. This man told the multitude, that if they would but meet him at Mount Gerizim, he would give them a sight of the holy vessels which Moses had buried in that place so many ages ago. Now such was the credulity of these ignorant people, that great numbers of them assembled in arms, and besieged Tirathaba, expecting others to come and join them; on which they determined to go up to the mountain with a large army. But Pilate having intelligence of their proceedings, got together a body of cavalry and infantry, and took possession of the mountain, whence he attacked the Samaritans who had assembled near the village, gave them a total rout, with considerable slaughter; and took and brought off a large number of prisoners; and among this number he ordered those to be beheaded who were men of rank or interest.

His adherents routed by Pilate, and many of them beheaded.

The Samaritans exhibit a complaint against Pilate, who is cited to appear at Rome.

Soon after this defeat, the chief persons among the Samaritans made application to Vitellius, a person of the rank of consul, who was at that time governor of Syria, complaining of the conduct of Pilate, and insisting that he had been guilty of murder. They said that there was no intention of departing from the authority of Rome, by their meeting at Tirathaba; since they meant only to take refuge against the arbitrary conduct of Pilate. Hereupon Vitellius commissioned his friend Marcellus to undertake the office of governor of Judæa, and directed that Pilate should be sent to Rome, to answer, before the emperor, to the complaints that had been brought against him. Pilate had now been possessed of his government ten years; but, on this order, he prepared to depart for Rome: however, Tiberius died before he arrived at that city.

CHAP. VI.

VITELLIUS remits the Duty on Fruits, &c. HYRCANUS builds the Castle ANTONIA. CAIAPHAS deprived of the Office of High-priest, and JONATHAN advanced to it. A Treaty between TIBERIUS and ARTABANUS. Death and Character of PHILIP.

Vitellius honourably received, and his liberality to the Jews.

THE feast of the passover, as it is denominated among our people, now approaching, Vitellius departed into Judæa, and going onward to Jerusalem, the Jews received him with a distinction due to his rank; and he was bountiful enough to remit them the whole of the duty on fruits. He likewise restored to the priests the possession of the pontifical robes and habits, which they deposited in the temple, where they had been kept previous to the castle of Antonia being the place of their reception.

The high-priests deposit their vestments in the castle of Antonia.

Now the first high-priest of the name of Hyrcanus, having erected a castle adjacent to the temple, resided there the greatest part of his time; and in this place, in his own custody, he kept the robes and ornaments of the high-priest, which were to be worn by no one but himself. As often as he changed his habit, he constantly deposited the sacred vestments in that castle; a practice which was followed by his successors for a considerable time. On Herod's accession to the throne, he was so highly delighted with the situation of this place, as well as with its strength and beauty, that he made improvements in it, at a great expence, and gave it the name Antonia, in honour of his worthy friend Antony. In this place Herod found the sacred vestments, and there he caused them to be kept, from an idea which he had conceived that the Jews would be held in obedience as long as he had those in possession. On the same principle Archelaus, his son and successor, acted in the very same manner: and their example was followed by the Romans, after the kingdom was reduced into a province: for these holy habiliments were constantly deposited in a cabinet which was made on purpose for their reception, and kept under the seal of the priests, and the keepers of the sacred treasury; and a lamp constantly burnt before the place, in consequence of directions given to the governor of the castle for that purpose. These vestments used to be regularly delivered by the governor to the high-priest, on the seventh day preceding the three solemn festivals; and the latter having caused them to be made perfectly clean, wore them in the discharge of his office, and on the following day restored them to the place from whence they had been taken: and this was constantly done on the solemn fast, as well as on the three other annual festivals.

Jonathan advanced to the high-priesthood, and Caiaphas deposed.

But now it became the will of Vitellius to discharge the governor from being any way answerable for the care of the pontifical habits, which, in favour of the Jews, he committed to the custody of the priests, who had been the ancient keepers of them. Not long after this he deprived Joseph, called Caiaphas, of the office of high-priest, and bestowed it on Jonathan, the son of the high-priest Ananus: and departed

departed to Antioch ſoon after he had made this alteration.

Vitellius concludes a league with Artabanus.

About this time Vitellius received letters from Tiberius, directing him to make a league with Artabanus; for he was apprehenſive that the empire might be endangered, if the latter ſhould make a conqueſt of Armenia: but Vitellius was directed not to ratify the league, unleſs one of the ſons of the king was delivered as an hoſtage. Hereupon Vitellius offered conſiderable ſums of money to the kings of Iberia and Alania, on the condition of their immediately engaging in a war with Artabanus. The people of Iberia could not be induced to lend any farther aſſiſtance to this plan, than to admit the Alanians to a free paſſage through their city, that they might paſs by the Caſpian mountains, and thus obtain eaſy admiſſion into the kingdom of Artabanus.

The Parthians loſe Armenia.

This inroad occaſioned the immediate loſs of Armenia to the Parthians; and this was followed by ſo violent an incurſion into their own country, that moſt of their nobility were deſtroyed, together with the ſon of their king, and ſuch immenſe multitudes of the common people, that the land was in a great degree depopulated by this invaſion. By this time Artabanus began to diſcover that he was betrayed by thoſe in whom he had placed the greateſt degree of confidence; and that Vitellius, by the means of bribes, had induced his friends and near relations to join in a plot for his deſtruction: wherefore, not knowing in whom to place any confidence, leſt, under the maſk of friendſhip, he ſhould be treated in a treacherous manner; and having very good reaſon to believe that perſons of the firſt rank and quality were engaged in the ſcheme againſt him, he inſtantly made his eſcape to the interior provinces, where he met with immediate protection; and an army of the Dahi and Saci coming to his aſſiſtance, he was not only enabled to vanquiſh his enemies, but to recover his kingdom.

Artabanus, after having been betrayed, recovers his kingdom.

Treaty between Tiberius and Artabanus.

On this change in the ſtate of affairs, an alliance with Artabanus was propoſed by Tiberius; and the propoſal being accepted, the two parties conſented to meet, each attended by his guards, to treat of the buſineſs, on the middle of the bridge over the river Euphrates. As ſoon as the treaty was concluded, a moſt ſumptuous and ſuperb entertainment was provided for them both by Herod the tetrarch, in a tent which, at a great expence, had been erected over the ſame river. Not long after this Artabanus ſent his ſon Darius as an hoſtage to Tiberius, together with a number of preſents, among which was one Eleazar, a Jew, known by the name of the giant, remarkable for being of the aſtoniſhing height of ſeven cubits. In a little time Artabanus returned to Babylon, and Vitellius to Antioch.

Herod gives offence to Vitellius.

It was the wiſh of Herod to tranſmit the firſt account of this good news reſpecting the hoſtages; wherefore, without loſs of time, he diſpatched a meſſenger to Tiberius, with all the particulars relating thereto. Some time afterwards Vitellius, a conſular governor, ſent intelligence of the ſame kind to Cæſar, on receiving of which he returned ſimply this anſwer: That he had informed him of nothing new, for that Herod had previouſly acquainted him with every particular. This anticipation of the good news by Herod, gave the utmoſt offence to Vitellius; but he ſtifled his indignation for the preſent, nor took farther notice of the affair till Caius ſucceeded to the government.

Death and character of Philip, Herod's brother.

At this period, which was in the twentieth year of the reign of Tiberius, died Philip, the brother of Herod, after having been tetrarch of Trachonitis, Gaulanites, and Batanæa, for the ſpace of ſeven and thirty years. He was a man diſtinguiſhed by his moderation, and devoted to the quiet enjoyment of his eaſe; his whole life being ſpent within the diſtrict over which he was appointed to preſide. He very ſeldom left his own houſe, and when he did, it was in company with a few ſelect friends; and he had a chair carried after him, which, on particular occaſions, he uſed to convert into a ſeat of juſtice. As it ſometimes happened that he met perſons on the road who had need of his judicial aſſiſtance, it was his cuſtom not to loſe any time, but to hear the cauſe immediately, and to acquit or condemn the party, according to the ſtrength of the evidence. His death happened at Julias, and he was interred with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence, in a monument which he had cauſed to be erected for his reception. As he left no children behind him, the emperor decreed that his eſtate ſhould be annexed to Syria, but on the condition that the country ſhould not be deprived of the tributes hereafter to be raiſed in the tetrarchy.

CHAP. VII.

HEROD the Tetrarch, being married to the Daughter of ARETAS, falls in Love with HERODIAS, and propoſes to marry her, and abandon his preſent Wife. This is diſcovered by the Wife, and reſented by ARETAS, who conquers HEROD in Battle. The Death of JOHN BAPTIST, by Order of HEROD. Account of the Family of HEROD the Great.

Herod and Aretas engaged in war, and the cauſes of their diſagreement.

AT this period a war took place between Herod and Aretas king of Petra, occaſioned by the following circumſtance. Herod the tetrarch had been for a conſiderable time married to the daughter of Aretas; but having buſineſs that called him to Rome, in his way thither he viſited Herod, his brother-in-law, who was grandſon of Simon, the high-prieſt, by the daughter's ſide. While on this viſit he became violently enamoured of Herodias, the wife of his brother, and the daughter of Ariſto-

bulus, their brother; and she was also sister of Agrippa, who was afterwards king. Impelled by the force of his passion, he proposed to marry her when he should return from Rome, and to part with the daughter of Aretas; and on this condition the match was mutually agreed on.

Herod's wife betrays to Aretas her husband's design to marry Herodias.

This contract being made, he pursued his voyage to Rome, and having dispatched his business there, returned to the place of his own residence. In the interim his wife, having obtained some information of what had passed between him and Herodias, told him in a manner that could not give him the least cause of suspicion, that she should be happy if he would but permit her to pass a little time at Machæras, which was a castle on the borders of the dominions of Aretas. Now Herod, not having the least idea of her real intention, readily consented to the journey. It is to be remarked that Machæras, being a place devoted to the wife's father, every thing was properly prepared for her farther journey: immediately on her arrival the governor of the palace furnished her with Arabian guards, who lost no time in conveying her from place to place, till at length she arrived at the palace of her father, where she related to him the particulars of the new connection that had been formed by Herod.

Herod's army routed by Aretas.

Great uneasiness arose from this circumstance, and as, previously thereto, there had been a dispute between the parties respecting the boundaries of some lands in Gamala, and as two armies were already in the field, for the purpose of adjusting this difference, the above affair was made a pretext for an immediate battle, in which Herod's party was utterly routed: but this was principally owing to the treachery of a number of deserters, who were at this time in the pay of Herod, after having abandoned the cause of Philip. Herod lost no time in acquainting Tiberius with the particulars of the above affair, who being enraged at the conduct of Aretas, directed Vitellius to make war on him immediately, and either to send his head, or to bring him prisoner to Rome.

Particulars relating to John the Baptist, and his doctrines.

It was at this time the prevailing opinion among the Jews, that the above disaster was a proof of the vengeance of Heaven against Herod and his army, on account of John, surnamed the Baptist, whom this tetrarch had caused to be inhumanly murdered. Now the Baptist had not been guilty of any crime. His custom was, to exhort the Jews to the love and practice of every virtue: he principally insisted on their lives being regulated by the rules of piety and justice; urged the necessity of regeneration by baptism and a new life; and insisted, that it was not by abstaining from any particular offence, but by a constant course of goodness, that they could receive the benefit of such regeneration.

He is held in great veneration and esteem.

The Baptist had now acquired great credit and authority among the people, by the holiness of his life; and this was evident by the number of his disciples, and the veneration they entertained for his doctrine. In fact, they seemed to be so totally devoted to his will, as to be altogether under his influence; insomuch that Herod was jealous lest his high degree of reputation should tempt them to revolt. To prevent, therefore, the dreaded consequences, he determined on his destruction before he could have an opportunity of perpetrating any act of mischief; rather than wait the event, and repent after the act was committed. Urged by this consideration, he dispatched him to Machæras (the place above-mentioned) as a prisoner, directing that he should be immediately put to death; and the sentence was executed agreeable to the instructions; but the impiety of the deed was followed by an almost immediate divine vengeace on Herod; agreeable to the idea of the Jews, that he had been punished for spilling the blood of that holy man.

The Baptist imprisoned and put to death by Herod.

Vitellius marches towards Judæa.

At this time Vitellius was making preparations for the war in Arabia, and was actually on his march towards Petra, having under his command two legions of horse and foot of the Roman auxiliaries. When he had got as far as Ptolemais, and was on the point of crossing Judæa, he was met by the principal people of the country, who most earnestly solicited him that he would take a different route; for that the Jewish law was insulted, and their religion profaned, by the images that the Romans usually carry in their colours. This reason had its proper weight with the general, who directed that his army should march about, by the way of a large plain; and in the mean time he took with him Herod the tetrarch, and several other friends, and went up to Jerusalem, to offer public worship, on occasion of a solemn festival which was then approaching. He made three days stay in this city, during which time he was treated with all possible marks of honour and respect; and while he remained there, he deprived Jonathan of the office of high-priest, and conferred it on his brother Theophilus: and on the fourth day he received letters which announced the death of Tiberius, whereupon he caused the people to swear allegiance to his successor, Caius Caligula; and this being done, he gave orders for the recall of his troops, and directed that they should go into winter quarters; the change in the government having determined him to put a period to the war; and after this he returned to Antioch.

He arrives at Jerusalem, and deposes Jonathan the high-priest.

The event of Vitellius's proceedings said to be foretold by wizards.

A tradition is current, that when this expedition of Vitellius was talked of, Aretas consulted the wizards and fortune-tellers, respecting what should be the issue of the affair; and that the answer which he received was to the following purpose: "That the army then on the march should never arrive at Petra; for that either one of the princes should die, or he that commanded the army, or the person that was deputy in the command, or the party against whom the war was levied."

At

Account of Herod the Great.

At this period Agrippa, the ſon of Ariſtobulus, had been at Rome about a year, having matters of great importance to tranſact with Cæſar. But before I ſay any thing farther of him, it will be proper that I mention ſomething with regard to Herod and his family; ſince in them is exhibited a ſingular inſtance of the wiſdom and power of the providence of God. In the caſe of Herod, we ſhall ſee that the having a numerous family, the poſſeſſion of a ſplendid fortune, with royal power and dignity, are of no avail, without the more valuable poſſeſſions of piety and juſtice: ſince there was ſcarcely any remains of the very large family of Herod in the ſpace of a hundred years. This conſideration is ſufficient to humble the pride of the arrogant, and to raiſe the contemplation of the virtuous man, on the wonderful advancement of Agrippa, who, from a private ſtation, contrary to all human expectation, was raiſed to a degree of power ſo very extraordinary.

His family and progeny.

I have heretofore mentioned ſomething of this affair in the general, but ſhall now deſcend to particulars. By Mariamne, the daughter of Hyrcanus, Herod the Great had two daughters; one of them was named Salampſo, who was married to Phaſael, the ſon of Phaſael, elder brother to the king, by the conſent of the father. The name of the other daughter was Cypros, who was married to Antipater, Herod's nephew, by his ſiſter Salome.

Salampſo had five children by Phaſael, viz. three ſons, Antipater, Herod, and Alexander; and two daughters, Alexandra and Cypros; the former of whom married Timius, a nobleman of the iſle of Cypros, and died childleſs; and the latter was married to Agrippa, the ſon of Ariſtobulus. Cypros bore to Agrippa two ſons and three daughters. The ſons were named Agrippa and Druſus, the laſt of whom died while he was under age; and the daughters were called Berenice, Mariamne, and Druſilla. Agrippa the father was educated under the care of his grandfather Herod the Great, as were likewiſe Herod and Ariſtobulus, and alſo Berenice, who was the daughter of Salome and Coſtabarus. At this time the children of Ariſtobulus were infants, when their father, and his brother Alexander (as hath been before noted), were put to death by the command of Herod. On their advancement to years of maturity, this Herod, the brother of Agrippa, wedded Mariamne, the daughter of Olympias (who was daughter of king Herod), and of Joſeph, the brother of Herod; and of this marriage Ariſtobulus was born. Now Ariſtobulus, Agrippa's third brother, was married to Jotape, the daughter of Sampſigeram, king of Emeſenes; and by her he had a daughter, born deaf, who received the name of her mother. The above is a liſt of the children of the three brothers: their ſiſter, Herodias, was married to Herod, the ſon of Herod the Great, by his wife Mariamne, the daughter of Simon the high-prieſt; and of this marriage was born Salome; but after her birth, Herodias, in defiance of all the laws of honour and conſcience, did not heſitate to take, for her ſecond huſband, Herod the tetrarch of Galilee, though ſhe was wife to his brother by the father's ſide; and had likewiſe a former huſband living at the time of this ſecond marriage. The daughter, Salome, was married to Philip, the ſon of Herod the tetrarch of Trachonitis, who died without iſſue: after which ſhe was married to Ariſtobulus, the ſon of Herod, and brother of Agrippa; and three ſons were born of this marriage; viz. Herod, Agrippa, and Ariſtobulus. Thus much with regard to the family of Phaſael and Salampſo.

To Antipater Cypros bore a daughter, which took her own name, and who was married to Alexas Selcius, the ſon of Alexas, by whom he had one daughter, likewiſe named Cypros. Herod and Alexander (as hath been mentioned) were the brothers of Antipater, and died without children. Now Alexander, the ſon of Herod the king (the ſame who was put to death by his father), had two children, named Alexander and Tigranes, by Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia.

The above-named Tigranes died without iſſue: he was king of Armenia, and the ſame who had an accuſation brought againſt him by the Romans. Alexander had likewiſe a ſon named Tigranes, after his uncle, who was promoted by Nero to be king of Armenia. He had alſo a ſon named Alexander, who was married to Jotape, the daughter of Antiochus king of Comagena, and was advanced by Veſpaſian to the dignity of king of Leſis in Gilitia. The family of Alexander ſoon departed from the laws and cuſtoms of the Jews, and embraced thoſe of the Greeks. There were no children left by the reſt of the daughters of Herod the Great. Thus having given an account of the poſterity of this prince, down to the reign of Agrippa, I ſhall in the next place recount the hiſtory of Agrippa himſelf, together with that variety of providential incidents, which in the end advanced him to ſo diſtinguiſhed a ſtation.

CHAP. VIII.

Account of the Riſe of AGRIPPA. ARISTOBULUS the Enemy of AGRIPPA. AGRIPPA Viſits TIBERIUS. He is appointed Governor to TIBERIUS NERO. His Impriſonment, which is rendered tolerable by ANTONIA. TIBERIUS beſtows the Government on CAIUS, and charges him to act generouſly by his Brother, whom he afterwards deſtroys. Death and Character of TIBERIUS, who is ſucceeded by CAIUS. The Declaration of CAIUS CÆSAR, who orders AGRIPPA to be releaſed. The Crowning of AGRIPPA. The Government of JUDÆA given to MARCELLUS.

Agrippa's exaltation and profuſion.

SOME ſmall time previous to the death of Herod the Great, Agrippa reſiding at Rome, and being often in the family of the emperor, became a very great favourite of

his ſon Druſus, and alſo obtained the good opinion of Antonia, the wife of the elder Druſus, through the intereſt of his mother Berenice, for whom Antonia had a moſt particular eſteem. Agrippa was by nature rather inclined to extravagance; but during the life of his mother, he reſtrained himſelf within ſome reaſonable bounds; her death at length making him maſter of his own conduct, he began to give expenſive treats, and make profuſe and coſtly preſents, particularly to the dependents and domeſtics of the court, where it was that he hoped to raiſe his fortune. By theſe means he involved himſelf in debt to ſuch a degree, that he could no longer make his appearance at Rome; beſides, at this time, Tiberius having the misfortune to loſe his ſon, he could not now endure the ſight of any of the favourites of Druſus, leſt he ſhould be reminded of the loſs he had ſuſtained.

He retreats to Maltha, where he abandons himſelf to melancholy.

Agrippa having thus ſquandered his money, and deſtroyed his reputation, by the irregularity of his conduct; and his creditors being anxious with him to diſcharge their demands, which it was not in his power to do, he returned to Judæa; and when there, ſeeing no hope of retrieving his fortune, and bluſhing for the folly he had been guilty of, he retreated to Maltha, a caſtle in Idumæa, having conceived an intention that, in that place, he would put an end to an exiſtence that was no longer ſupportable. Cypros obſerving the deſponding humour of her huſband, and remarking that his melancholy ſeemed to forebode the moſt fatal conſequences, exerted her utmoſt endeavours to prevent the misfortune which ſhe dreaded; and particularly wrote to her ſiſter Herodias a circumſtantial account of the calamitous ſituation in which he lived; and moſt earneſtly urged her, by all the ties of honour and conſanguinity, to afford him ſome immediate relief: ſhe ſaid that ſhe did every thing that was in her own power, and hoped that her example would be followed by her ſiſter.

Herodias intereſts herſelf in his behalf, and obtains a penſion for him.

Herodias was ſo much affected by this repreſentation, that ſhe joined with her huſband in ſending a meſſage, deſiring that Agrippa would attend them; when they gave him a penſion, and beſtowed on him the government of Tiberias, for his immediate ſupport: but Herod did not long continue in this generous diſpoſition, nor was Agrippa very well contented with his preſent ſituation. Now it happened that, on a certain time, when they were drinking at Tyre, Herod made many ungenerous reflections on Agrippa, on account of his poverty, and intimated, among other things, that he was ſupported by his bounty.

Being inſulted by Herod, he applies to Flaccus, who favourably receives him.

This inſult was too great to be borne by one of Agrippa's ſpirit; he therefore repaired to viſit Flaccus, an old particular friend of his when at Rome, who was at that time governor of Syria. Flaccus received him in the moſt free and hoſpitable manner: but at this time Ariſtobulus, the brother of Agrippa, was a viſitor in the ſame houſe: the former was his enemy, though his brother: yet Flaccus divided his favours and civilities indifferently between them, as if no animoſity had ſubſiſted. Ariſtobulus, however, urged by the moſt implacable malice, ſtill kept up the quarrel, and would not reſt till he had inſpired Flaccus with a bad opinion of Agrippa, which was effected in the following manner: The inhabitants of Damaſcus, and thoſe of Sidon, had a violent diſpute between them, reſpecting the boundaries of their territories, and Flaccus was fixed upon to hear and determine the cauſe. Now the people of Damaſcus, being informed that Flaccus and Agrippa were on terms of the utmoſt intimacy, thought it would be a ſtroke of good policy previouſly to engage the intereſt of Agrippa, by bribing him with a ſum of money. The bargain being made, and promiſes of mutual ſecrecy given, Agrippa exerted all his intereſt for the people of Damaſcus againſt thoſe of Sidon.

He incurs the hatred of his brother Ariſtobulus, and is rejected by Flaccus.

Now Ariſtobulus, having diſcovered that Agrippa had received a bribe to tranſact this buſineſs, went to the governor, and complained of the conduct of his brother; and Flaccus, examining into the merits of the affair, and finding proof againſt Agrippa, diſmiſſed him from his favour, and left him to ſeek a ſupport in the beſt manner he was able. Hereupon Agrippa went back to Ptolemais; and being in abſolute want of the neceſſaries of life, he came to a reſolution to return into Italy. Thus diſtreſſed, he gave directions to Marſyas, a freed-man of his, to apply to the brokers, to raiſe a ſum of money, on any terms whatever, to anſwer his preſent demand. In conſequence of theſe directions Marſyas went to Protus, a freed-man of Berenice (the mother of Agrippa, his late patroneſs, who, by her laſt will, had recommended him to the ſervice of Antonia); and propoſed to him to advance a ſum of money to Agrippa, on the ſecurity of his own bond. Protus ſaid that he was already in his debt: yet Marſyas prevailed upon him to lend twenty thouſand attic drachmas, on the ſecurity above mentioned; but of this ſum he gave no more to Agrippa than ſeventeen thouſand five hundred pieces, retaining the other two thouſand five hundred to himſelf, for the trouble taken in procuring this advance: nor was Agrippa in circumſtances to diſpute about this extortion.

His deceitful conduct towards Herennius.

As ſoon as he was poſſeſſed of this money, Agrippa proceeded to Anthedon, where he met with a ſhip calculated for his ſervice, and made preparations for going to ſea: but Herennius Capito, the procurator of Jamnia, hearing of this circumſtance, ſent a number of ſoldiers to him, to demand the payment of three hundred thouſand pieces of ſilver, the property of the king, which he had borrowed when he was at Rome. This circumſtance occaſioned ſome little delay in Agrippa's proceeding; but he amuſed the ſoldiers with fair promiſes, and, when night came on, cut his cable, and ſlipped out to ſea, ſteering his courſe

Succeſs of his artifices to obtain money.

courſe towards Alexandria. On his arrival at that city, he made application to Alexander, the principal officer of the revenue, requeſting that he would lend him two hundred thouſand pieces of money on his bond. To this the officer replied, "With regard to yourſelf, I have not faith enough in you to credit you with ſuch a ſum; but your wife appears to be a woman of exemplary character and amiable deportment; and ſhe ſhall have the money if ſhe will give her ſecurity for it." In this manner the matter was ſettled; and Cypros becoming bound for the ſum wanted, Alexander furniſhed Agrippa with five talents on the ſpot, and gave him letters of credit, to receive the reſt at Puteoli; for he was unwilling to truſt the whole ſum with him at once, leſt he ſhould apply it to improper purpoſes. By this time Cypros was convinced that there was no poſſibility of preventing her huſband's proceeding; wherefore ſhe and her children went over land to Judæa.

Goes to Rome, and is kindly received by Tiberius.

When Agrippa arrived at Puteoli, he ſent a letter to Tiberius Cæſar, who was then at Capreæ, informing him that he had come ſo far to pay his humble reſpects to him; and requeſting his permiſſion to wait on him. Tiberius did not heſitate to ſend him an anſwer replete with kindneſs, in which he informed him that he ſhould be happy to ſee him at Capreæ. Thither Agrippa went, and on his arrival Tiberius received him with open arms, and welcomed him to the palace, where he entertained him in the moſt generous and hoſpitable manner, thereby proving his ſincerity when he gave him the invitation. But on the following day letters to Tiberius arrived from Herennius Capito, complaining of the conduct of Agrippa, and ſtating, "That when he demanded payment of a bond for three hundred thouſand pieces which had been long ſince due to the emperor, Agrippa departed in a ſecret manner, ſo that the money would probably be loſt."

Being charged by Herennius with a defraud, he is diſmiſſed the court.

This conduct was ſo highly offenſive to Tiberius, that he commanded the officers of his bed-chamber not to permit Agrippa to depart till the debt was diſcharged. On the contrary, Agrippa did not ſeem to remark the diſpleaſure of the emperor, but immediately applied to Antonia, mother of Germanicus and Claudius, who was afterwards advanced to the ſovereign power. To her he related his diſtreſſes, and told her that he was likely to loſe the favour of the emperor, for want of the above-mentioned three hundred thouſand pieces: whereupon ſhe lent him the money, in honour of the memory of Berenice, and the mutual friendſhip they had entertained for each other; excluſive of which, Agrippa had been the companion and play-fellow of her ſon Claudius, almoſt from his earlieſt infancy. Having received this money, he diſcharged his debt, and was reinſtated in the favour of Tiberius. This conduct had ſuch an effect on the emperor, that he committed his grandſon, Tiberius Nero, the ſon of Druſus, to the care and government of Agrippa, requeſting that he would be conſtantly in his company, and regulate his whole conduct. Agrippa, however, had ſo ſtrong an idea of his obligations to Antonia, that he paid his principal attention and reſpect to her grandſon Caius, for whom the people in general had the higheſt eſteem, not only reſpecting his perſonal virtues, but on account of the reverence which they entertained for the memory of his father, Germanicus. At this period a Samaritan, one of Cæſar's freed-men, lent Agrippa a million of pieces, with part of which he diſcharged his debt to Antonia, and employed the remainder in paying the expence incurred by his attendance on Caius, with whom he had now contracted the utmoſt friendſhip.

Suſpicious words ſpoken by him, and heard by Eutychus.

It happened that on a particular day Caius and Agrippa were riding out in a chariot, without any other company, when Tiberius became the ſubject of converſation; on which Agrippa exclaimed, "From my heart I wiſh it would pleaſe God that Caius was in his place!" Now Eutychus, a freed-man of Agrippa, who at that time drove the carriage, heard theſe words ſpoken; but took no notice of them for the preſent. Some little time afterwards Eutychus was charged with robbing Agrippa, and carrying off ſome of his cloaths. The man was really guilty of the offence; and was apprehended, and carried before Piſo, the governor of the place, to undergo an examination. Among other queſtions, Piſo aſked him how it happened that he ran away; to which he replied, "That the life of Tiberius was in danger, and he was going to make a diſcovery of the plot." On this declaration he was ſent bound to Capreæ, where Tiberius ſtill kept him in chains: for the emperor, in all affairs of ſtate, was certainly the moſt dilatory man that ever exiſted. Embaſſadors could not obtain an audience of him without a tedious delay; nor would he nominate people to ſucceed to governments of provinces, till he had certain knowledge of the death of the former poſſeſſors. It was his cuſtom, likewiſe, to permit priſoners to remain a long time unexamined; and when his friends aſked the reaſon of this ſingular conduct, he would addreſs them in the following manner:

Dilatory diſpoſition of Tiberius.

Reaſons given by Tiberius for his delays.

"If I were too eaſy of acceſs, and gave too ready an admiſſion to embaſſadors, I ſhould find that they who were ſpeedily received, would be ſpeedily diſmiſſed; and that others would ſoon be ſent to ſupply their places; ſo that by this mode of proceeding, I ſhould be perpetually embarraſſed by giving freſh audiences; and a great part of my life would be ſpent in the receiving and diſmiſſing of embaſſadors. With regard to officers, when they are once fixed in their ſtations, it is more advantageous to the ſubject to retain them, than change them for others; for covetouſneſs is the vice of magiſtrates: now perſons who imagine they hold their offices during their good behaviour, will be leſs rapacious than they who expect to be ſpeedily diſmiſſed. I will illuſtrate this matter to you by reciting an ancient fable.—A wounded man lay by the

ſide of a road, unable to help himſelf, while numbers of flies ſwarmed on his ſores, and gave him no ſmall degree of uneaſineſs. A man of humanity happening to paſs that road, expreſſed his readineſs to drive them away, and relieve the poor man from his ſufferings:—By no means, cried he; leave them in their preſent ſituation; for theſe flies, when their hunger is ſatisfied, do not torment me nearly as much as a new ſet would do, that may come half ſtarved. Now this is preciſely the caſe between ſubjects and newly appointed magiſtrates, who are to be conſidered only as freſh flies, come to ſuck the blood of the people."

It is unneceſſary to adduce any other proof of this being the true character of Tiberius, than the circumſtance of his appointing only Gratus, and his ſucceſſor Pilate, to be governors of Judæa, during a reign of twenty-two years: and he governed the other parts of his empire in the ſame manner. The reaſon that he aſſigned for the not bringing of priſoners to a ſpeedy trial, was, that their ſufferings might be ſo much the more tedious, as a puniſhment for their former offences; ſince protracted torments were worſe than death.

Antonia deſired by Agrippa to ſolicit an hearing for Eutychus.

Eutychus being kept ſo long in chains was evidently the conſequence of this diſpoſition of Tiberius: but the emperor at length coming from Capreæ to Tuſculanum, diſtant only one hundred furlongs from Agrippa, he requeſted Antonia to ſolicit that Eutychus might be examined, that what he had to ſay againſt his patron might be known at once. Now Tiberius entertained a ſingular reſpect for Antonia, partly on account of affinity, for ſhe was his ſiſter-in-law, and the widow of Druſus; and partly for her ſteady virtue, in refuſing a ſecond marriage in the prime of her life, to which ſhe had been earneſtly preſſed by Auguſtus himſelf. In fact, her whole life exhibited a pattern of the moſt exemplary virtue. Excluſive of the above conſiderations, Tiberius was under perſonal obligations to Antonia, which he could not forget; ſince her wiſdom, fidelity, and diligence, had ſaved his life from the deſperate machinations of Sejanus; for he was poſſeſſed of great power and credit, a captain of the guards, and had engaged in the conſpiracy a number of the moſt eminent ſenators, many of Cæſar's freed-men, ſeveral of the favourites at court, and ſome of the military officers. The eſcape, therefore, of Tiberius was rather extraordinary, and the effects of the treaſonable intention were evidently defeated by the reſolute induſtry of Antonia; for no ſooner was ſhe informed of the horrid intention, than ſhe wrote down a narrative of all the particulars of the plot, as they came to her knowledge, and ſent them, from time to time, to Tiberius at Capreæ, by the hands of Pallas, who was an approved and confidential ſervant of the emperor: and in conſequence of this diſcovery, the confederacy and thoſe concerned in it being made known, Sejanus and his accomplices received the reward due to their demerits.

The conſpiracy of Sejanus diſcovered to Cæſar by Antonia.

It may be preſumed that if Antonia's merit was great with Tiberius before ſhe had rendered him this piece of ſervice, it was much greater afterwards: ſo that when, at the requeſt of Agrippa, ſhe had repeatedly urged the emperor to hear the charge of Eutychus, he could not refuſe to comply with her ſolicitations: but he addreſſed her to the following purport: "If this man has reported falſehoods reſpecting Agrippa, he has been already ſufficiently puniſhed in the length of his impriſonment: but let Agrippa beware how he proſecutes this matter with too great a degree of rigour; leſt, on a clear inveſtigation of the affair, the puniſhment he intends for Eutychus ſhould fall on his own head." Antonia reported the contents of this ſpeech to Agrippa; but the more earneſt ſhe was in adviſing him to decline all farther thoughts of proſecution, the more reſolved he ſeemed to have the matter determined by a full examination.

Tiberius endeavours to evade the examination of Eutychus.

When ſhe found that he refuſed to be adviſed, ſhe took an opportunity, when the emperor was paſſing by in a chair, after dinner, with Caius and Agrippa walking before him, to advance immediately to Tiberius, with a repeated requeſt that Eutychus might be brought to an immediate examination; on which he addreſſed her in the following manner: "I call heaven to witneſs, that what I am now about to conſent to, is contrary to my own inclination, and merely in compliance with your urgent requeſt." Having ſaid this, he gave orders to Macro, who had ſucceeded Sejanus as captain of the guards, to direct that Eutychus ſhould be immediately brought before him.

Cæſar yields reluctantly to the ſolicitations of Antonia.

The priſoner having made his appearance, Tiberius interrogated him in the following manner: "What have you to alledge againſt your patron, Agrippa, to whoſe bounty you owe the poſſeſſion of your freedom?" To this Eutychus made anſwer; "One day, as I was driving Caius and Agrippa in a chariot, and ſitting at their feet in the diſcharge of my duty, I heard the ſubſtance of the converſation that paſſed between them; and, among other things, I particularly recollect that Agrippa addreſſed Caius in the following manner: "Devoutly do I wiſh that the old man was but ſafely depoſited in the grave, and you were left governor of the world; for if he was departed, you might eaſily diſpoſe of his grandchild, Tiberius; and excluſive of the general advantage that would ariſe to mankind from this circumſtance, I might reaſonably hope to ſhare in the particular bleſſing of the revolution."

Examination of Eutychus, before Tiberius, and his charge againſt Agrippa.

There wanted nothing to induce Tiberius to give credit to this information; and he was inexpreſſibly chagrined to think, that after he had committed the education of his grandſon, Tiberius, to the particular care of Agrippa, he ſhould totally neglect that important charge, and devote his whole time

The emperor incenſed againſt Agrippa, orders him to be put in chains.

time to an attendance on Caius. The emperor, therefore, turning about to Macro, cried "Put him in chains;" but Macro, not knowing who it was that he meant (for he could not think of such a circumstance respecting Agrippa), hesitated a while, till he should be more fully informed of his intentions. In the interim Tiberius took a walk in the circus, and observing that Agrippa was still at liberty, he again called to Macro, and said, "Have I not given orders for the putting that man in chains?" To this Macro cried "What man?" Agrippa said, "Tiberius."

He is committed to prison.

Hereupon Agrippa had recourse to the humblest supplications and intreaties, beseeching Tiberius, by the regard he entertained for the memory of his son, who had conferred on him the honour of his acquaintance, and on account of the services he had been happy enough to render his grandson Tiberius, that he would grant him his pardon. But his solicitations had no effect; for he was immediately dragged away to prison by the guards, in his robes of honour, as they found him. Now the weather being remarkably sultry, and Agrippa ready to perish through the intenseness of thirst, he observed one Thaumastus, a servant to Caius, who had a pitcher of water in his hand, and requested that he would give him a draught of it. Thaumastus readily complied with this request; and when Agrippa had quenched his thirst, he addressed his benefactor in the following manner: "Since you, Thaumastus, have been so generous as to confer this obligation on me during my present disgraceful situation, with the same readiness that you formerly served me in a more elevated station of life, be assured that you shall never have cause to repent the liberality of your present conduct: for you may depend upon my word of honour, that as soon as my present difficulties shall be overcome, I will make use of my utmost interest with Caius, that you shall be restored to your liberty." And Agrippa was afterwards as good as his promise; for no sooner was he advanced to the crown, than he begged Caius would make him a present of Thaumastus, to whom he gave his freedom, and entrusted him with the management of his affairs; and when his death approached, he recommended him to his son and daughter, Agrippa and Bernice, advising that he might continue in the same situation during the remainder of his life; and this he did, with credit to himself, and possessing the esteem of all who knew him.

His gratitude to Thaumastus, a slave.

Prediction in consequence of an owl's perching on Agrippa's head.

While Agrippa was standing, bound with chains, with other prisoners, before the palace, leaning in a melancholy manner against a tree, an owl perched thereon; which being observed by a German prisoner, he asked a soldier who was the person dressed in purple; and being told that he was a Jew of the first distinction, he begged the soldier would let him approach him, for he wished to know some things respecting his country. This request being complied with, and an interpreter being allowed, the German addressed Agrippa to the following effect: "I perceive, young gentleman, that you are dejected by this sudden and amazing change in your fortune: yet it is not in your power to conceive, nor will you easily credit, how very near your deliverance approaches, under the special care and protection of that providence which is your peculiar guard. I now invoke all the gods which are worshipped either by your nation or ours, by whose permission we are thus imprisoned, to witness, that I say not this to flatter you with idle hopes by which you will be deceived; for I am not insensible that such prognostications, if the event should not prove answerable to the prophecy, are productive of more injury than service. But I conceive it to be my duty, at whatever risk to myself, to inform you, that you will see such a surprising turn of affairs, as will elevate you from this distressful situation, and place you on such a summit of honour and power, that you will become the envy of those who have heretofore affected either to despise or pity you. The remainder of your days will be prosperous, and your good fortune will be possessed by children whom you will leave behind you.—I now intreat your particular attention to what I have farther to say. When you shall again behold this bird, you shall die at the end of five days from that time. Thus much I am commissioned by Heaven to give you to understand by this auspicious omen. What I declare is founded in fact, and I tell you the simple truth, that you may not be borne down by the weight of your present afflictions; but be happy in the prospect of future events. All I have farther to desire of you is, that when you shall find these predictions verified by the event, you will not be unmindful of your fellow prisoners; but procure the freedom of those you may leave in this place." When Agrippa heard this prophecy of the German, it appeared to him altogether as ridiculous, as it did afterwards wonderful when it came to be accomplished.

Antonia's distress on account of Agrippa, and her successful intercession in his behalf.

During this time Antonia was exceedingly unhappy on account of the hard treatment of her friend; and conceiving that the inflexibility of the disposition of Tiberius was such, that the making of application or intercession to him would but be a mere loss of time, she therefore took a different method; and applied to Macro to render his confinement as easy to him as possible, by directing that he should be attended by soldiers of a civil and humane disposition, that he should constantly sit down at table with the officer in whose immediate custody he was; that he should be permitted the use of the bath daily, and that the visits of his friends and freemen should be admitted. All these favours were granted: whereupon he was visited by his friend Silas: and Marsyas and Stychus, two of his freed-men, constantly conveyed to him the food of which he was most fond; and under pretence of carrying blankets to sell, they supplied him with those articles on which to repose in the night; the soldiers, agreeable to the hints they had received from

from Macro, making no oppoſition to theſe proceedings.

Tiberius, ſeized with a violent illneſs, orders his adopted children to be brought to him.

At the expiration of about ſix months from the commencement of Agrippa's impriſonment, Tiberius, on his return from Capreæ, was attacked with an illneſs that was at firſt but ſlight; but which gradually increaſing, he grew worſe till his life was deſpaired of. When he came to perceive that there were no hopes of his recovery, he diſpatched Evodus, his favourite freed man, to bring his children to him early on the following day, to take a final leave of their dying parent. When I ſpeak of his children, I mean thoſe he had adopted; for Druſus, his only ſon, was deceaſed: but Tiberius, the ſon of that Druſus, was yet living, as was Caius, the ſon of his brother Germanicus, who by this time was arrived at the years of maturity, and was a youth diſtinguiſhed by his learning, and by every other excellent qualification. He was a very great favourite with the people, on account of the reſpect they entertained for the memory of the virtues of his father, who was a prince ſingularly diſtinguiſhed by the modeſty of his deportment, and the eaſe of his converſation, never pretending to that ſuperiority which was undoubtedly his due. A character thus eminently diſtinguiſhed could not fail to attract the favour of the ſenate and people, and of the provinces in general, which owed him many obligations for the repeated good offices he had conferred. In fact, his death was not celebrated with ſo much outward pomp and mourning, as by a ſincere ſorrow, and tears that flowed from the real impulſe of the heart. The people in general lamented the death of this prince with ſuch an unfeigned grief, as if each man had wept for the deceaſe of his own father. Caius was highly advantaged in the public opinion by the reputation of Germanicus; but particula among the ſoldiers, who were ready, at the firſt call, to devote their lives to do him any kind of ſervice.

Caius and Germanicus univerſally beloved.

Tiberius implored the gods to direct him concerning a ſucceſſor.

Orders having been given by Tiberius, that Evodus ſhould bring his ſons to him early in the morning, the emperor offered up a prayer to the gods of his country, that he might be directed, by ſome particular ſignal, which of the two he ſhould make choice of for his ſucceſſor; yet privately wiſhing that Tiberius might be diſtinguiſhed by the happy omen: however, he did not dare venture to make a prejudication in a matter of ſuch high importance, but thought proper firſt to conſult his oracle. Wherefore he determined that he would be governed by this circumſtance, that the young prince who ſhould firſt wait upon him in the morning ſhould ſucceed him in the government. Having formed this reſolution, he gave particular orders to the tutor of his grandchild, to bring the youth to him by day-break, not entertaining a doubt but that the gods would declare in favour of Tiberius; but the event proved the contrary; for the emperor ſending out Evodus, as ſoon as day-light appeared, to ſee if the young princes were at the door, and to bring into the palace the firſt he ſaw, he found Caius alone, informed him that he muſt wait on his father, and immediately introduced him. Now it happened that Tiberius, being unappriſed of the intention of the emperor, had ſtayed to breakfaſt, and thus miſſed the favourable opportunity.

He propoſes an omen, which is fruſtrated, in favour of Caius.

The emperor was aſtoniſhed when Caius entered the room, and wondered at that providence which had defeated his deſign in the diſpoſal of the government, by thus ſettling it in a way totally contrary to what he had intended. Nor did he deem the preſent diſappointment of his expectations the worſt circumſtance attending the affair; for he did not conſider the loſs of the empire as of equal conſequence with the perſonal ſafety of his grandchild: ſince, where the acquiring of dominion is the object, the queſtion will be decided by force: ambition is deaf to the calls of humanity, and where there is a rivalſhip for power, the ruin of one party is generally deemed the ſecurity of the other.

Tiberius addicted to fortune-tellers and aſtrologers.

Now Tiberius paid great regard to the predictions of fortune-tellers, judicial aſtrologers, and people of that kind; and he acted, in a great degree, purſuant to their advice and direction. Happening one day to look upon Galba, he turned about to ſome friends who ſtood near him, and ſaid, "That man will be emperor of Rome." It muſt be confeſſed that not one of the Roman emperors ever had ſuch faith in prognoſtications as Tiberius; yet ſome of his ideas were not altogether abſurd. Nothing, however, made a deeper impreſſion on his mind than the late determination reſpecting the two princes, which had ſuch an effect on him, that he already conſidered his grandſon in the light of a man doomed to deſtruction; and what aggravated his wretchedneſs was, that himſelf was only blameable for that inquiſitiveneſs of diſpoſition which deſtroyed the peace of his own mind: whereas he might have lived at his eaſe, and in perfect freedom, without ſeeking to know the hidden counſels of providence, and deſtroying his repoſe by perpetual inquiries into the knowledge of future events: but this anxiety to know what in nature muſt be hidden from him, was the curſe of his diſpoſition.

His charge to Caius.

Being diſappointed in the wiſh that he had formed reſpecting the ſucceſſion, he was but ill diſpoſed to congratulate the future emperor on the good fortune that awaited him; yet, as on this occaſion it was neceſſary that ſomething ſhould be ſaid, he addreſſed the fortunate prince in the manner following: "It is unneceſſary, my ſon Caius, for me to inform you, that Tiberius is more nearly allied to me in blood than you are; yet I now commit the government of the Roman empire into your hands, in conſequence of having conſulted the will of the gods, and debated on the affair in my own mind. But I command you, that in the exerciſe of the power with which you are inveſted, you conſtantly

conſtantly remember the obligations you are under to him who beſtowed it on you; and that your gratitude to your patron be teſtified by every poſſible inſtance of affection and regard to your brother Tiberius. All that I have to requeſt of you, in grateful acknowledgment of the honour I have now conferred (for, next to Heaven, it is owing to me), is that you will in every particular treat him with the utmoſt kindneſs, ſince he is equally endeared to me by nature and affection. I would likewiſe wiſh to remark to you, that it is no leſs your intereſt than your duty to comply with the injunctions I have given: for on the life and happineſs of your brother, the dignity and ſecurity of your ſituation will, in a great meaſure, depend; and your unhappineſs will ſpeedily ſucceed the day of his death. The ſituation of a ſovereign prince is equally dangerous and uncertain: he ſtands on a giddy and ſlippery elevation: nor will the divine vengeance fail to follow any actions he may be guilty of, in violation of the laws of nature and conſanguinity."

Caius promiſes obedience, but afterwards deſtroys his brother Tiberius.

Tiberius having thus made his laſt addreſs to Caius, he promiſed a punctual and exact obedience to every article of his commands; but he did not intend that his actions ſhould correſpond with his words; for no ſooner did he come into the poſſeſſion of power than he cauſed his brother to be put to death (as Tiberius had foreſeen); but within a few years he himſelf loſt his life by aſſaſſination.

Death and character of Tiberius.

In a few days after Tiberius had declared Caius his ſucceſſor, he departed this life, having reigned twenty-two years, five months, and thirteen days. Caius, who ſucceeded him, was the fourth in the liſt of the Roman emperors. The firſt news of the death of Tiberius afforded the higheſt ſatisfaction to the Romans; but they ſcarcely dared give credit to the report; for though the confirmation of this news was the firſt wiſh of their hearts, and there was nothing in the world which they would not have freely given to be aſcertained of the truth; yet they were afraid of even ſeeming to believe the report, or of evincing the happineſs they felt on receiving the intelligence, before they were certain of the fact; for ſo great a number of ſpies and informers were ſtationed in different places, that it might have been very dangerous for a man to declare his ſentiments. Tiberius was of a moſt fierce and tyrannical diſpoſition, and behaved to the nobility with a rigour never before experienced. His animoſities were not known to have any other foundation than in the influence of the preſent turn of his mind; and his cruelties were frequently carried to ſuch a horrid length, that death from his hands was often deemed an act of mercy. It was therefore neceſſary for the people to appear cautious how they credited the news which they wiſhed, as a miſtake might have been attended with ſo much danger.

Marſyas informs Agrippa of the emperor's death.

As ſoon as Marſyas, the freed-man of Agrippa, received information of the death of the emperor, he inſtantly hurried away with the good news to his patron, who was then going to bathe, and whiſpered him, in the Hebrew language, "The lion is dead." Agrippa immediately comprehended his meaning, and exclaimed, "How is it poſſible that I ſhould requite thee for this favour, and the many other obligations thou haſt conferred on me, provided that thy preſent intelligence ſhould prove true!" The officer, to whoſe cuſtody Agrippa had been committed, obſerving in what a hurry Marſyas delivered his meſſage, and how well pleaſed the priſoner was with the news, immediately conjectured that the intelligence was of the ſatisfactory kind, and therefore deſired Agrippa to inform him of the particulars. At firſt he made ſome kind of heſitation; but on being urged to diſcover what he knew, he related the plain matter of fact. The officer having congratulated him on the good news, invited him to partake of an elegant ſupper: but while they were in the midſt of their entertainment, a meſſenger arrived with an account that Tiberius was out of danger, and would ſoon arrive in town.

On a rumour to the contrary, Agrippa is more ſeverely treated.

This intelligence aſtoniſhed the officer in the higheſt degree; and being apprehenſive that his life muſt pay the forfeit for his having rejoiced with a priſoner on the news of the death of Tiberius, he puſhed Agrippa violently from his ſeat, and exclaimed in a rage, "Is it thus that you ſeek to impoſe upon me by lyes and artifices; and could you find no other perſon to amuſe with a pretended ſtory of the death of Cæſar? Depend upon it, that you ſhall pay ſeverely for the liberties that you have taken." Saying this, he directed that he ſhould be put in chains, and more cloſely watched than he was before. Agrippa having paſſed the night in this ſituation, the report of Cæſar's death prevailed in the morning, and the people offered ſacrifices of joy on the event.

Caius releaſes Agrippa, and confers many honours on him.

Soon after this report, two letters were brought from Caius, one to the ſenate, informing them that he was appointed ſucceſſor to Tiberius; and another to Piſo, governor of the city, to the ſame effect. Theſe letters ordered that Agrippa ſhould be diſcharged from priſon, and allowed to live in his former houſe; ſo that, though ſtill in a kind of cuſtody, he was eaſed of all fearful apprehenſions, and conſidered himſelf as in a ſtate of enlargement. Soon afterwards Caius came to Rome, and brought with him the body of Tiberius, which was interred in a moſt ſumptuous manner. The emperor would inſtantly have diſcharged Agrippa, but this was oppoſed by Antonia; not for want of affection to the party, but that ſhe thought it would be rather indecent to haſten the diſcharge; and, as Tiberius had committed the priſoner, would be deemed a kind of inſult on his memory. In a few days, however, Caius ſent for him to his palace, and having given directions that he ſhould be ſhaved and properly dreſſed, he cauſed a crown to be put on his head, as ſucceſſor to the tetrarchy which had been poſ-

He is crowned king, and made tetrarch; Marcellus appointed governor of Judea, and Agrippa returns home.

ſeſſed by Philip: he likewiſe created him king, beſtowed on him the tetrarchy of Lyſania, and gave him a chain of gold of the ſame weight as that of iron which he had worn in priſon. Marcellus was now ſent as governor of Judæa by Caius.

When Caius Cæſar was in the ſecond year of his reign, Agrippa intreated his permiſſion to retire into his own country to adjuſt his private affairs, promiſing to return at a limited time. It was matter of aſtoniſhment to his countrymen to behold Agrippa with a crown on his head; as he appeared a ſingular inſtance of the inſtability of fortune, and the fluctuation of human affairs, having ſo ſoon changed his ſituation from one exceſs to the other. Some of them conſidered him as a wiſe and fortunate man, who could ſo firmly ſupport himſelf againſt all difficulties; while others were ſo aſtoniſhed at the revolution that had happened, that they could ſcarcely credit the evidence of their own ſenſes.

CHAP. IX.

HERODIAS envies her Brother, and adviſes her Huſband to ſolicit Favours for himſelf. HEROD accuſed of Conſpiracies. He acknowledges his Guilt, is removed from his Government, and condemned to perpetual Exile. CÆSAR offers a Favour to HERODIAS, which ſhe refuſes to accept of, and is ordered into Baniſhment with her Huſband. The Moderation of CAIUS, and his ſubſequent Arrogance.

Envy of Herodias to Agrippa, and the cauſe of it.

HERODIAS (ſiſter of Agrippa, and wife of Herod, the tetrarch of Galilee and Peræa, the country beyond Jordan) was exceedingly chagrined at the great ſucceſs of Agrippa. She could not endure the idea that her brother, who ſo lately had been obliged to abſcond from his creditors, ſhould now be ſo greatly advanced above her huſband, in honour, rank, and dignity. The pride of her ſpirit gave her infinite mortification, when ſhe beheld him dreſſed in all the pomp of royalty, ſhewing himſelf to the people who ſurrounded him in crouds. This ſight, and the ideas that it occaſioned, raiſed ſo much of envy in her mind, that ſhe was anxious for her huſband to repair immediately to Rome, and ſolicit the emperor to confer equal honours on him. "I ſhould be inexpreſſibly wretched (cried ſhe) to behold my huſband, who was the ſon of a king, and who, by his own perſonal qualifications, and in conſequence of the affections of the people, had ſo good a right to ſucceed to the throne, ſtand tamely looking on, with perfect indifference, while the ſon of Ariſtobulus, at once a bankrupt and a criminal, who has undergone the rigour of the law, is promoted to a throne." Then turning to her huſband, ſhe ſaid, "If you could patiently ſubmit to live to this period, below the dignity of your family, certainly no time is now to be loſt in doing credit to the name of your father, nor ought you longer to think of ranking beneath an abject wretch, who, not long ſince, was ſupported by your bounty. Never let it be ſaid, that, while you had every advantage of fortune and reputation on your ſide, Agrippa, borne down by the weight of his neceſſities, ſhould have an opportunity of ſuperſeding you in the means of advancing his fortune. It will ill become the dignity of Herod to acknowledge the ſuperiority of that man whom his own bounty has kept from ſtarving. Therefore, I intreat you, without heſitation, or regard to the expence that may attend the expedition, we immediately depart together for Rome: money has no farther value than in the ſatisfaction it procures us from the having diſpoſed of it in a proper manner."

Herod, after much perſuaſion from Herodias, conſents to apply to Caius for favours.

Herod was of a diſpoſition calculated to indulge himſelf in his eaſe; nor had he formed any favourable opinion of the court of Rome; wherefore he endeavoured all he could to divert his wife from her intention, thinking that abſtaining from the journey would be the ſafeſt proceeding; but in proportion as he was for declining, ſhe was for purſuing the plan; and urged him in ſo importunate a manner, that he was at length obliged to comply with her requeſt; on which they proceeded together towards Rome, with a ſplendid retinue. Now Agrippa, having taken care to be informed of all their motions, had laid a plan for the counteracting their deſigns. Having prepared letters, and preſents for the emperor, he kept his freed-man, Fortunatus, ready to ſail for Rome, as ſoon as it ſhould be known that Herod was put to ſea; with particular inſtructions for his conduct on his arrival.

He meets Fortunatus, Agrippa's ſpy, at Puteoli.

Fortunatus having a favourable paſſage, arrived at Puteoli at the ſame time that Herod did; but it happened that the emperor was now at Baiæ, a ſmall town in Compagne; five furlongs from Puteoli, a place diſtinguiſhed by its royal palaces; as the emperors who frequented the hot baths, either for health or pleaſure, were ambitious of excelling each other in the ſplendor and elegance of their buildings. When Herod arrived here, he paid his reſpects to Caius; and Fortunatus, almoſt in the ſame moment, delivered his letters, which the emperor having read, found they contained two charges againſt Herod; the firſt of which was, his being concerned in the conſpiracy of Sejanus againſt Tiberius; and the other, taking part with Artabanus, the Parthian, againſt Caius; in proof of which Agrippa urged that he had then a magazine of arms for ſeventy thouſand men.

The emperor, on hearing the articles of accuſation againſt Herod, deprives him of his government.

Caius, inflamed at this news, inſtantly aſked Herod if he was thus formidably provided; nor could he deny ſo indiſputable a fact. The emperor ſought for no farther proof of his treaſonable deſigns; but immediately deprived him of his government, and ſeized on his money, both which he gave to Agrippa, as a reward for the diſcovery he had made. Herod he doomed to perpetual exile at Lyons, a capital city of France; but with regard

regard to Herodias, who was ſiſter to Agrippa, he permitted her to retain all her private property, not dooming her to a ſhare in her huſband's misfortunes, ſaying, he would treat her with lenity for the ſake of her brother. When Herodias heard this determination, ſhe addreſſed Caius, ſaying, "You have decreed like a magnanimous emperor; permit me to behave like an obedient wife. It will be out of my power to enjoy the effects of your liberality; for I cannot deem it juſt or honourable to abandon my huſband in his diſtreſs, after having partaken of all the advantages of his more auſpicious fortune." Caius was exceedingly offended at this dignity of mind in a woman, and conſidering her behaviour as an affront to himſelf, he ſeized her effects, and ordered that ſhe ſhould be baniſhed and confined with her huſband. Thus was Herodias ſubjected to the vengeance of heaven, as a puniſhment for the envy ſhe had entertained towards her brother; and Herod was thus afflicted in conſequence of having taken her advice in the proſecution of a malicious act.

Caius begins to rule well, but ſoon after ſhamefully degenerates.

During the two firſt years of the reign of Caius, his government was directed by the rules of prudence and moderation, and was equally acceptable to the people at Rome and in the provinces; but, after that period, his arrogance and vanity increaſed to ſuch a degree, that he became intoxicated with his power, conſidered himſelf as ſomething more than mortal, blaſphemed the gods, aſſumed the ſtate of a deity, and demanded that divine honours ſhould be paid him.

Tumult at Alexandria between the Jews and Greeks.

An unhappy difference ariſing at this period between the Jews and Greeks who were reſident at Alexandria, they agreed that each party ſhould ſend three embaſſadors to adjuſt the affair in the preſence of Caius; and of theſe Apion and Philo were the principal. Apion made many objections to the conduct of the Jews, the chief of which was, that "Whereas in all the various parts of the dominions of Rome, temples and altars were erected to Caius, and equal adoration paid to the emperor as to the gods, the Jews alone were refractory, and refuſed to ſwear by the holy name of Cæſar, or to dedicate images to his honour." This inflammatory remark having been made by Apion, he ſaid all he could farther to irritate Caius againſt the Jews.

Philo's ſhort and animated ſpeech and conduct.

Now Philo, the brother of Alexander, who was overſeer of the cuſtoms, and a man diſtinguiſhed by his learning and other accompliſhments, prepared himſelf to reply to this ſpeech, in behalf of the Jews, as was his duty as their principal embaſſador: but Caius, in a tranſport of rage, commanded him to depart the place; whereupon Philo, turning about to the Jews who were near him, adviſed them not to deſpair, addreſſing them in theſe remarkable words: "Now God will be our friend, ſince Caius is our enemy."

CHAP. X.

CAIUS orders PETRONIUS to erect his Statue in JUDÆA. The JEWS remonſtrate againſt it. PETRONIUS aſſembles the JEWS at TIBERIAS. His Letter to CAIUS, which arrives when AGRIPPA is at ROME. AGRIPPA gives CAIUS a moſt ſumptuous Entertainment, who promiſes ample Amends.

Caius, offended with the Jews, orders his ſtatue to be erected in Judæa.

THE refuſal of the Jews to ſubmit to the orders of Caius, incenſed him in ſo high a degree, that he immediately diſpatched Petronius into Syria, to ſupply the place of Vitellius, and gave him orders to enter Judæa with a powerful army, and there erect his ſtatue in the temple; ſaying, that if the Jews readily acquieſced in this proceeding, no farther notice ſhould be taken: but if they made any oppoſition to it, they ſhould be compelled to a compliance by force of arms.

Petronius readily engaged in this buſineſs, and loſt no time in making preparations to execute the commands of the emperor; for which purpoſe he aſſembled two Roman legions, and a number of auxiliary troops, which he fixed in winter-quarters at Ptolemais, that they might be ready for action in the ſpring. He ſent repeated accounts of his proceedings to Caius, who made proper acknowledgements of his diligence, and gave him directions to proceed with reſolution, ſaying he was determined to reduce the obſtinate Jews to obedience.

The Jews petition againſt it.

At this time immenſe multitudes of Jews reſorted to Petronius at Ptolemais, intreating him in the moſt earneſt manner, not to compel them to act againſt the dictates of their conſciences, and the cuſtoms of their religion. They ſaid, that if it was abſolutely neceſſary to erect a ſtatue in their temple, the beſt previous ſtep that could be taken would be to ſacrifice their lives, and then the troops might act as they thought proper: but that, while they lived, they would never admit a violation of thoſe laws and precepts which they had received from their illuſtrious anceſtors, through ſuch a long line of generations. In anſwer to this Petronius ſaid, "Perhaps what you urge might have a proper effect on me, if I could act agreeable to my own inclinations; but as I have received the commands of the emperor, I muſt comply with them; nor dare I diſobey my orders." In reply to this the Jews ſaid, "If you conceive yourſelf thus bound to obey the orders of your maſter, we do not hold thoſe of ours to be leſs ſacred. By the bleſſing of Heaven we are reſolved to follow the example of our forefathers, agreeable to our practice till the preſent moment. We are not ſo mean and abject as to trifle with the laws of our God, and hazard the loſs of a glorious immortality, for the ſake of preſerving our preſent exiſtence. No, Sir, we are indifferent what becomes of our perſons and fortunes, ſo that our laws and religion are but protected. We place our reliance in Heaven, and, aſſured of the divine providence and protection, we are determined to run every hazard. Ought we at once to incur the wrath of God, and the infamy of cowardice?

cowardice? Shall we obey our Maker, or the commands of Caius? Do you determine with regard to the propriety of our conduct."

Petronius assembles the Jews at Tiberias, who expostulate with him there.

As it was now evident to Petronius that these people were inflexible in their resolution, and that nothing but the violence of slaughter, and the effusion of human blood, could procure the erection of the statue of Caius; he assembled a number of his friends and domestics, and went to Tiberias, there to remain till he should be more particularly informed of the manners, customs, and disposition of the people with whom it was his business to treat. The Jews were alarmed with the apprehension of a war from this approach of the Romans: but their principal fear was lest their customs and religion should be invaded. Hereupon, many thousands of them assembled in a body and went immediately to Petronius, requesting him, in the most earnest manner, not to urge the people to desperate measures by presuming to profane their holy temple with forbidden images. Petronius exclaimed, "Will you seek to contend with Cæsar? Are you disposed to make war against the emperor, without considering his strength, or your own weakness?" In answer hereto they said, that they had no intention of fighting, but would rather yield to death, than to the sacrifice of their laws. Having said this, they threw themselves to the ground, and made bare their necks, thereby intimating their absolute will, and determined resolution. In this manner they continued for about forty days, neglecting to plow or sow their land, and omitting every other business of husbandry which the season of the year required: for they had unanimously agreed rather to submit to death, than that the statue should be erected.

Aristobulus, and other eminent Jews, apply to Petronius for relief against the grievance.

When affairs were in this situation, several Jewish noblemen of great families, and others of eminent distinction, among whom were Aristobulus the brother of king Agrippa, and Elcias, who bore the surname of Great, made application to Petronius, requesting that he would consider how determined a people he had to do with, and what fatal consequences might attend the driving them to acts of desperation. They therefore advised him to represent to Caius the peculiar difficulty of the case, and the obstinacy of his opponents, who had permitted their lands to lie uncultivated, not, indeed, with any view to acts of rebellion, but with a resolution rather to die than to suffer an infringement in the article of religion: that a disability of paying their taxes must result from their neglect of husbandry, exclusive of the danger to which the country would be exposed from rapine and robbery. They hinted that on these representations, Caius might possibly relent, and then it would not appear that there had been any idea of rebellion; but if the emperor was absolutely determined to carry on a war, no hindrance would arise from this representation. This is the substance of the arguments used by Aristobulus and his friends.

Petronius hesitates, but at length inclines to favour the Jews.

Petronius was well acquainted with the impetuous and revengeful disposition of Caius, particularly when his commands were not strictly and immediately executed: but so great a reverence did he entertain for the laws of God, and the rights of conscience, and so dreadful was the idea he had of sacrificing so many lives to the rage of a madman; that having considered on the affair, reflected on the credit of Aristobulus, who had interceded for them, the importance of the business itself, and the danger of rendering desperate a people who had given full proof of their determined temper, he resolved, at whatever hazard to himself, to write to Caius, stating all the difficulties that attended the affair; and he reasoned with himself in this manner: "Suppose that what I attempt should not be productive of any good consequence, and that instead of arguing the emperor into a better disposition, my expostulations should tend only to provoke his rage, and draw down on my own head that vengeance which I am seeking to avert from others: yet still I shall have this consolation, that I shall die in the duty of an honest man, who did not fear to risk his own life, even when ruin stared him in the face, to protect a people whom he conceived to be at once innocent and oppressed." Having thus deliberated on the affair, Petronius issued orders for the Jews to assemble at Tiberias, where they met together in immense numbers, and he addressed them in such a courteous manner as inspired them with the most sanguine hopes of success.

He writes to Cæsar, representing their cause to him.

In the letter which Petronius wrote to Caius, he laid before him a particular account of all that had happened, and represented to him what would be the probable consequence of rendering desperate such immense multitudes of people who were obstinately bent on retaining their own opinions. He said that nothing but absolute force would compel them to yield, and that if the emperor pursued them with violence, he would thereby lessen his own revenue, make himself unhappy, and entail eternal disgrace on his name. To all this he added, that the Jewish people were peculiarly acceptable to God, who had given singular demonstrations of his particular regard for them.

Agrippa makes a splendid entertainment for the emperor, who promises a requital.

When this letter of Petronius arrived at Rome, king Agrippa happened to be there with the emperor, who seemed to be greatly attached to him, and the other took singular care to cultivate his friendship by every act of liberal behaviour: particularly, he made an entertainment for Caius, which for its magnificence, order, elegance, singularity, and the expence that attended it, exceeded every thing of the kind which had been seen; the entertainments of the emperor himself not being fit to be put in competition with it. Caius was highly pleased, not only with the elegant profusion of this treat, but with the spirit with which it had been conducted; for the expence of it was greater than Agrippa could well afford: wherefore the emperor conceived an idea of making him an equal compliment in return.

When

When he was a little warmed with wine, he called to Agrippa, and addreſſed him in the following manner: "Excluſive of the preſent inſtance, I have had many other proofs of your friendſhip and regard. In the time of Tiberius you gave me ſeveral evident proofs of it, at the riſk of your own ſafety; and you have leſs conſulted your own convenience, than my honour and ſatisfaction. And as it would ill become my dignity to lay under obligations that I had no idea of repaying, I am determined to make you ſome immediate recompence, for any deficiency in my former favours: and what I propoſe now to do for you ſhall be ſuch an addition to my paſt bounty, as may be deemed no ſmall increaſe of your fortune."

Modeſt reply of Agrippa to Caius.

Having thus ſaid, Caius waited in expectation that Agrippa would have ſolicited lands, commiſſions, or even provinces and revenues, which he was well diſpoſed to have granted: but Agrippa, though previouſly determined what to aſk, omitted to make his requeſt at preſent, conceiving it might be done with a better grace in the ſequel of the converſation: but he addreſſed the emperor as follows: "As I had no private view in the little ſervices I was happy enough to render you in the days of Tiberius, ſo I have no farther wiſh at preſent than the honour of your friendſhip; and though I am not unacquainted that you have many valuable gifts in your diſpoſal, permit me now to make my moſt grateful acknowledgments for the favours I have received, and to declare that I am not ambitious of any farther gratification."

He requeſts that the order to Petronius may be revoked.

Caius wondered at this inſtance of moderation in a man to whom ſuch an offer had been made; but ſtill he was determined that he ſhould aſk ſome favour, and that, whatever it was, it ſhould be complied with: and having intimated his ſentiments, Agrippa ſaid, "Since your benevolence lays this command upon me, I will preſume to offer you one requeſt: I will neither aſk you for wealth or honour, ſince your bounty has already beſtowed enough of both on me; but your compliance with my preſent requiſition will render you equally the favourite of God and man: and if I can but obtain this favour in addition to all thoſe with which I have been already obliged, my fame will be eſtabliſhed to future times. All I have to requeſt is, that your order to Petronius, for the erecting your ſtatue in the temple of the Jews, may be recalled."

Caius yields to Agrippa's integrity.

Agrippa was not inſenſible that by making this requeſt, which was a direct oppoſition to one of the decrees of Caius, he was in immediate and imminent hazard of his life: but the emperor conceiving himſelf much obliged by the elegance of his entertainment, and being aſhamed to refuſe a requeſt which he himſelf had ordered to be made; beſides the reſpect he thought due to a man who preferred the ſacred obligations of conſcience, and the welfare of his country, to his own private emolument, he determined to grant the favour: and, in conſequence of this determination, wrote to Petronius to the following effect: "I approve of what you have already done, in collecting the troops together, and in obſerving my orders. With regard to the ſtatue, if you have already erected it, let it remain; but if not, concern yourſelf no farther about that affair; but diſmiſs your troops, and return into Syria. I am willing to pardon this act of diſobedience in the Jews, on account of Agrippa, for whom I entertain ſo perfect a reſpect, that I can refuſe nothing to his requeſt."

Hearing of a commotion among the Jews, Cæſar writes a ſecond and menacing letter to Petronius;

This letter from the emperor to Petronius was written before it was known that the Jews intended to break out into abſolute rebellion: but Caius being a man void of honour, above bluſhing for any thing that he did, and exceedingly abandoned to the influence of his paſſions, thought he ſhould conſult his own dignity, by aſſuming an unreaſonable degree of ſtatelineſs: wherefore, as ſoon as the report was confirmed that a commotion had happened among the Jews, he broke out into a moſt violent paſſion, conceiving that his authority was trampled on by that rebellious people, and immediately wrote a letter to Petronius, in a very different ſtyle from the firſt; and it ran in the following terms: "As I find you pay more reſpect to the bribes you have received from the Jews than to the authority of my commands, as is evident by your neglecting my buſineſs to attend to theirs, I leave it to your imagination what you ought to expect from my vengeance. I am determined to puniſh you in an exemplary manner, as a warning to the preſent times and to poſterity, that the power of princes is not to be trifled with." This letter was ſent to Petronius during the life of Cæſar; but as the perſon who carried it had a ſlow paſſage, it was not delivered till after his deceaſe; ſo that Petronius received the news of his death before the letter. Thus did the gracious providence of God interfere in his behalf, to reward him for the zeal he ſhewed, and for the dangers he ſuſtained, in ſupport of his own honour, and the religion of the Jews. While Caius, who had uſurped to himſelf divine honours, was cut off in the midſt of his vanity and preſumption, Petronius received the thanks of the Romans, as well as of the people of the province, for the ſingular greatneſs of his public ſervices: in particular he was complimented by the chief perſons of the ſenate, whom Cæſar had frequently inſulted and ill treated, by methods that teſtified the ſingular pride of his heart. Caius died ſoon after the dictating the laſt threatening letter to Petronius. With regard to the foundation of a conſpiracy, and the mode of executing it, I ſhall treat of it in another part of this work. Soon after Petronius received the letter informing him of the emperor's death, he got that which denounced his own; and as, in his ſituation, he could not do otherwiſe than rejoice at the former event; ſo was he equally bound to extol the goodneſs of Providence, which immediately afterwards rewarded his regard to the holy temple, and his zeal to ſerve

but dies before it was delivered.

Singular inſtance of the interpoſition of Providence

the Jews in their diſtreſſed ſituation. Thus was the life of Petronius preſerved by the immediate interference of Heaven.

CHAP. XI.

The Miſery of the JEWS of MESOPOTAMIA and BABYLON. Account of NEARDÆ and NISIBIS; and of the two Brothers, ASINÆUS and ANILÆUS. The Command of BABYLON given to ASINÆUS. ANILÆUS, his Brother, enamoured of a PARTHIAN Lady, deſtroys her Huſband, and marries her. ANILÆUS makes an Incurſion into the Country of MITHRIDATES, takes him Priſoner, and puts his Army to the Rout. ANILÆUS and his People ſlain. The GREEKS and SYRIANS unite againſt the JEWS. Above Fifty Thouſand JEWS ſlain, and the reſt retire to different Places.

Calamities of the Jews, in Meſopotamia and Babylon.

SO confuſed and calamitous was the ſituation of the Jews of Meſopotamia and Babylon at this period, that their ancient hiſtories relate nothing in any degree approaching to it: but in order to give an exact ſtate of the caſe, as it is my intention to do, I muſt trace the affair from its original. In the province of Babylon is a city named Neardæ, a place diſtinguiſhed by its populouſneſs, yet ſo fruitful that the inhabitants can ſubſiſt on its produce: it has a wall and fortifications for its defence, and is almoſt ſurrounded by the river Euphrates. In this province and on the ſame river is a city called Niſibis. Theſe places being exceedingly ſtrong, in them the Jews from time to time depoſited their holy treaſure, as it was received and dedicated, in order for its being tranſmitted to Jeruſalem, whither, at appointed times, it was carried under ſtrong convoys, leſt it ſhould be ſeized on by the Parthians, who were at that time in poſſeſſion of Babylon.

A ſtrong party formed by Aſinæus and Anilæus.

Among the Jews of Neardæ were two brothers, named Aſinæus and Anilæus. They were the ſons of a widow, who had placed them out to learn the art of weaving ſail-cloth, which is no diſreputable profeſſion in that country, where it is even common for the men to card and ſpin. As it happened that the two brothers came too late one day to their work, their maſter was ſevere upon them for their neglect, in reſentment for which they armed themſelves with the firſt offenſive weapons they could ſeize, and retired to a place where the river divided, which was diſtinguiſhed by its affording plenty of corn, graſs, fruit, and every ſort of proviſion proper for winter ſtore. While they were in this ſituation a number of ſtout young men, whoſe neceſſities tempted them to ſeek ſome relief, reſorted to them, and enliſted under their command, and taking up arms, no perſon dared to oppoſe their proceedings. The brothers being thus reinforced, erected a ſtrong fort, and ſent out a great number of emiſſaries and marauders, to raiſe contributions throughout the country. Theſe were commiſſioned to offer friendſhip and protection to all that ſubmitted to their demands, and to denounce vengeance againſt all that refuſed compliance; ſo that the people were under a ſort of neceſſity of coming into any terms: for by this time the party was grown ſo numerous, that there could be no thought of reſiſting; and even the king of Parthia began to be alarmed at the inſurrection.

Their power alarms the king of Parthia.

On receiving intelligence of this affair, the prince of Babylon, deeming it his duty to ſuppreſs the ſedition before it grew to too great a head, collected his troops throughout the diſtricts of Parthia and Babylon, and immediately marched with the greater part of his army, hoping to come up with the mutineers time enough to ſurpriſe them. Having, by defiles and croſs-paths, advanced to the edge of a piece of mooriſh ground, he there halted; and preſuming that, as the next day was the ſabbath, they would not venture on a battle, he ſlowly moved forward, intending to fall ſuddenly upon them, when victory would follow of courſe. At this time Aſinæus and his companions were repoſing themſelves on a bank with their arms laying by them, when Aſinæus called out, "I think, fellow-ſoldiers, I hear the neighing of horſes that ſeem to be urging forward to a battle; and I can even fanſy that I hear the champing of their bits; wherefore it becomes us to take care that we are not ſurpriſed: let ſome perſons, therefore, inſtantly go out, and learn the truth of the affair, reſpecting which I wiſh I may happen to be deceived."

Scouts bring advice of the enemy's approach.

Agreeable to theſe directions ſcouts were immediately ſent out, who ſoon returned on the full gallop, with information that Aſinæus had formed a right conjecture; for that the enemy were ſo near as to be on the point of executing their deſign. The meſſenger ſaid, they had horſes ſufficient to trample them to death, as they were but defenceleſs men, and dared not make any reſiſtance on the ſabbath, which was forbidden by the laws of their religion. Aſinæus, however, was of a contrary opinion, and ſaid it was a ridiculous thing to think of ſtanding ſtill, and ſubmitting to be deſtroyed, merely to gratify the rage of an enemy: "On the other hand (ſaid he) reſume your courage; reflect on the urgent neceſſity of the caſe: follow my example, that if we fall it may not be unrevenged; and leave the iſſue to the determination of Providence." Having thus exhorted and encouraged his people, he ſeized his arms, and led them to battle; and finding the enemy in an unprovided ſtate, rather prepared to take poſſeſſion of a victory already gained, than to fight for conqueſt, they attacked them, and put the main body to flight, after killing great numbers on the ſpot.

Aſinæus totally routs the Parthians.

The news of this victory being brought to the king of Parthia, he conceived ſo

Artabanus courts the al-

high

Valour of the brothers.

high an idea of the courage of the two brothers, that he was extremely impatient to have an interview and converſe with them; wherefore he diſpatched to them one of his attendants, in whom he placed great confidence, with the following meſſage: "I am commanded by Artabanus, king of the Parthians, to inform you, that though you have done him great injuſtice in the inroad which you have made into his dominions, yet he is willing to forget all paſt offences, and bury all animoſities in oblivion, in conſideration of the advantageous character which he hath heard of you. I am farther commiſſioned, in my maſter's name, to aſſure you that he wiſhes to join in a league of friendſhip with you, without any fraud or colluſion. On his honour and faith I am likewiſe to offer you all poſſible aſſurance of your ſafe conduct on your journey to him and back again. Your own experience will inform you that my ſovereign is a prince of great bounty and munificence, and that he will be inclined, on every occaſion, to give you all poſſible proofs of the generoſity of his diſpoſition."

Anilæus diſpatched alone on the embaſſy

The apparent candour of this invitation was inſufficient to prevail on Aſinæus to undertake the journey; but procured ſuch preſents as he could, and ſent his brother Anilæus to wait on the king. On his arrival he found his reception as agreeable as could have been wiſhed; but the king obſerving that he came alone, aſked him how it happened that his brother did not accompany him: to which Anilæus anſwered, that he conſidered himſelf to be ſafe in his preſent ſituation, and was unwilling to leave it on the confidence of his majeſty's

He is kindly received by Artabanus.

promiſe. Artabanus being ſenſible that fear had given riſe to this cautious conduct, ſwore by his gods that neither of the brothers ſhould receive the leaſt degree of injury; and in ratification of this oath he gave his right hand to Anilæus, which, among the barbarians, is deemed the moſt ſacred pledge of good faith that can be given by one man to another; ſince, that ceremony being once paſt, there remains then no ſuſpicion of deceit, no room for jealouſy, nor even an idea that falſehood can poſſibly take place.

Policy of the Parthian king on this occaſion.

Artabanus having given this aſſurance to Anilæus, ſent him back to his brother; and conceived great hopes of the ſervices that might be rendered to him by their joint endeavours to keep in awe thoſe provinces that ſeemed inclined to revolt during the king's abſence; as they had a conſiderable party that adhered to their intereſt. The king likewiſe conſidered, that while he was employed in ſuppreſſing a rebellion in one part of his dominions, Aſinæus might do him great injury in the neighbourhood of Babylon, by ſupplying himſelf with men, and taking poſſeſſion of the ſtrong forts. His ſending for Aſinæus, therefore, was founded in good policy.

The two brothers wait on the king together, and are received

Anilæus having made a report to his brother of the ſingular reſpect that Artabanus had expreſſed for them both, and informed him by what ſolemn oaths and proteſtations he had ratified the ſincerity of his regard, Aſinæus was induced to

In a friendly manner.

think of waiting on the king, and in purſuance of this ſentiment they ſet out in company. They were received by Artabanus with great politeneſs, and appearance of friendſhip; but the king remarking the diſagreeable figure of Aſinæus, and conſidering the dignity of his mind, would frequently obſerve, that "the ſoul of that man was not formed for his body." Being one day at table with him, the king, addreſſing himſelf to his general, Abdagaſus, ſpoke in the higheſt terms of the martial exploits of Aſinæus, whom he repreſented as a miracle of valour. To this Abdagaſus made no other reply, than ſimply to beg the king's permiſſion to cut his throat, in revenge for the injuries ſuſtained by the Parthians. In anſwer hereto Artabanus ſaid, "Moſt certainly I ſhall never permit ſuch an inſult to be offered to a man who has entruſted his ſafety to my honour, and whom I am bound, by the ſacred obligation of an oath, to protect: but if you are diſpoſed to give a convincing proof of your courage, you may find a method of vindicating the honour of the Parthians, without a violation of my oath: for you have only to attack him on his return, and not inform me of your intention."

The king nobly rejects his officer's requeſt to kill Aſinæus.

Early on the following morning the king ſent for Aſinæus, whom he addreſſed to this purpoſe: "It is now proper that you ſhould return to your own place of reſidence, leſt, while you wait, the reſentment of my officers may be carried beyond the bounds of prudence, and you may receive an injury not in my power to prevent. I recommend to you the care of Babylon; preſerve the peace of that province to the utmoſt of your power, and protect it from robberies. Since you have not heſitated to truſt your life to my honour, be aſſured that I will always conſult your ſafety as much as my own." Having ſaid this, the king gratified him with a number of valuable preſents, and ſent him to the care of his own government, in which he was no ſooner ſettled than he applied himſelf to the building, repairing, and beautifying of forts, wherever it was found neceſſary. In

The command of Babylon is given to him.

fact, he acted in all things with ſo much prudence and diſcretion, and gave ſuch univerſal ſatisfaction, that no man before ever arrived at ſuch a degree of power and credit from ſuch a beginning, and in ſo ſhort a time. The great men of Babylon, and the governors and commanders in Parthia, were equally his friends. His authority increaſed with his arms and adherents; ſo that Meſopotamia was, in a great degree, under his immediate government.

He acquires great reputation for his wiſe conduct.

Affairs proſpered in this manner with the two brothers for the ſpace of fifteen years, equally to their own honour and the ſatisfaction of the public; but at length, when they began to deviate from their exemplary piety and good behaviour; when they abandoned the ſtudy of virtue, and the precepts

Anilæus, enamoured of a Parthian lady, kills her huſband to obtain her.

of

of their anceſtors, and gave themſelves up to the gratifications of ſenſe, and admitted foreign innovations, their credit likewiſe decayed. It happened at this period, that a certain Parthian governor came into thoſe provinces, and brought with him his wife, who was greatly and equally diſtinguiſhed by the ſuper-eminent beauty of her perſon, and the uncommon qualifications of her mind. It is uncertain whether Anilæus had ſeen this woman, or only heard of her uncommon merit; but he became violently in love with her; and having no other method to obtain his end, and being impelled by the violence of his paſſion, he waged war againſt her huſband, whom having killed in the firſt attack, he got the lady into his poſſeſſion, and took her to his bed.

Source of the calamities which befell the brothers.

From this circumſtance aroſe a ſcene of dreadful misfortunes which afterwards befell the brothers. It was the cuſtom of this woman at all times to carry with her ſome images of the gods of the barbarians; and being now a widow and a priſoner, ſhe had concealed ſome of thoſe idols, which, for a conſiderable time, ſhe worſhipped privately, as ſhe could find opportunity: but ſome time afterwards, when Anilæus openly acknowledged her as his wife, ſhe exerciſed her religion in the moſt public manner, without any farther endeavour to make a ſecret of the affair.

Anilæus marries the barbarian woman, and thereby diſpleaſes his friends. He murders one that reproved him.

This marrying a barbarian woman, and an idolatreſs, in defiance of the laws, rites and cuſtoms of the Jews, gave the utmoſt diſguſt to thoſe friends who had heretofore been moſt zealous in behalf of the brothers. Future princes ought to be cautioned by this example, not to depart from the duty they owe to God, in ſeeking a gratification of their carnal appetites. In the inſtance above-mentioned it was in vain to think of oppoſing the cool voice of reaſon to the turbulence of paſſion; for a perſon of eminence having taken the liberty to diſcharge his conſcience by giving ſeaſonable advice, was ſtabbed to death on the ſpot. As he was dying, he breathed out the following prophetical denunciation againſt the brothers and their abettors: "May they be purſued by ſignal vengeance, on account of the inſults they have offered both to religion and friendſhip! May the treatment they have given to others fall on their own heads! May the brothers be puniſhed as the principal authors of this violence, and the others for aſſiſting in the murder of the protector of their liberties and laws, whom it was their duty to ſhield from all harm!"

The Jews complain to Aſinæus of the conduct of his brother.

The people were concerned, in a very high degree, for the death of the worthy governor: but the ſenſe they entertained of the former goodneſs of the brothers, to which, in a great degree, their preſent happy ſituation was owing, had ſuch an effect upon them, that, for a while, they reſtrained their reſentment: but at length the open and undiſguiſed profeſſion of idolatry offended them beyond all human endurance; wherefore they aſſembled in great numbers, repaired to Aſinæus, and complained of the conduct of his brother. They were very plain in their remonſtrances; ſaid that the unhappy affair had been better wholly omitted; but that ſince it was paſt, it became his duty to act in a determined manner, to prevent farther ill conſequences; for otherwiſe the commotion among the people would become general. They ſaid that the marriage was ſuch a violation of their religion, that it was generally diſapproved: and with regard to the idolatrous practices of his brother's wife, they were a baſe inſult on the worſhip of the true God. Aſinæus acknowledged that the wickedneſs which his brother had been guilty of was replete with the moſt dangerous conſequences both to himſelf and his people: but having the moſt affectionate tenderneſs for ſo near a relation, and making all poſſible allowance for the frailty of nature, in a caſe where his heart was ſo deeply engaged, he ſought rather to extenuate his crime, than to criminate his conduct. But the people becoming every day more clamorous with Aſinæus, he at length came to a reſolution to apply to his brother, whom he cenſured for what was paſt, and cautioned him with regard to his future conduct; intreating that he would, without heſitation, ſend his wife back again to her friends. But this proceeding had no influence on the conduct of Anilæus; and, the woman, finding that the ſpirit of the populace began to increaſe; and, apprehenſive of ſome fatal conſequence to her huſband, on her account, ſhe cauſed Aſinæus to be poiſoned, not entertaining the leaſt fear of her own perſonal ſafety, when a fond huſband was to be the judge of her conduct.

He extenuates his brother's crimes, but remonſtrates with him thereupon.

Aſinæus poiſoned by his brothers wife.

Anilæus engages in an expedition againſt Mithridates.

The whole power having now devolved to Anilæus, he collected his army, and made an incurſion into the country of Mithridates, the ſon of Artabanus, and a perſon of great diſtinction among the Parthians. Here he found a great plenty of money, ſlaves, and cattle, with other effects of conſiderable value; all of which he carried away. At this period Mithridates was at no great diſtance, and being informed of the inroad that had been made on his dominions, not only without all provocation, but through the mere impulſe of inſolence, he ſelected a conſiderable number of his beſt troops, and advanced to give battle to Anilæus. The following day being the ſabbath of the Jews, which it is their cuſtom to celebrate as a day of perfect reſt, he ſtopt that night at a village, intending to fall upon them by ſurpriſe on the following day. Now it happened that a Syrian in the neighbourhood had intelligence of the deſign, which he communicated to Anilæus, and gave him particular information where Mithridates was to be that night at a grand ſupper. Anilæus, having received this intelligence, directed his people to take the cuſtomary refreſhment, and marched immediately to ſurpriſe the enemy: in which his ſucceſs was equal to his wiſhes; for falling on their quarters about the fourth watch, he took ſome aſleep, while others eſcaped

escaped under favour of the night. Mithridates being made a prisoner, was placed on an ass, naked, which is looked on as the highest degree of infamy among the Parthians. In this manner he was conveyed to a wood, where several of the friends of Anilæus were for putting him to death; but this he himself opposed, and addressed them to the following effect: "This man is one of the most distinguished in all the country, and allied to the royal family. Now he is in your power, spare his life; and you need not doubt but he will forgive past offences, and always remember the obligation; besides, you will, by this proceeding, preserve an interest that may in all events lead to an accommodation. On the contrary, if you put Mithridates to death, you may depend on it that the king will avenge his blood on all the Jews in Babylon: and we ought to interest ourselves in the welfare of those people, not only on account of affinity, but in point of prudence: for as the chance of war is uncertain, it is right to secure a retreat for ourselves in case of a defeat."

Mithridates taken captive, and disgracefully treated.

The people in general seemed to be of the same opinion as Anilæus, on which Mithridates had his liberty granted by the common consent: but when he returned home, and his wife learned on what condition he had obtained his freedom, she reviled him in the most opprobrious terms; hinting that he, who was the son-in-law of a king, after having fought so many battles with, and been so often disgraced by the Jews, and at length made captive by them, ought not meanly to have submitted to owe his life to their bounty. She concluded her invectives by saying, "Retrieve your character, or, by the powers that protect the thrones of kings, I swear that I will instantly abandon you!" As she was continually addressing him to this effect, he grew tired of her reflections, and was afraid that her pride would at length induce her to procure a divorce; wherefore, though against his own inclination, he put himself at the head of an army; but not without a mental conviction, that the Parthian who would submit to a Jew was deserving of death.

He recovers his liberty, and is persuaded to renew the war.

Anilæus being informed that Mithridates was marching towards him, resolved, on a principle of honour, to hazard a battle in the open field, rather than take advantage of the security of his present situation; wherefore he advanced to meet the enemy, at the head of a body of troops that were almost strangers to defeat; and, exclusive of his veteran forces, he was joined by a number of volunteers, who took arms in the hope of sharing the booty; so that, on the whole, they deemed the victory obtained before the battle was commenced. Full of these sanguine hopes they travelled about eighty furlongs, through a dry sandy country; and when they were so fatigued with heat and excessive thirst that they were scarcely able to support themselves, Mithridates attacked them with fresh troops, totally routed them, and killed several thousands in the flight. Anilæus, and others who escaped, retired to an adjacent forest, in a state of confusion which is beyond description; leaving Mithridates in full possession of the honours of the field.

Anilæus marches to meet and engage Mithridates, who defeats his army

After the defeat, great numbers of idle and disorderly people resorted to the army of Anilæus, so that its original number was soon completed; but these troops were altogether undisciplined, and by no means so valiant as those he had lost. Notwithstanding this disadvantage, he marched into the quarters of the Babylonians, and made great devastation: whereupon the Babylonians sent to the Jews at Nearda, requesting that Anilæus might be delivered up to justice; but this requisition could not be complied with, as he was not in their power. Proposals were now sent to Anilæus, offering terms of peace, and requesting that a treaty might be set on foot, that affairs might be adjusted on equitable terms. This being agreed to, commissioners were deputed by the Jews and Babylonians to manage the whole business in dispute between them. The Babylonians having carefully observed the place where Anilæus and his companions were assembled, suddenly surprised them in the dead of the night, and finding them sleepy and intoxicated they killed all they met with; and among the rest Anilæus fell a sacrifice to their rage.

Anilæus makes depredations on the enemy, but himself and his party are soon after slain.

In ancient times perpetual variances had happened between the Babylonians and Jews, respecting their rights, customs, and mode of living; sometimes one party having the advantage, and sometimes the other: so that the debate commonly ended without a decision. During the life of Anilæus, and while he was supported by his friends, the Babylonians were kept in some sort of awe; but in consequence of his violent death, they now assumed courage to affront the Jews on every occasion, till they rendered their lives a burden to them; and by their insufferable insolence, many of them were compelled to abandon their habitations, and to retire into Seleucia, the principal city of that province, and which received its name from Seleucia Nicanor, who was the founder thereof: now this was a place sacred to Liberty, where great numbers of Macedonians, Greeks, and Syrians lived together in a promiscuous manner. In this city the Jews resided, much at their ease, for the space of five years, and in the sixth year a violent plague raging in Babylon, many more of that pople were compelled to retire into Seleucia; a circumstance that gave rise to greater distress than they had yet known; as will appear from the following short narrative.

Many of the Jews are forced into Seleucia.

There were perpetual quarrellings between the Greeks and Syrians of this city, but in all their disputes the advantage lay on the side of the Greeks, till the Jews came thither, who being a brave and warlike people, the Syrians procured their assistance, and obtained the advantage. The Greeks, finding the inconveniences they lay under, and that they should

Variances between the Greeks and Syrians.

be ruined unleſs they could deſtroy the connection between the Syrians and Jews, they privately reſorted to ſome particular friends they had among the Syrians, for their advice how to heal the breach, and bring matters to an accommodation. The propoſal was received in an amicable manner, and referred to the conſideration of ſome principal people of both parties, who were to adviſe on the moſt proper mode of proceeding; and they ſoon agreed to end the controverſy, by joining againſt the Jews as the common enemy of both. In conſequence of this agreement they attacked the Jews in an unguarded hour, of whom they deſtroyed above fifty thouſand, not one eſcaping who was not protected by ſome friend or neighbour. The wretched reſidue fled to Cteſiphon, a city of the Greeks near Seleucia, the winter reſidence of the king of Parthia, where his valuable furniture was depoſited. Here they took up their reſidence, in hope of protection within the verge of the royal court: but the Jews in general were ſo terrified by the Babylonians and Seleucians, excluſive of their fears from the Syrian conſpiracy, that moſt of them retired to Nearda and Niſibis, expecting protection from the ſtrength of thoſe places, and the valour of their defenders. This is a faithful repreſentation of the affairs of the Jews in Babylon at this period.

They unite againſt the Jews, of whom they kill above 50,000.

BOOK XIX.

Containing the HISTORY of various TRANSACTIONS, from the YEAR of the WORLD 4003, to 4009.

CHAP. I.

CALIGULA exerciſes the moſt horrid Barbarities upon the JEWS. Challenges Adoration, and pillages the Temples. CLAUDIUS, the Uncle of CAIUS, is accuſed by his Bond-man, named POLLUX. A charge alledged againſt POPEDIUS by TIMIDIUS. A Woman named QUINTILIA put to the Torture, which ſhe ſupports with great Reſolution. The bold and generous Sentiments of CHÆREAS, who, with SABINUS, and MINUCIANUS, form a Deſign to take off CAIUS. The Execution of it being ſuſpended, CHÆREAS becomes impatient, and propoſes to undertake the affair himſelf. The Death of CAIUS, and the manner of it. Proclamation made of the Death of CÆSAR.

Inſtance of Caius Caligula's cruelty and tyranny

THE unexampled cruelties which the emperor Caius exerciſed upon the Jews were not confined to Jeruſalem and the neighbouring provinces; but with the utmoſt inveteracy of deliberate malice, he extended his inſupportable tyranny throughout every part of the Roman dominions. No place under his juriſdiction more fatally experienced the effects of his ſavage barbarity than Rome. In the general oppreſſion he ſeemed to direct his vengeance principally againſt the moſt conſiderable men, ſuch as the ſenators, patricians, and the order of men called equites or knights, who in point of wealth and dignity were next inferior to the ſenate, and from whom thoſe who compoſed the ſenate were frequently ſelected. He appeared to derive a peculiar gratification in ſubjecting theſe people to the violence of his brutal rage: he condemned many of them to baniſhment, and the vileſt indignities; others he cruelly murdered, and their effects he confiſcated; ſo that to be poſſeſſed of property was a ſituation of the moſt imminent danger. He arrogated to himſelf the appellation of a god, and inſiſted on public adoration from his ſubjects. In the capitol, which is the moſt famous of all the Roman temples, he declared himſelf to be the brother of Jupiter, whom he had the effrontery to addreſs under that character; and in innumerable other inſtances he betrayed an equal degree of vanity and extravagance. He was deſirous of paſſing from a city in Campania, called Puteoli, to Miſenum, a town on the oppoſite ſhore of an arm of the ſea thirty ſtadia over, but, conſidering it as a degradation of his dignity to paſs in a galley, he cauſed a bridge to be conſtructed, extending from one to the other promontory, and over this he paſſed in his chariot, triumphing in the vain idea of having ſubjected both earth

His inſolence, ambition, and impiety.

earth and sea to his dominion in a manner consistent with his imaginary divinity.

He plunders the Grecian temples, and orders the statue of Jupiter to be brought to Rome.

This ambitious emperor plundered all the temples in Greece of their finest paintings, sculptures, and other precious articles dedicated to the deity; and he issued orders for conveying the spoil to ornament his palaces, gardens, and houses of pleasure; saying, that since Rome was the most magnificent city, the most curious and valuable productions could not, with equal propriety, be deposited in any other place. He had the effrontery to send to Memmius Regulus, commanding him to cause the statue of Olympian Jupiter, that exquisite production of Phidias, the statuary of Athens, which was held in the highest estimation throughout Greece, to be removed to Rome: but this unreasonable order was not complied with; for the artificers informed Memmius Regulus, that by displacing the statue it must inevitably be broken. A tradition is preserved, that during the time Memmius Regulus had the removal of the statue under deliberation, he was deterred from carrying the project into effect by a most extraordinary vision, in consequence of which he wrote a letter of excuse to Caius. Had not the death of the emperor intervened, he would infallibly have punished the disobedience of Memmius by the loss of his head.

Claims equality of relationship to Jupiter.

To such an excess did the insolence and vanity of this man arrive, that, upon the birth of a daughter, he caused the image of the child to be conveyed into the capitol, and placed upon the knee of Jupiter, thereby intimating that the infant stood in an equal degree of relationship to Jupiter and himself; and he challenged the spectators to determine which of the fathers was most respectable. The people entertained the utmost detestation of the conduct of Caius, but still they servilely submitted to all his extravagant humours.

Encourages slaves, whom he permits to accuse their masters.

He not only gave permission to slaves, but even afforded them all possible encouragement, to alledge charges of whatever nature they thought proper against their masters: and these accusations proved the more oppressive, as they were constantly supported by the authority of the emperor, who rewarded the informers in proportion to their degree of iniquity. A capital offence was alledged against Claudius, the uncle of Caius, by his bondman, named Pollux; and on this occasion Caius presided on the bench, with a view to procure his uncle to suffer the death of a criminal, on a false accusation: but in this design, however, he did not succeed.

He becomes odious to the people.

The countenance he afforded to detractors and informers of the most abandoned principles and practice having given slaves a superiority over their patrons, and caused an infinity of other most desperate evils, the people vented the bittereſt execrations against the emperor, as the author of the prevailing evils, and suggested to themselves various measures for extirpating from the earth so detestable a monster, some being influenced by a desire of revenge for the injuries they had sustained, and others on the principle of avoiding the mischiefs with which futurity seemed to be pregnant.

His horrid crimes cause the people to plot his death.

The emperor having extended the pernicious influence of his tyranny to the extremest degree, his immediate death was considered as the only effectual means of restoring the ancient authority of the laws, and securing the public tranquillity. The death of this cruel man was an event highly favourable to the Jews, for by it they were happily preserved from the destruction to which he had destined them.

Moral reflections concerning him.

It is necessary to be exceedingly minute in the narrative of the death of this wicked prince, since it will afford a gratification to curiosity, by shewing the wonderful operations of the divine providence in the just disposal of events; instruct the virtuous part of mankind not to despair in the utmost extremities of ill fortune; and at the same time prove an admonition to those placed in the exalted spheres of life against resting their hopes on vain and treacherous foundations, or pointing their wishes to the attainment of transitory enjoyments; and afford a consolatory instruction that the happiness of life is only to be procured by a steady adherence to the principles of virtue and piety.

Several conspiracies formed against him.

Three conspiracies were formed for effecting the destruction of this unnatural and detested tyrant, and each faction was subject to the command of a leader of approved and distinguished resolution. A Spaniard of Corduba, named Æmilius Regulus, had the command of one troop; another was under Cassius Chæreas, the tribune; and Annius was the leader of a third detachment. These parties were composed of men remarkable for intrepid and resolute dispositions: and they all held Caius in the utmost detestation, considering him as the most abominable monster that nature had produced. Æmilius Regulus, being a man of an honourable and generous temper, was the enemy of Caius from the abhorrence he naturally entertained of every species of wickedness: Minucianus was conscious that the vengeance of the tyrant would prove fatal to whoever incurred his displeasure, and partly on this consideration his enmity was produced, and partly in revenge for the death of Lepidus, a man of strict honour and unblemished character, and his particular friend, whom the tyrant had cruelly murdered: the office which Chæreas held required him to be frequently about the person of the emperor, and he, therefore, apprehended his life to be continually in the most imminent danger from the ferocious disposition of his master, who took every opportunity of upbraiding him with effeminacy; the dangerous predicament in which he stood, and the insults he perpetually received, heartily disposed him to assist in the enterprise of effecting the destruction of Caius. Notwithstanding they were respectively influenced by particular and distinct motives, they

Motives of their just abhorrence.

they were unanimous in the common cauſe. They conſidered it the indiſpenſable duty of true patriotiſm to ſacrifice their lives in defence of their country, and to encounter every danger and difficulty rather than ſuffer mankind to labour under the oppreſſion and bloody outrages of a moſt barbarous and unrelenting tyrant. Chæreas was more reſolutely determined upon carrying the exploit into execution than his companions: this extraordinary ardour was occaſioned by a conſciouſneſs that he had advantages above the others, which would enable him with the leſs difficulty to perform the great enterpriſe whence he expected to derive a very conſiderable reputation: for being one of the tribunes, in virtue of his office he had free acceſs to the perſon of the emperor.

Chæreas the moſt zealous conſpirator.

It was now the time for performing the circus games and exerciſes, in which entertainment the people of Rome found a particular pleaſure. On this occaſion it had been a long eſtabliſhed cuſtom for the people to be allowed the liberty of petitioning the emperor; and when their demands were reaſonable, it was ſeldom they met a refuſal: at this time then the multitude aſſembled in great numbers, and requeſted that payment of part of their taxes and tributes might be remitted. Inſtead of granting their requeſt, Caius gave way to the moſt violent expreſſions of rage, and commanded his guards to ſeize the people who had preſumed to make the clamour, and put them immediately to death; and in conſequence of this cruel order ſeveral were inſtantly ſlain. The people patiently ſubmitted to this act of violence; but it ſerved to caution them againſt putting their lives to ſuch imminent hazard in future for the purpoſe of preſerving their money. This laſt inſtance of barbarity inſpired Chæreas with additional avidity for attempting the enterpriſe, and ſtopping the bloody rage of the brutal tyrant: he ſeveral times intended to deſtroy Caius while he was at table, but was induced to ſuſpend the execution of his deſign by the expectation of a more favourable opportunity, when he might be at a greater certainty of ſucceeding in his attempt. Chæreas had for a conſiderable time been captain of the guards, and he now held a commiſſion for collecting certain revenues: the extreme poverty of ſome of the people on whom the tax was impoſed operated upon his compaſſionate diſpoſition, and therefore he was not ſo ſevere in exacting the payment of arrears as Cæſar wiſhed him to be. In conſequence of this lenity he incurred the diſpleaſure of Cæſar, who upbraided him for being an inſignificant creature in the execution of his office, and deſtitute of the ſpirit neceſſary to enforce payment; and whenever Chæreas applied to him for the watch word, it was his conſtant practice to give a word, the import of which conveyed a reflection upon him for being of a puſillanimous and effeminate temper: but notwithſtanding this, Caius himſelf made no ſcruple to aſſume the habit and ornaments of a woman, and, at ceremonies he had eſtabliſhed, to accommodate his behaviour in every reſpect to a reſemblance of the female character.

At the Circenſian games, Caius cauſes ſeveral perſons to be cruelly ſlain.

Reproachful behaviour of Caius towards Chæreas.

When Chæreas delivered the word to his brother officers, it conſtantly rendered him an object of deriſion to them, and it was ſeldom they failed obſerving to him that they expected the word would bear a ridiculous meaning. This mockery of Caius at length became ſo intolerable to Chæreas, that he could no longer refrain from communicating his purpoſe to his particular friends, in the number of whom was a ſenator named Popedius, who had paſſed the ſeveral degrees of honour, but being one of the ſect of Epicurus, his whole attention was engroſſed upon indulging his deſire of living in perfect eaſe. An accuſation was made againſt Popedius by Timidius, his profeſſed enemy, purporting that he had made uſe of expreſſions of a dangerous tendency and violently reflecting upon Caius: he pretended that the charge he had adduced was founded on the evidence of Quintilia, a comedian of ſingular beauty, of whom Popedius was enamoured. Upon Quintilia's refuſing to give falſe teſtimony againſt her lover, Timidius requeſted that ſhe might be put to the torture, which Caius commanded Chæreas to ſee inſtantly performed. It was the tyrant's cuſtom to appoint Chæreas to offices of this kind, from an idea that having ſo frequently reproached him for being a timid and woman-hearted creature would cauſe him to execute his commands with greater ſeverity. As Quintilia was paſſing to the place where ſhe was to ſuffer torture, ſhe trod on the foot of one of the conſpirators, thereby intimating that no ſufferings ſhould compel her to a confeſſion of the enterpriſe that was in agitation.

Others aſſociated in the conſpiracy.

Chæreas was under ſo ſtrong a neceſſity faithfully to execute Cæſar's commiſſion, that he could do no otherwiſe than inflict great ſeverities upon Quintilia, though they proved a great violence to his inclination. Having ſuſtained her ſufferings with wonderful fortitude, he conducted her into the preſence of the emperor, mangled, torn, and diſfigured in a moſt ſhocking manner: notwithſtanding the natural cruelty of his temper, Caius entertained ſome pity for the miſerable object, and gave her a conſiderable ſum of money, as ſome compenſation for her ſufferings; and he reſtored Popedius to liberty.

Chæreas, by the command of Caius, cruelly tortures Quintilia, who makes no confeſſion.

Chæreas was exceedingly afflicted upon conſidering that he had been the inſtrument of inflicting a ſavage barbarity upon a woman whoſe ſufferings had moved even the emperor to compaſſion, and he looked upon this as an event that would greatly detract from his reputation. Matters were in this ſituation when Chæreas reſolved to open his mind to Papinius, who as well as himſelf was a tribune, and Clemens, a captain of the city troops. Addreſſing himſelf to Clemens, "The public are ſenſible (ſaid he) that neither you nor myſelf have been deficient in the diſcharge of our duty to the emperor, and that we have aſſiduouſly directed our attention to detect and

Chæreas diſvulges his intentions to Papinius and Clemens.

and fruſtrate conſpiracies; ſome of the parties concerned in fomenting inſurrections we have ſubjected to tortures ſo extreme that the deplorable condition of the offenders has given birth to pity even in the ſavage breaſt of the emperor; and others we have put to inſtant death: but is it not derogatory to the character of men of honour and ſoldiers to engage in offices of ſo horrid a nature?" To this, Clemens made no reply; but his countenance evidently betrayed a ſenſe of ſhame, ariſing from the reflection of having complied with the mercileſs orders of Caius, in direct violation of the dictates of conſcience and humanity. Chæreas now proceeded to the following effect: "Public fame declares Caius to be the author of the intolerable grievances which prevail throughout the city and empire; and they are ſo notorious, that it is wholly unneceſſary for me to recapitulate them: but the truth is, that ourſelves are to be juſtly conſidered as the cauſe of thoſe outrages which the people of Rome and mankind have too long endured; for we have executed the moſt barbarous commiſſions, even at the time when, had we been diſpoſed to the glorious enterpriſe, we might have relieved the world from the oppreſſion of a mercileſs tyrant: but inſtead of this, we have ſervilely ſubmitted to offices which have degraded our characters as ſoldiers and men of honour, and branded our names with eternal infamy. We cannot pretend to the glorious reputation of defending the liberties of our country: our buſineſs has been to ſupport the man who inceſſantly labours to enſlave our bodies and ruin our ſouls. In obedience to a bloody tyrant we have perpetrated the moſt horrid murders, and inflicted the moſt excruciating tortures upon other people; and we muſt expect that we ſhall ourſelves be conſigned to ſimilar violences. Our abject compliance is judged to be the effect of compulſion and fear, not of reſpect and duty; and we muſt therefore be the objects of dread and ſuſpicion, rather than of eſteem and confidence. So wanton is the barbarity of Caius, that he obſerves regard neither to guilt nor innocence, but thoſe over whom he has authority he indiſcriminately conſigns to death or other puniſhments, according to the extravagancies of his humour. Theſe circumſtances being conſidered, it will appear indiſpenſably neceſſary to purſue meaſures for the preſervation of our own lives and the liberties of our country."

His bold addreſs on the ſubject.

Clemens declared his approbation of the ſentiments of Chæreas, whom he enjoined to profound ſecrecy, obſerving, that if the leaſt intimation of the plot ſhould tranſpire, the certain conſequence would be death to all the parties concerned. "It is my advice (ſaid he) that we attempt not to carry our plot into execution till time ſhall afford us a favourable opportunity. The years I have paſſed have abated the violence of my paſſions, and perſuaded me that the beſt counſels are thoſe which may be purſued with the greateſt ſafety." Clemens now departed, deeply ruminating upon what had paſſed during the interview.

The indifference of Clemens gave riſe to a ſuſpicion in Chæreas that he was not firmly attached to the cauſe; and therefore he haſtened to a brother-tribune named Cornelius Sabinus, whom he knew to be a man of ſtrict integrity, ſteadily diſpoſed to ſupport the liberties of his country, and exceedingly diſſatisfied with the preſent ſituation of public affairs; on which Chæreas determined fully to explain himſelf, being perſuaded of the rectitude of his friend's principles, and ſolidity of his judgment. The jealouſy he entertained of Clemens occaſioned him to be very urgent for an immediate diſpatch of the buſineſs in hand. He found that Sabinus entertained ſentiments perfectly correſponding with his own, though he had not ventured to divulge them: but he gave Chæreas the ſtrongeſt aſſurance of ſecrecy, and that he would aſſiſt in the enterpriſe.

Clemens is ſuſpected by Chæreas, who repairs immediately to Sabinus, who readily embarks in the deſign.

They agreed that it would be improper to loſe time in bringing matters to an iſſue: and they now repaired to Minucianus, whom they knew to be an enemy to the preſent ſyſtem of government, and a man remarkable for a dignity of mind and a rigid adherence to the principles of virtue. Caius, who had naturally an enmity againſt men of honour and integrity, had cauſed the death of Lepidus, the particular friend of Minucianus, and on account of that event the averſion he had conceived againſt him was greatly increaſed, for he was ſenſible that the loſs of his friend muſt have incurred the ill-will of Minucianus. The expreſſions made uſe of in previous conferences enabled Chæreas, Minucianus and Sabinus to form a judgment of each other's ſentiments, though they deemed it imprudent publickly to declare their diſapprobation of the ſyſtem of government; but the conſideration of being engaged in the ſame intereſts united them in a firm bond of friendſhip. The dignity and virtue of Minucianus had on former occaſions commanded great reſpect from Chæreas and Sabinus; and in the preſent inſtance they reſolved to preſerve their uſual deference towards a man of ſuch ſingular merit, and to divulge their buſineſs to him in a gradual manner.

Minucianus is alſo applied to, who joins with the reſt.

The ridicule which Caius caſt upon Chæreas by giving the word was the ſubject of public diſcourſe. Minucianus aſked Chæreas what word the emperor had given; and, happy in a queſtion ſo favourable to his deſign, he replied; "Whatever word the emperor may have given, let your word be LIBERTY. The conformity of our ſentiments animates me to proceed in a cauſe to which I am reſolutely diſpoſed. This ſword which I now graſp will be ſufficient for us both: let us then haſten to the execution of our deſign, your prudence and courage ſerving as examples for my conduct; and reſt aſſured that your commands ſhall be obeyed with chearfulneſs and punctuality. Succeſs does not ſo much depend upon the ſtrength of the arm as upon the intrepidity and fortitude of the mind: a brave ſoul, therefore, is not depreſſed

LIBERTY the watch-word for attacking Caius.

by the want of arms; for courage ſupplies the deficiency of weapons. I am impatient for the glorious exploit: and whatever may be the event as to myſelf, I am perfectly indifferent; for I have more important concerns than the making proviſion either for my life or fortune at the time when the lives of my fellow ſubjects, and the laws and liberties of my country depend on the will of a ſavage tyrant. Since you have been pleaſed to declare your approbation of the intended enterpriſe, if it ſhall prove my fortune to ſtrike the deciſive blow, I hope I ſhall not incur your envy for having freed mankind from a ſtate of the moſt intolerable oppreſſion." Minucianus now embraced Chæreas, and wiſhed his attempt might ſucceed; after which they parted.

They are encouraged to proceed, by a voice from the people.

It is related that the conſpirators were encouraged to proceed in their deſign by the following circumſtances: as Chæreas was entering the palace, a voice was heard, bidding him, in the name of the Almighty, purſue the cauſe in which he had engaged. Chæreas was at firſt alarmed, ſuppoſing himſelf betrayed; but upon reflection, he imagined the exhortation to have been either an encouraging declaration of divine providence, or an addreſs from ſome perſon concerned in the conſpiracy, with a view to animate him to the enterpriſe.

Great numbers of knights, ſoldiers, and people of other denominations, who were friends to the intended revolution, had aſſembled, and they were unanimouſly of opinion that matters had arrived to ſo critical a conjuncture, that the deſtruction either of Cæſar or the commonwealth was inevitable; and they were emulous to exceed each other in whatever they ſuppoſed would contribute towards the preſervation of their country. The

Calliſtus, the emperor's freedman and favourite, joins in the plot.

conſpirators were joined even by Calliſtus, a freedman and great favourite of the emperor, over whom he had ſo conſiderable an influence, that, rather than a ſubject to, he appeared to be a partner in the tyrannous government. By the moſt corrupt practices he had amaſſed immenſe wealth, but he, notwithſtanding, judged his ſituation to be very precarious under Caius, whom he knew to be implacably reſolute in fully acompliſhing every ſcheme of miſchief he conceived. Calliſtus imagining that on the ſcore of his wealth, which was a temptation ſcarcely to be reſiſted, and on many other accounts, he was in imminent danger, deemed it prudent to ingratiate himſelf into the favour of the next ſucceſſor; and he therefore privately applied to Claudius, informing him, that he had been frequently urged by the emperor to deſtroy him by poiſon, but that, from motives of kindneſs, he had adopted ſtratagems for amuſing the emperor, who ſtill expected that his commands would be carried into execution.

I am inclined to diſpute the authority of Calliſtus's report, and to believe that his view was merely to obtain an intereſt in Claudius: for had Caius intended to effect the death of his uncle, he would not have ſuffered his deſign to be fruſtrated by the excuſes of Calliſtus, whoſe death muſt have been the immediate conſequence of diſobedience to the commands of the tyrant. However, Claudius conſidered himſelf to be under great obligations to Calliſtus, whom he looked upon as the inſtrument of providence for effecting an happy deliverance.

Chæreas, impatient of delay, animates his companions.

Though Chæreas was anxiouſly deſirous of puſhing matters to an immediate iſſue, the execution of the plot was deferred from time to time, through the irreſolute and inactive diſpoſition of ſome of the confederates. Chæreas declared that he would not have heſitated to deſtroy Caius even in the capitol, at the time he was performing ſacrifice for his daughter; or, while he was diſtributing gifts to the multitude, to have thrown him headlong from the battlements of his palace: he obſerved that as he judged himſelf ſecure, and was ſeldom upon his guard, he might have been ſurpriſed on ſome public ſolemnity, or at the private ceremonies which he had himſelf inſtituted, eſpecially as he was ſurrounded by attendants who held him in abhorrence, notwithſtanding the neceſſary regard to their ſafety rendered it prudent to conceal their ſentiments. The apprehenſion that all opportunities might be loſt, and the end of the conſpiracy fruſtrated, by further delays, rendered Chæreas ſo impatient, that he upbraided his companions with entertaining the ſuperſtitious notion that the perſon of Caius was ſacred; declaring that he was himſelf ready to undertake the buſineſs, and to engage to diſpatch the tyrant, even without the advantage of any kind of weapon or inſtrument of death. His aſſociates highly applauded his undaunted reſolution and ſteady zeal in the public cauſe: but they were inclined ſtill to procraſtinate the deciſive attempt till the time for celebrating the games inſtituted in honour of Auguſtus, to whom the Romans firſt owed the loſs of their liberty; for he took the authority veſted in the people into his own hands, and eſtabliſhed the monarchical form of government. Oppoſite the palace a theatre was erected, to which the Roman nobility, their wives and children, and other people of condition reſorted: and it was propoſed

They form a final reſolution.

that the plot ſhould be executed on one of the public days when the emperor was ſurrounded by the many thouſands of people which repaired to this place on occaſion of the entertainments; as in caſe of an alarm, the guard would not be able to obtain admiſſion time enough to prevent the exploit; and it was urged that an attempt in any other place would not be attended with ſo great a probability of ſucceſs, as the military power would have a fairer opportunity to interpoſe and utterly defeat the conſpiracy, the conſequence of which would be certain deſtruction to all the parties. Chæreas agreed to this meaſure, which was to take place on the firſt day of the public ſpectacles; but they were not able to put their deſign in execution till the third day, which was the laſt of the exhibitions and entertainments: and the conſpirators would have ſuffered even this day to elapſe, had not Chæreas animated them by an addreſs

to

to the following effect: "We are united in an honourable and righteous cauſe: but cowardice and indolence have ſo ſhamefully prevailed, that we ſtill remain in the firſt ſtage of our buſineſs. This unpardonable delay ſuſpends our lives, fortunes, and the ineſtimable liberties of our country in the danger of being irretrievably ruined. Have we not reaſon to apprehend that our delays will produce a diſcovery of our intentions? in which caſe, inſtead of delivering our country, we ſhall provoke the mercileſs tyrant to the exerciſe of oppreſſion with redoubled fury. Can it be expected that a conduct ſimilar to that we have hitherto purſued will prove advantageous either to ourſelves or to our country? Let us exert a neceſſary ſpirit in the glorious cauſe we have undertaken, and immortal fame will be the reward of our generous endeavours." Chæreas now made a pauſe, in order that his aſſociates might conſider and more fully underſtand his addreſs: but no reply being made, he proceeded thus: "For what purpoſe, I intreat you, is it that you make theſe frequent heſitations and delays? You cannot be ignorant that this is the laſt day of the entertainments, on the concluſion of which Caius means to go to Alexandria, and thence proceed to make the tour of Ægypt. Would it not reflect eternal diſhonour upon us, ſhould we ſuffer this monſter, who is a diſgrace to human nature, to eſcape our vengeance, and leave to ſome generous Ægyptian the glorious opportunity of doing that juſtice to mankind which we dare not attempt? The time, my friends, will no longer admit of deliberation: before this day ſhall elapſe I will acquit myſelf of the duty I owe to my country and to mankind; for I will allow no man to diſpute with me the glory of delivering the world from this deteſtable tyrant."

The conſpirators are eager to effect their purpoſe.

This generous addreſs inſpired the party with a deſire of having the enterpriſe attempted on the inſtant; and it being the day on which Chæreas, as captain of the guard, was, according to his turn, to go to the emperor for the word, he put his ſword to his ſide, as uſual on ſuch occaſions, and repaired to the palace. The multitude were preſſing to obtain places, and the emperor appeared particularly gratified by the confuſion that prevailed amongſt them; for there being no parts purpoſely aſſigned for the reception of the ſenators, knights, and other people of diſtinction, men, women, maſters and ſlaves, of all denominations, crouded promiſcuouſly together. Sacrifice was offered up to Auguſtus, to whoſe honour the ſolemnity was dedicated; and during the ceremony ſome blood, which ſprang from the victim, ſtained the robe of a ſenator named Aſprenas. This circumſtance proved a ſubject of mirth to the emperor: but the reſt conſidered it as an unfortunate omen, and ſuch indeed it proved; for in the tumult that enſued Aſprenas was ſlain. It was remarked with ſurpriſe, that on this day the emperor ſhewed an extraordinary ſhare of good humour and mirth. Sacrifice being performed, he repaired to the theatre, attended by ſuch of the courtiers as were moſt particularly attached to him. The theatre was a temporary building, compoſed of frames of wood which were taken to pieces and put together as occaſion required: it had two entrances, one gate opening towards the court, and another oppoſite the paſſage through which the actors paſſed, that they might not incommode the ſpectators; and on the ſame ſide as the door opening to the paſſage was a ſpace ſeparated by partitions for the actors and the performers on muſical inſtruments.

Deſcription of the theatre.

Incidents previous to the accompliſhment of the deſign.

Cæſar being ſeated on the right-hand ſide of the theatre, Chæreas and the reſt of the tribunes near him, and the multitude having taken their places, a ſenator and a military man, named Bathybius, in a whiſper aſked Cluvitus, a man of the conſular dignity, who ſat next him, whether he had heard any news. The anſwer was in the negative. Bathybius then ſaid, "I muſt inform you, that this day the tragedy of the tyrant is to be performed." Cluvitus, in a verſe from Homer, urged him to be careful that he was not overheard by the Grecians. Fruit and birds were now thrown down among the people, and the confuſion of ſcrambling for the prizes ſeemed to afford Caius uncommon delight. During the entertainments, two matters were introduced which may be conſidered as unfortunate omens: the firſt was a corrupt judge ſuffering public juſtice, and the other a repreſentation of the tragedy of Cinyra, wherein herſelf and her daughter * Myrrha were put to death: and during theſe performances a conſiderable quantity of blood was ſpilt, for the purpoſe of giving the ſcene the greater appearance of reality. Theſe repreſentations took place on the anniverſary of the death of Philip, the ſon of Amyntas, king of Macedonia, who upon entering the theatre was ſlain by his friend Pauſanias.

Caius was deliberating within himſelf whether he ſhould retire to bathe and receive ſome refreſhment, and then return to the theatre. Minucianus, who ſat near Cæſar, obſerving Chæreas, and fearing the opportunity for executing the plot might be loſt, roſe in order to follow and encourage him in his reſolution: but Caius gently took hold of his robe, and, in an accent of kindneſs, aſked him whither he was going. Upon this Minucianus again took his ſeat; but his apprehenſion returning, he roſe a ſecond time, and the emperor made no offer to detain him. Aſprenas, who was engaged in the conſpiracy, endeavoured to prevail upon Caius to retire, as was uſual, ſaying that, after bathing and receiving ſome nouriſhment, he would return to the entertainments with additional pleaſure.

Chæreas propoſes to execute his purpoſe.

Having ſtationed the conſpirators in places moſt convenient for effecting the enterpriſe, Chæreas became impatient of longer delay; and it being now paſt three in the afternoon, he reſolved to return to the theatre, and aſſault Caius there: he was however ſenſible

* Vide Sam. Petiti Legis Atticas, p. 248.

that

that if he purſued this deſign, many lives muſt be loſt: but he conſidered the liberties of his country as a concern infinitely more important than the preſervation of ſome individuals. He proceeded towards the theatre, but before he reached that place, the word was given that Cæſar was returning to the palace. The conſpirators cleared the way, ſeemingly as if by order of the emperor, but their view was only to plant themſelves near where he was to paſs. The proceſſion was led by Claudius, the uncle of Caius, who was followed by Marcus Minucianus, who had married his ſiſter, and after him came Valerius Aſiaticus. The eminent quality of theſe perſons intitled them to paſs without moleſtation. The above-mentioned perſonages were followed by Caius, attended by Paulus Aruntius. Having reached the entrance of the palace, he turned into a private way leading to the baths, in order to view ſome youths who had been ſent him from Aſia, and were celebrated for their ſkill in the Pyrric manner of dancing, and for compoſing and ſinging ſacred hymns. When he had entered this narrow paſſage, he was followed by Chæreas, who aſked him for the word, which was given, but, as uſual, it conveyed a meaning ſo highly indecent and affronting, that the tribune rebuked Caius in very ſevere language, and then ſtabbed him between the neck and the ſhoulder, but the weapon was ſtopped by a bone. Though the wound was not mortal, he neither made complaint, nor called for aſſiſtance, but he groaned, and attempted to eſcape; he then received a blow from Cornelius, which occaſioned him to fall upon his knees; and then enſued an univerſal outcry of "Down with him, diſpatch the tyrant!" during which he received many wounds, and at length yielded up his life.

Chæreas, groſsly affronted by Caius, ſtabs him.

He is diſpatched by others preſent

Some pretend that Chæreas did not mean the firſt blow to be mortal, but that a repetition of wounds ſhould prolong his miſery. It does not, however, ſeem probable that Chæreas could be ſo weak as to put his own ſafety and that of his friends to the moſt imminent hazard by ſo dangerous a delay. Aquila is ſaid to have given the wound that cauſed the death of Caius: but the reputation of the enterpriſe was attributed wholly to Chæreas, who originally ſuggeſted the deſtruction of the emperor, formed the confederacy, animated his aſſociates to effect the enterpriſe in deſpite of the attending danger, and when matters had arrived to an extremity, by a ſingular exertion of courage, effectually humbled the power and pride of the unnatural and barbarous tyrant. Hence it appears that mankind were indebted for this great exploit to the ſteady fortitude and unremitting diligence of Chæreas.

The wholeenterpriſe aſcribed to Chæreas.

The great atchievement having taken place, the conſpirators were greatly alarmed by reflecting on the little proſpect they had of making a ſafe retreat. They judged it impoſſible to return by the way they came; for the paſſages were extremely narrow and crouded with ſoldiers, whoſe duty had called them to attend near the palace on occaſion of the feſtival: at length they determined that it would be moſt expedient to retire by another way to the houſe of Germanicus, who was father to the lately deceaſed Caius: this building is contiguous to the palace, or rather it may be called part of that edifice; for they are connected by ſtructures raiſed by preceding emperors, each of which is ſtill diſtinguiſhed by the name of its reſpective founder. Having eſcaped to this place, they judged their ſituation would be perfectly ſecure till the multitude gained information of the death of Cæſar.

The conſpirators eſcape to the palace of Germanicus.

The German body guards, called the Celtic legion, were the firſt who gained intelligence of the death of Caius: theſe men were of ſingularly athletic and robuſt conſtitutions; in temper cruel, and addicted to ſudden and violent paſſion, but of ſuch remarkable intrepidity in the practice of arms, that, when equally matched, it was ſcarcely poſſible to ſubdue them. The death of Caius exaſperated theſe men to the higheſt pitch of extravagance, but their concern was founded on no generous motive of eſteem, but on the conſideration that they ſhould be deprived of their uſual emoluments; for the emperor had diſtinguiſhed theſe people by diſtributing frequent rewards among them. They were commanded by Sabinus, who was originally a gladiator; and it was not on account of any merit on his own part, or on that of his anceſtors, but to a ferocious diſpoſition and a robuſt form of body, that he was indebted for his advancement. Sabinus led his party in ſearch of the murderers of Cæſar, and the firſt they met was Aſprenas, whom they inſtantly tore to pieces. We have already mentioned the robe of this ſenator being ſtained by the blood of the victim at the ſacrifice as an unfortunate omen. A man of very diſtinguiſhed rank in the city, named Norbanus, ſeveral of whoſe anceſtors had acquired a high reputation by ſerving in quality of generals in the army, was next aſſaulted by theſe German ruffians; but he preſently diſarmed the firſt who attacked him, ſoon after which he was ſlain; but being a man of great ſtrength and activity, and of uncommon courage, he would have ſold his life at a very dear rate, had he not been oppreſſed by numbers. The third ſenator they encountered was Anteius, who had ventured from his retreat from a deſire of viewing the body of Caius, againſt whom he had entertained an implacable enmity on the following account: having fallen under the diſpleaſure of Caius, the father of Anteius incurred the ſentence of baniſhment; but this not being ſufficient to ſatiate his revenge, the tyrant cauſed him to be put to death in his exile. Beſides the three perſons above-mentioned, many others whom they encountered in their way were indiſcriminately ſlain by this barbarous troop of Germans.

The German guards cruelly avenge the death of Caius, by butchering ſeveral perſons of eminence.

The news of the death of Cæſar being brought to the theatre, the people were thrown into the greateſt aſtoniſhment imagina-

Aſtoniſhment of the people, on hearing of

Cæsar's death and causes why many of the lower sort were attached to him.

imaginable: they who wished the intelligence might prove authentic, were fearful of reposing any confidence in the rumour, lest their hopes should be disappointed; others were not inclined to believe the report, because they wished it might prove false; and a third party were of opinion that the accomplishment of the action surpassed all possibility. Such as entertained the latter notion were chiefly women, young people, soldiers, and slaves. He obtained the favour and good wishes of the women and young people, by the prizes he distributed, and the entertainments he gave, under the pretext of gratifying the people; but he was entirely actuated by his unnatural propensity to the destruction of his fellow-creatures: the soldiers were attached to him on the consideration of obtaining pay in his service, and being, in some measure, the partners of his oppression; for they were the instruments of his vengeance upon good men, and shared in the booty obtained from those whom the tyrant consigned to ruin: the bondmen were attached to him by the encouragement he gave them to advance false accusations against their masters; for if a slave was desirous of gaining his freedom and amassing riches, nothing farther was necessary than to point out where his master's riches were deposited; and it was a matter of absolute certainty that, without the least regard to common justice, Caius would seize the spoil: thus, on the double motive of liberty and avarice, were slaves induced to effect the ruin of their employers; for though the accusations were evidently destitute of foundation in truth, they were constantly supported by the authority of Caius, who granted unconditional pardon to the informers, and the law allowed them one eighth part of the confiscated effects.

The people of distinction who believed the intelligence of the death of Cæsar to be true, either from their wishes that it might be so, or from being informed of the conspiracy, were exceedingly careful to avoid all discourse on the subject; for they were conscious that if by their looks, or any other means, they should betray the least symptom of satisfaction, the inevitable consequence must be instant death.

Different reports concerning the death of Caius.

Various reports concerning the event were circulated; some pretending that Cæsar had been wounded, but not mortally, and that he was attended by surgeons. The people, however, judged it unsafe to make a declaration of their sentiments; for they were uncertain whether they who published the news were attached to the interests of Caius's party, or to the opposite faction; and therefore they considered it equally dangerous to take a decisive part either in favour of, or against the revolution. The report which served more effectually than all the rest to depress the spirits of the nobility was, that upon being wounded, Cæsar, without waiting for the assistance of surgeons, hastened with all possible speed to the market-place, where, in a declamatory address, he appealed to the multitude on the cruelty exercised upon him. These different rumours operated upon the people according to the sentiments they respectively entertained; but the consternation among them was general, and so great, that they did not dare even to quit their places, for they knew their fate did not so much depend on the guilt or innocence of their intentions, as upon the evidence which would be advanced by the informers, and the interpretation which the judges would put upon that evidence.

The theatre beset by the German soldiers, to the great terror of the people.

During this distracted situation of affairs, the theatre was surrounded by the enraged Germans, brandishing their drawn swords: upon the appearance of these troops, the people in the theatre were alarmed in the highest degree, and they imagined that, whether they remained, or attempted to escape, they should be equally certain of being put to instant death. The soldiers having forcibly gained admittance into the theatre, a most terrible clamour ensued among the people, some of whom made protestations of their innocence, appealing to the gods to witness their truth; others made use of supplications, excuses, submissions, and every other means which they conceived might tend to deprecate the wrath of the soldiers.

The Germans, relenting, refrain from further outrages.

So truly deplorable was the situation of the people, that the tenderness of compassion assailed the cruel hearts of the Germans, whose consciences now upbraided them with the acts of barbarity which they had already perpetrated; for after having put Asprenas and others to death, they carried the heads of those unfortunate persons about, ostentatiously exposing them as public spectacles; but they at length deposited the heads upon the altar. The unhappy deaths of so many persons of distinction, and the brutal and insulting triumph of the Germans, inspired the friends of the deceased senators, and other people of rank, with the most lively affliction, which was greatly increased by the alarming consideration that their own lives were in the most imminent danger. The death of Caius did not yet afford perfect satisfaction even to those who had been his most inveterate enemies; for they remained under the most dreadful apprehension that they should not long survive the tyrant.

The death of the emperor announced by a public cryer.

During the general consternation, a public cryer, named Aruncius, a man of considerable wealth and of great influence among the people, came to the theatre, habited in deep mourning, and, dissembling his real sentiments, he assumed every appearance of the most sincere and tender affliction, and with an exalted voice made public proclamation of the death of the emperor. The Germans now appeared to relent, and being commanded by their officers to sheath their weapons, they obeyed, and the tumult subsided. The public declaration of the death of Cæsar was undoubtedly the means of pre-

ſerving the people in the theatre, as well as many others who might have fallen into the power of the Celtic legion; for while the German ſoldiers, who formed that corps, entertained an idea that Caius was ſtill living, ſo great was their affection for him, that, in revenge for the conſpiracy raiſed againſt him, they would have exerciſed an indiſcriminate barbarity upon the people, regardleſs of the miſeries which neceſſarily muſt have reſulted to the commonwealth in the effects of their violent and ungovernable rage. Upon confirmation of the news of Cæſar's death, they conſidered that no motive remained for giving additional proofs of their attachment, which their maſters were no longer in a condition to reward, and that there was great reaſon to apprehend they might be ſubjected to puniſhment if it ſhould prove their future fortune to be under the government of the ſenate.

Chæreas is anxiouſly ſolicitous for the ſafety of Minucianus.

In the mean time, Chæreas was exceedingly diſtreſſed leſt Minucianus ſhould not eſcape the general danger: he therefore applied reſpectively to ſuch of the ſoldiers as he imagined he might ſafely confide in, earneſtly intreating that, if they ſhould meet with Minucianus, they would be particularly attentive to provide for his ſafety, and behave to him with every poſſible inſtance of kindneſs and reſpect; and in conſequence hereof Chæreas and Clemens were conducted to their reſpectable friend, who, addreſſing himſelf to Chæreas, liberally complimented him on the ſucceſs of his endeavours to preſerve the liberties of his country; ſaying that, in the name of the commonwealth, he would take upon himſelf to congratulate him on the addreſs he had proved himſelf to be maſter of in framing the plan of the revolution, and the ſingular bravery he had diſplayed in carrying it into execution. "How tyrannically ſoever rulers (ſaid Minucianus) may exult in the ſhort-lived pride of lawleſs dominion, they muſt be the objects of deteſtation to the virtuous part of the world, and their triumphs muſt at length terminate in a miſerable and ſhameful end, which inevitably awaits them." The obſervations of Minucianus were exemplified in the caſe of Cæſar; for, by a continual violation of the legiſlative eſtabliſhment, and the inſupportable oppreſſion to which he ſubjected the very people who were moſt firmly attached to his intereſts, he laid the foundation for the conſpiracy: thus was he the inſtrument of his own ruin; for the repeated injuries and inſults which he heaped upon his beſt friends, inſpired them with the moſt inveterate enmity, to which he, at length, deſervedly fell a ſacrifice. A phyſician, named Arcyon, was ſent for, in order to adminiſter relief to ſome perſons in the theatre who had been wounded; and the guards being retired, he ſeized the favourable opportunity of providing for the ſafety of his friends, by ſending them away, under the pretext of employing them to bring him remedies. The ſudden retreat of the phyſician's friends occaſioned the utmoſt confuſion amongſt the multitude, for they quitted their ſeats, and with the utmoſt anxiety endeavoured to get out of the building where they had been ſo long confined under the moſt terrible apprehenſions.

Obſervation of Minucianus verified.

Arcyon, the phyſician, provides for the ſafety of his friends.

In the interim, the ſenate aſſembled in the palace, whither the populace preſently reſorted in great multitudes, and vehemently demanded public juſtice upon the murderers of Caius. The ſenate deemed it not prudent openly to oppoſe the deſires of the people, leſt they ſhould be provoked to ſtill greater extravagances of outrage. During the general tumult, a man of conſular dignity, named Valerius Aſiaticus, went among the people, and upon being aſked if the murderers had been diſcovered, and who were the parties concerned in the deed, he replied, "Would it had been my fortune to have deprived the tyrant of life!"

The ſenate meet, and act with moderation.

The ſenate having paſſed a decree in condemnation of the memory of Caius, they proceeded to iſſue an order for the ſoldiers peaceably to repair to their quarters, and the citizens to their reſpective habitations; promiſing the ſoldiers conſiderable gratuities, and the reſt of the people a diminution of the taxes impoſed upon them, on condition of their not tranſgreſſing the limits of regularity and diſcretion. Thus was a happy termination put to a popular and violent clamour, which, but for ſo ſeaſonable a check, would probably have increaſed to a fatal degree, and have given riſe to rapine, ſacrilegious violences, and other enormous crimes. The whole number of thoſe perſons who compoſed the ſenate being now aſſembled, they proceeded to deliberate on the expediency of re-eſtabliſhing themſelves in their ancient authority.

They paſs a decree to condemn the memory of Caligula, and diſmiſs the ſoldiers and people.

CHAP. II.

The Soldiers determine to eſtabliſh a monarchical Form of Government, and declare CLAUDIUS the Succeſſor of his deceaſed Nephew CAIUS. SATURNINUS oppoſes them, and prefers a Commonwealth. Conduct of CHÆREAS herein. Particulars reſpecting the Death and Character of CAIUS. GRATUS diſcovers CLAUDIUS, who is advanced to the Sovereignty. The Senate and People diſagree reſpecting the Government. Admonitory Letter from the Senate to CLAUDIUS.

The ſoldiers prefer a monarchy, and nominate Claudius as ſucceſſor.

WHILE the ſenate were engaged in deliberations on the ſtate of public affairs, the body of ſoldiers aſſembled, and proceeded to debate on the queſtion, "Whether the eſtabliſhment of a popular or an imperial government would be moſt eligible?" The purport of their reſolutions was,

was, that a commonwealth would not be able to provide for the public exigencies, and that on other accounts an eſtabliſhment of that nature would not prove beneficial to the people; and further, that as they had been entertained as the companions rather than as the ſervants of Caius, it muſt neceſſarily greatly diminiſh their conſequence to ſubmit to a ſtate of dependence upon ſuch a number of perſons as would have authority over them, if the adminiſtration were to be lodged in the hands of the ſenate. Therefore, they determined to elect Claudius, the uncle of the deceaſed Caius, to the ſovereign command, judging that his diſtinguiſhed birth, and many eminent qualities, gave him a ſuperior claim to that dignity. They immediately fetched Claudius from his houſe, and proclaimed him emperor, expecting that he would liberally reward them for being the authors of his exaltation. The proceedings of the ſoldiery were ſoon conveyed to Anæus Sentius Saturninus, in the ſenate-houſe, and he, finding affairs arrived to ſuch an extremity, that every hour muſt neceſſarily produce additional troubles, roſe and delivered himſelf with a boldneſs and freedom of ſentiment that reflected great honour upon himſelf, and proved worthy of the particular attention of his patriotic auditory.

The addreſs of Saturninus proved highly to the ſatisfaction of the whole aſſembly; but the ſpeaker's attention being wholly confined to the ſubject of his diſcourſe, he did not recollect that he wore a ring on his finger, the ſtone of which bore a repreſentation of the head of Caius: this ring being obſerved by Trebellius Maximus, he ſuddenly roſe, and took it from the finger of Saturninus, and it was inſtantly broken in pieces.

The watch-word LIBERTY given by the conſuls.

As the night was now approaching, Chæreas went to the conſuls for the watch-word, and the word they gave was Liberty. The people were exceedingly rejoiced at hearing this word, which they underſtood to be an indication that the ancient authority would be reſtored. Before the Cæſars uſurped the ſovereign authority, it was an invariable rule for the conſuls to give orders to the ſoldiers; and the giving liberty as the watch-word was the firſt authority which the ſenate exerciſed after being depoſed. Chæreas delivered the word to the four companies of troops who had declared themſelves firmly attached to the cauſe of the ſenate. Soon after they had received the watch-word, the ſoldiers departed, and preſently afterwards the multitude diſperſed, rejoicing in the happy proſpect of the commonwealth being reſtored to its original ſtate of ſplendor and happineſs, and unanimouſly applauding Chæreas as the deliverer of his country.

Chæreas orders the widow and daughter of Caius to be put to death, for which act he is blamed.

Chæreas apprehending that there would ſtill be danger as long as the widow and daughter of Caius were permitted to ſurvive, diſpatched Julius Lupus, who was one of the tribunes, with an order to put them both to death: he employed this perſon in the buſineſs, partly on account of his being a kinſman to Clemens, and partly on the conſideration that as he had taken a very active part in the conſpiracy he might derive his ſhare of honour by the actual performance of ſome exploit for the public ſecurity. Several of the confederates, however, judging that Ceſonia had not ſtimulated her huſband to enſlave the people, or exerciſe cruelty upon the many illuſtrious Romans who had fallen victims to the brutal vengeance of Caius, cenſured Chæreas for adviſing the deſtruction of the widow, whom they conceived to be by no means chargeable with the crimes of her late huſband. On the other hand, it was urged, that, with a view to the gratification of her amorous deſires, Ceſonia had adminiſtered to Caius a provocative preparation, which had operated ſo powerfully as to affect his intellects, and precipitate him to the perpetration of the moſt ſhocking barbarities; and that the woman muſt therefore be conſidered as the primary ſource of the common calamities. The party who eſpouſed the latter opinion prevailed, and therefore Julius Lupus haſted away, in order to execute his commiſſion. Upon his arrival at the palace, he perceived Ceſonia bitterly lamenting her unhappy fate, as ſhe lay with her infant daughter extended on the floor, by the corpſe of her huſband, which, in a bloody and mangled condition, lay expoſed, without any of thoſe decencies which it is uſual to provide for the dead. Ceſonia was heard to utter only exclamations againſt Caius, for having refuſed to adopt the meaſures ſhe had repeatedly recommended, which would have ſecured him from ſo tragical a cataſtrophe. The preciſe meaning of theſe expreſſions ſtill remains a matter of uncertainty. It was believed by one party, that the counſel ſhe referred to was, to moderate his too rigorous government, leſt, by the continued exerciſe of barbarity and oppreſſion, his ſubjects ſhould be ſo enraged as to unite in effecting his deſtruction. The conſtruction which others put on her words was, that having received ſome intimation of a conſpiracy, ſhe had adviſed him to cauſe every individual, of whoſe loyalty there was the leaſt reaſon to entertain a ſuſpicion, to be inſtantly put to death. Ceſonia requeſted Lupus to approach, and view the mangled and bloody corpſe of Caius; and after giving vent to the moſt violent emotions of grief, ſhe caſt her eyes upon Lupus, from whoſe countenance ſhe conceived a ſuſpicion of the purpoſe that had brought him to the palace, and this was fully explained by what he afterwards ſaid to her. After employing a ſhort time in bewailing her miſerable fate, with a ſingular fortitude and reſolution, ſhe preſented her bare throat to Lupus, urging him immediately to conclude the fatal tragedy which his aſſociates had begun. Having put Ceſonia and her infant daughter to death, Lupus immediately diſpatched intelligence of his exploit to Chæreas.

Ceſonia aſcribes the tragical end of Caius to his rejecting her advice.

She dies with amazing fortitude.

Caius expired in the fourth year of his reign. Even when a private perſon he was brutal and malicious in the higheſt degree; his appetite was depraved; he patronized informers;

Deteſtable character of Caius Cæſar.

formers; was of a cowardly diſpoſition, and conſequently cruel. He was fond of power; but, as it enabled him to behave cruelly to thoſe who had not offended, and to commit murder and rapine as the prelude to ſeizing on their effects, he courted the flatteries of the vulgar; and was ſo wild and extravagant in his ambition, as not to be ſatisfied without the erection of temples and altars to his honour. The reſtraints of law and morality were equally diſagreeable to him; and he had no mercy on his moſt intimate friends, when inſpired by a principle of revenge. Poſſeſſing no virtue of his own, he was a foe to virtuous men, and was remarkably impatient of contradiction. He was guilty of laying with his own ſiſter, which procured him the utmoſt hatred of the people; for inceſt was deemed a crime of ſo black a dye, that it was ſcarcely thought poſſible that it ſhould be committed: in fact, this atrocious offence had not been even heard of for ſeveral ages. It is not in my power to aſſert that he ever did, or even attempted, any work of true dignity and magnificence, tending to the credit of the empire and the general welfare of ſociety, except his erecting harbours and ſtore-houſes near Rhegium, and in the vicinity of Sicily, for the convenience of the ſhips which arrived from Ægypt with corn. This was, unqueſtionably, a work of great public uſe and emolument; but even this he did not purſue till it was completed, but left it unfiniſhed, partly through the idleneſs and inattention of his agents and artiſts, and partly through the fickleneſs of his own diſpoſition; for his ideas were perpetually engaged on idle ſchemes, and he choſe rather to exhauſt his treaſure on his perſonal gratifications than on works of great and public utility: yet he was a moſt excellent orator, and a proficient in Greek and Latin. He poſſeſſed great preſence of mind, and was well ſkilled in extempore declamation on all ſubjects. His addreſs tended at once to convince the judgment and conciliate the affections of his hearers, in debates of the utmoſt importance; a happineſs in him that was partly natural, partly acquired. Being educated under his father Germanicus, and his uncle Tiberius, who preceded him, he emulated theſe illuſtrious perſons, who were diſtinguiſhed by this kind of excellence, and was anxious, in this particular at leaſt, to preſerve the dignity of his birth and education. But to what purpoſe is it for a man to poſſeſs a liberal and virtuous education, if, the moment he is at his own diſpoſal, he perverts its advantages to purpoſes diametrically oppoſite to what was intended? It is extremely difficult for men, who have full power to do what they pleaſe, to act as they ought, from the mere impulſe of moral rectitude. When Caius firſt took poſſeſſion of his government, he ſelected for his miniſters a number of perſons diſtinguiſhed by their virtue and capacity, by which he greatly conciliated the affection of the people; but as his mind became by degrees depraved, he diſmiſſed his ancient ſervants in a diſgraceful manner; and, at length, by the tyranny of his conduct, urged his ſubjects to ſuch acts of deſperation as ended in the loſs of his life.

He has ſome good perſonal qualifications.

Claudius, as hath been previouſly obſerved, being informed of the death of Caius, and the confuſion that reigned through the court in conſequence of that event, retired to conſult his own ſafety; though, in fact, he was in no danger, other than that an inſult might be offered to his rank; for he had been always inclined to a life of retirement. His conduct was modeſt and temperate; he was a lover of learning, particularly Greek literature, and an enemy to all the noiſe and hurry of life.

Sketch of the character and diſpoſition of Claudius.

At this time, the populace were half diſtracted; the palace was crouded with ſoldiers, who ran, from place to place, in the utmoſt confuſion; and the common people hurried about without regard to the authority of government. During this tumult, the guards, who were men of the firſt character among the ſoldiers, began to conſider of the moſt proper mode of proceeding; not that they regretted the death of the prince, who they thought had been puniſhed according to his demerits, but they conceived it would be prudent to adjuſt their own affairs; the enmity of the Germans, likewiſe, againſt the murderers, was leſs impelled by their wiſhes for the public weal than a regard to their private intereſt. All theſe circumſtances combined, tended only to increaſe the apprehenſion of Claudius, which was not leſſened by the ſight of the heads of Aſprenas and his aſſociates, which were carried about in triumph.

Diſtractions prevailing among the ſoldiery and people.

Claudius had now retreated to a place where it was not poſſible to get but by ſome dark ſtairs, and there he ſtood concealed. In the interim, Gratus, one of the emperor's guards, ſaw a perſon in a corner, who ſeemed to wiſh to conceal himſelf, and not knowing him, advanced, though the other begged him to retire. Having drawn him from his retreat, and recognizing him, he called out to thoſe near the ſpot, that he had found Claudius, the moſt proper man to fill the vacant throne. Claudius, apprehenſive that he ſhould be put to death on account of Caius, earneſtly intreated their forbearance, and proteſted his innocence of the whole affair. Hereupon, Gratus, with a ſmiling countenance, took his right hand, and bid him not to be apprehenſive for his ſafety; but rather think of taking poſſeſſion of the empire, "Of which," ſaid he, "the gods have deprived Caius, and now offer to Claudius by the hands of Gratus; that the people who have been ſo long cruelly oppreſſed may be relieved from their burdens, and the public welfare maintained: wherefore, Sir, in the name of Heaven, reſume your courage, and take poſſeſſion of the throne of your anceſtors." This being ſaid, Claudius was elevated on the ſhoulders of the populace, his joy and fear having rendered him incapable of ſupporting himſelf.

Gratus having diſcovered Claudius, puts him in poſſeſſion of the empire.

While

The guards espouse the part of Claudius.

While these things were transacting, the guards assembled in still greater numbers round Gratus, and began to murmur among themselves, saying how unreasonable an affair it was that the inoffensive Claudius, who had lived so quiet and retired a life, should be thus destroyed; for they conceived that he was now on the point of being hurried away to execution. Some of them were for appealing to the consuls, and as the soldiers crouded still more together, those of the people who had no arms dispersed to seek their own safety. The progress of Claudius was now stopped; for he was unable to walk, and those who had carried him had retired, on the former misapprehension, fearing that they might be partakers of his fate.

The troops being now in possession of the palace, their numbers increasing every moment, and no one to oppose their proceedings, they began to consider how they should settle the affairs of the commonwealth. The soldiers rejoiced to see Claudius among them, and joined in one opinion that he should be advanced to the empire; partly in respect to his brother Germanicus, for whose memory every one entertained the kindest regard, and partly to prevent the ambitious projects of any of the senators, who having heretofore caused great commotions in the state, might probably do the same again, if it should be in their power. They now deemed the republican form of government to be irrecoverably lost; and thought, if it was necessary that an emperor should be chosen, it might not be improper for them to have the credit of advancing whoever should be promoted to that dignity. Reasoning in this manner, they presumed it would be good policy to fix on Claudius for the man, and thus take to themselves the whole merit of the obligation. The troops in general were so perfectly convinced of the reasonableness of this mode of arguing, that, after a short consultation on the business, they joined in an unanimous resolution; and some of them taking Claudius on their shoulders, carried him to the camp, the whole body of the soldiers following, there to complete the business they had so successfully begun.

They reject a republican government, and appoint Claudius to the succession.

During these proceedings, a difference arose between the senate and the people at large; the former being for the establishment of the commonwealth in its ancient splendor, and defending their authority from the usurpations of tyranny: on the contrary, the latter, envying the power aimed at by the senate, wished for a regal restraint on the proceedings of its members, and that they might be secured from their oppressions by an appeal to a higher power. The people at large, therefore, were transported at the elevation of Claudius, presuming that, under his government, they should be preserved from the calamities of civil war, and all that consequent distress in which the wars of Cæsar and Pompey had involved them.

Cautionary advice of the senate to him.

The circumstance of the soldiers having carried Claudius in this manner to the army, was no sooner made known to the senate, than they sent some particular persons of their own body, who were instructed to caution Claudius "not to endeavour to assume the government by force, but rather to act as one of the senators, leaving the care of public concerns to that body, who were legally qualified to direct the public administration of affairs." They were likewise to represent, "With what a degree of tyranny former masters, among whom was Caius, had treated the people; and of the danger Claudius himself had been in from the tyrant; and to hint how ill it would become him to practise tyranny who had condemned it in another: but that if he would own the authority of the senate, and re-assume his former principles and practice, he would obtain the highest applause from a free and powerful people, and obtain the character of a wise and good man, contented with the ordinations of law and Providence. On the contrary, if he persisted in his design, after the judgment that had been inflicted on Caius, they should undoubtedly oppose him, for which purpose they were well provided with arms, troops, and every other requisite: but that their chief dependence was in the assistance of Heaven, in behalf of so just and equitable a cause as the defence of the public liberties."

He is exhorted to accept the sovereign power from the hands of the senators.

The principal commissioners deputed to attend Claudius on this occasion were, Veranius and Brouchus, who, having delivered their message, threw themselves at his feet, and earnestly intreated him not to take any step that might risk the involving the public in the calamities of a civil war: but the commissioners observing that Claudius was so surrounded with persons belonging to the army, that the power of the consuls was greatly inferior to that of the troops, they simply requested of him, that "If he was determined to assume the sovereignty, he would decline taking it by violence, but accept it from the senate; since it would by no means appear so creditable to seize it from the people by force, as to receive it as a proof of their esteem."

CHAP. III.

A Report circulated by AGRIPPA, that CAIUS was not dead. CLAUDIUS takes his Seat in the Assembly. AGRIPPA deputed to desire CLAUDIUS to resign his Claim. The Reply of CLAUDIUS. Speech of CHÆREAS against CLAUDIUS. An Assault on QUINTUS POMPEIUS, who is protected by CLAUDIUS. Several of the Senators wounded. The Advice of AGRIPPA to CLAUDIUS. CHÆREAS, LUPUS, and others, put to Death. SABINUS pardoned by CLAUDIUS; but he afterwards falls on his own Sword.

CLAUDIUS being perfectly well acquainted with the pride of the people who now made their

their ſolicitations to him, anſwered the commiſſioners in as polite a manner as he could do conſiſtent with the laws of prudence. But the temptation of power was great; he was guided by the counſel of Agrippa; the ſoldiers too were importunate in their advice, and promiſed to ſupport him in the aſſertion of his pretenſions; wherefore, he was prevailed upon to aſſert the right he had to the dignity thus freely conferred on him.

Claudius aſſerts his claim to the imperial dignity.

Agrippa having diſpoſed of the dead body of his friend Caius in a decent manner, and adjuſted affairs as well as the preſent confuſion would admit, he immediately went among the guards, to whom he reported that Caius was not abſolutely dead, though very dangerouſly ill of his wounds, and that he was going to procure the aſſiſtance of phyſicians: but being informed that Claudius had been borne away by the ſoldiers, Agrippa immediately hurried after him through the crowd, and at length, with much difficulty, found him; but terrified in ſuch a high degree, that he was on the point of ſurrendering to the ſenate: but Agrippa inſtantly mentioned ſome circumſtances to him, that confirmed him in his former reſolution of maintaining the ſtation he had acquired; and having thus done, he departed.

Agrippa takes his ſeat in the ſenate.

Not long afterwards, Agrippa was invited to aſſume his place in the ſenate, whither he went, dreſſed in the gayeſt and moſt elegant ſtyle, and as if totally ignorant of all that had happened. He had no ſooner taken his ſeat, than he demanded of the ſenators how Claudius had diſpoſed of himſelf: on which they related all the facts as they had happened, and then aſked him what he thought of the preſent poſition of public affairs? To this he ſaid, "There is nothing I poſſeſs in this world which I hold ſo dear, but I would readily part with it to promote the dignity of the ſenate; but I ſhould be happy to hear ſomething propoſed, tending to promote the ſolid advantage of the commonwealth, rather than to liſten to idle tales, which are calculated only to catch the attention of the vulgar; for it is a ſerious truth, that without an adequate proviſion of arms, men, and money, as a foundation on which to proceed, there is very little ſucceſs to be hoped for in a conteſt for dominion and authority." In anſwer hereto, the ſenate ſaid, that, with regard to thoſe eſſential articles, they were moſt amply provided; that as to troops, they had a ſufficient number of ſlaves, who would be very happy to be engaged on the condition of receiving their freedom.

Sentiments of Agrippa on the preſent ſtate of affairs.

"This may be (ſaid Agrippa); and with ſubmiſſion to your ſuperior wiſdom, I wiſh your expectations may not fail of ſucceſs: but give me leave to make one obſervation. You are not unacquainted that the troops with which Claudius is provided are all veterans, well experienced and diſciplined; whereas, on the contrary, we have none but a raw and undiſciplined rabble of wretched creatures, who ſcarce ever beheld a naked ſword, to engage with ſo many men of approved valour; wherefore, under correction of your better judgments, I humbly propoſe that ſome perſons may be commiſſioned to wait on Claudius, to endeavour to prevail on him to reſign his claim; and if any difficulty ariſes with regard to the perſons to be deputed, I am willing to make one on this buſineſs."

This propoſition appeared ſo reaſonable to the ſenate, that they immediately deputed Agrippa, and ſome other perſons, to tranſact this affair. Agrippa, however, contrived previouſly to have a private meeting with Claudius, whom he informed of the uneaſy ſtate of mind in which the ſenate was, and dictated to him what anſwer he ſhould make to the deputies, which was thought becoming the dignity of a prince. In conſequence hereof, when the commiſſioners attended, Claudius addreſſed them as follows: "I am not ſurpriſed that the government being lodged in a ſingle perſon is ſo diſagreeable to the ſenate, when I reflect how much diſtreſs the tyranny of ſome late princes hath cauſed them: but for myſelf, I have not an idea of any greater ſatisfaction than what will ariſe from the impartial adminiſtration of juſtice, which will ſecure the liberties and poſſeſſions of my ſubjects: for it is my intention, though ruling under the name of a prince, to govern by the general conſent and advice of my people. With regard to my ſincerity in what I now ſay, I wiſh only to refer the ſenate to thoſe proofs of uprightneſs and moderation which I have already given in times of great diſtreſs and difficulty." Having thus ſaid, he diſmiſſed the commiſſioners; and, after they were gone, made a ſpeech to his ſoldiers, to whom he adminiſtered an oath of fidelity, and preſented each private man with five hundred drachmas, gratifying the officers with proportionable ſums, and promiſing that the ſoldiers who were not preſent ſhould be in like manner rewarded.

He is deputed to deſire Claudius to reſign his claim.

Claudius's addreſs to them.

He adminiſters an oath of fidelity to the troops.

Hereupon the ſenators ſummoned a meeting of their body, who aſſembled in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, on the following morning before day-break. Some of them, apprehenſive of ill conſequences, were afraid to be preſent, and therefore concealed themſelves in the city; while others went out of town privately, rather chuſing to ſubmit to ſlavery, and thereby preſerve themſelves from perſonal injury, than to run the riſk of loſing all their preſent poſſeſſions, by a fruitleſs conteſt for what they deemed to be already loſt; ſo that, on the whole, not more than a hundred ſenators were preſent.

A council of ſenators ſummoned.

During the height of their debate on the important buſineſs in hand, a number of ſoldiers came to the door, and called out to the ſenators, deſiring that they would appoint ſome ſingle perſon to govern them, ſince it was evident that nothing but confuſion aroſe from a multiplicity of governors: but they left to the ſenate the choice of a proper perſon. This propoſal

The ſoldiers require the ſenate to appoint an emperor.

propoſal appeared to be a ſnare, from which they knew not how to extricate themſelves; for they conceived that they had every thing now to apprehend from Claudius, inſtead of the liberty they had promiſed themſelves; though there were among the ſenators ſeveral men, who, from the dignity of their families, and their affinity to Cæſar, might reaſonably have claimed the imperal honour. Among theſe was Marcus Minutianus, a perſon of the firſt rank, who by marriage was allied to the Cæſars, having wedded Julia, the ſiſter of Caius. This man offered to ſucceed to the dignity; but the conſuls artfully declined the conſideration of his pretenſions. Valerius Aſiaticus would willingly have put in his claim, but he was prevented by the remonſtrances of another Minutianus, who had been one of the conſpirators againſt Caius; for affairs were now in ſuch a ſituation, that any competition with Claudius would have produced a ſcene of horror and devaſtation not to be deſcribed; ſince his adherents were provided with great numbers of gladiators, and all kinds of military perſons, beſides a large body of watermen, and other people of inferior claſs, who had been procured to attend, in caſe their aſſiſtance ſhould be wanted. Several of the ſenators, who intended to have been candidates, were prevented from making their appearance, on account of this dangerous confuſion, as they apprehended that fatal conſequences might ariſe, both to themſelves and the pulblic.

Some of the ſenators lay claim to the dignity.

Day-light began now to approach, when Chæreas, with a conſiderable number of people, arrived, and making a ſignal to the ſoldiers to keep ſilence, intimated that he had ſomething to ſay, and wiſhed to be heard: but the anſwer was, that an emperor ought to be immediately made choice of, without loſs of time; and they prevented his ſpeaking by their vociferations. It was now evident to the ſenate, that this was not a proper time to think of adjuſting the government, when their authority was deſpiſed by the military, and the reverence due to their diſtinguiſhed rank made a jeſt of by the loweſt and moſt abandoned of the people. The conſpirators being informed of theſe ſentiments, grew perfectly outrageous; on which Chæreas, with an air of the utmoſt contempt, ſaid to them, that "If they would not be ſatisfied without an emperor, he would produce one for their ſervice, if they would but procure him an order from Eutychus, as a juſtification of his conduct." It is worthy of remark, that this Eutychus was a charioteer to Caius, a man of moſt abandoned character, who had ſerved his maſter in the vileſt offices. To this taunting ſpeech of Chæreas he added many other bitter invectives, declaring that he would ſooner produce to them the head of Claudius, than acknowledge him as an emperor; adding, "Has not a madman ſufficiently puniſhed us, but a fool muſt be our next choice?" But his remarks and reflections were equally loſt on the public: the ſoldiers, without regarding what he ſaid, inſtantly drew their ſwords, took their colours, and proceeded to find Claudius, in order to ſwear allegiance to him, as others had heretofore done.

The ſoldiers ſtill preſſing for an emperor, Chæreas addreſſes them in reproachful terms.

He inveighs againſt Claudius.

The ſenate was now abandoned by thoſe very people that ſhould have been its defenders; the conſuls were nearly reduced to the degree of private men, and the people in general almoſt diſtracted with grief and conſternation, on the reflection how unhappy their fate muſt be, after the inſults that had been offered to Claudius: every man, however, ſeemed to lay the blame of theſe misfortunes on others, in the wiſh to extenuate his own conduct. During the violence of this confuſion, Sabinus, one of the confederates, made his appearance, and ſolemnly proteſted that he would ſtab every man he met, ſooner than acknowledge the authority of Claudius; and, by ſeeing him in poſſeſſion of the empire, confeſs his own abject ſubmiſſion to ſlavery. Then turning to Chæreas, he ſaid, "How will you juſtify your conduct? Will you, who were one of the firſt aſſertors of the general liberty againſt Caius, recede from your magnanimous reſolution, in fear of death; as if a brave man could be happy who is not likewiſe free?" To this Chæreas replied, "No: I am determined that my liberty and life ſhall end together; but, at preſent, I ſhould be happy to know the ſentiments of Claudius."

The ſoldiers withdraw from the ſenate.

Sabinus proteſts againſt Claudius.

During this confuſed ſtate of public affairs, great crouds of people from all parts hurried to the camp, to pay their compliments to Claudius; and among theſe came Quintus Pompeius, one of the conſuls, who had acquired the particular enmity of the army, becauſe he had animated the ſenate to the ſupport of their liberties. On his coming forward to pay his reſpects, the ſoldiers drew their ſwords to attack him, and he muſt have fallen a ſacrifice to their rage, but that Claudius placed him by his ſide, and thus protected him. Some other ſenators, who came with Pompeius, were more roughly treated; ſeveral of them who advanced to ſalute Claudius, were kept back by blows; all of them were in great danger of their lives, and among them Aponius went away wounded. King Agrippa now ſpoke in their behalf to Claudius, who, on his requeſt, treated the ſenators and men of rank in a complaiſant and friendly manner: Agrippa obſerving that, when thoſe ſubjects were loſt, he would have no others but what he would bluſh to acknowledge. In purſuance of his advice, Claudius directed them to meet him at the palace, to which he was conveyed through the town in a litter, the way being cleared by a party of ſoldiers.

Quintus Pompeius, a conſul, aſſaulted by the ſoldiers, but protected by Claudius.

Agrippa adviſes moderation towards the ſenators.

Now Pollio, lately made captain of the guards to Claudius, had iſſued orders that none of the confederates ſhould appear in public; but Chæreas and Sabinus, two of the moſt diſtinguiſhed of them, preſumed to violate this order; in conſequence of which, as ſoon as Claudius was arrived at his palace, and his friends aſſembled round him,

Claudius condemns Chæreas to death.

him, he condemned Chæreas to death. Even the friends of Claudius deemed their conduct to have been inspired by principles of bravery: but as it was thought necessary to punish the treachery, by way of example, for the preservation of princes in future times, Chæreas was conveyed to the place of execution, with Lupus, and others of the conspirators. In his death he exhibited great serenity of mind; nor by a single look or action did he depart from the dignity of his character. On the contrary, Lupus behaved in a most dastardly manner, and Chæreas treated him with the utmost contempt on that account. When Lupus was stripped, he complained that he was cold, to which Chæreas replied, that "Wolves felt no cold," in allusion to the word lupus signifying wolf, as well as the name of a man. The executioner being prepared to do his office, Chæreas said, "Are you a master of the business of cutting throats, and has your sword a good edge?" After which he bade him use the same weapon with which he had killed Caius. At length the officer did his duty, and dispatched him at a single blow: but Lupus, afraid of the stroke of death, kept in continual motion, so that the executioner was obliged to give him several blows, by which he was much cut and bruised, before he could be put out of his pain. When the people, a few days afterwards, came to celebrate the feast of expiatory oblations to the spirits of their departed friends, they paid Chæreas equal honour with the others, by throwing their offerings into the fire, agreeable to the accustomed practice, and soliciting his pardon for their former ingratitude. Thus ended the life of Chæreas.

Intrepid behaviour of Chæreas, and pusillanimity of Lupus.

With regard to Sabinus, he not only received a pardon from Claudius, but was continued in the post that he had heretofore held, in consideration that he did not violate his trust, even in apparent treachery. Sabinus, however, was ill disposed to make a proper use of the mercy that had been extended to him, for he immediately sacrificed his life, by falling on the point of his sword.

Sabinus pardoned by Claudius, but kills himself.

CHAP. IV.

AGRIPPA confirmed in his Kingdom by CLAUDIUS. A Disturbance arises between the JEWS and the GREEKS. CLAUDIUS orders AGRIPPA to his Government. SIMON advanced to the Office of High-Priest. The Command of the Army given to SILAS. Some Inhabitants of DORIS dedicate a Statue to CÆSAR in the Synagogue of the JEWS. AGRIPPA complains to PETRONIUS of this Outrage.

CLAUDIUS was no sooner established in his government, than he made it his business to discharge all suspected persons from his army; which being done, he published an edict confirming Agrippa in the possession of the kingdom which Caius had heretofore bestowed on him; and herein the management and diligence of Agrippa in his service, were very much extolled. He likewise gave him the government of Judæa and Samaria, as having been a part of the kingdom of his grandfather Herod; and this he considered as an act of restitution of what the family had been formerly possessed of: and he also, of his own mere bounty, bestowed on him Abela, and the adjacent lands of mount Libanus, which had been the possession of Lysanias. Certain articles of agreement between this king, and the inhabitants of Rome, having been engraven on a copper-plate, were placed in the centre of the great market-place of that city, as a memorial to future ages.

The emperor discards suspected persons.

and confirms Agrippa in his government.

Claudius dismissed from prison his old friend Alexander; likewise Sysimachus, the officer of the customs, who had formerly been agent to Antonia, mother of Caius; but that prince, urged by passion, had imprisoned him. Claudius also contracted that his son Marcus should marry Berenice, the daughter of Agrippa; but the youth dying before the marriage was consummated, Agrippa gave the maid in wedlock to his brother Herod, on whom Claudius bestowed the kingdom of Chalcis, at the request of Agrippa.

During the reign of Caius, the Jews had been very much oppressed and persecuted by the people of Alexandria: but they now began to re-assume their courage, and applied to arms, which gave rise to a sedition between them and the Greeks. On the first advice of this disturbance, Claudius wrote to the governor of Egypt to use all possible endeavours to suppress it: and at the request of two kings, Agrippa and Herod, sent edicts to Alexandria and Syria, in favour of the Jews.

By the above-mentioned edicts Claudius Cæsar intimated the respect he had for the Jews: and as soon as he had issued them, he directed king Agrippa to repair to his government, having previously distinguished him by an abundance of honours, and given him a number of letters of special recommendation to all the governors and intendants of provinces through whose jurisdictions he was to travel. Agrippa adjusted his affairs in the most expeditious manner, and when this was done, he immediately went to Jerusalem, where he discharged himself of all his sacred vows, and offered up sacrifices agreeable to the rigid forms of the law; likewise obliging numbers of the Nazarenes to cut off their hair. Agrippa having been heretofore bound with an iron chain by order of Tiberius, a golden chain had been presented to him by Caius, of the same weight as that of iron: now this chain of gold Agrippa dedicated to God, directing that it should be hung up over the box of the holy treasure, in the vestry, as a lasting monument of the power and kindness of Providence, in affording relief to mankind in their deepest calamities;

Agrippa sent by Claudius to his kingdom.

He dedicates to God a golden chain.

calamities; and to intimate to the people in general, that the God who permits us to be oppreſſed, is able to raiſe us to our former ſtation. This conſecrated chain repreſented a lively picture of a prince become the ſport of fortune, and confined in irons; and then, as ſoon as imagination could form an idea, reſtored to his liberty, and becoming a greater prince than he was before. Nor is this any thing but what is agreeable to the viciſſitude of human affairs: for it often happens that things the moſt proſperous go at once to decay; while thoſe the moſt adverſe ſoon become proſperous!

Deposes Theophilus, and confers the high-prieſthood on Simon.

Agrippa having thus diſcharged his duty to God, his next ſtep was to diveſt Theophilus, the ſon of Ananus, of the office of high-prieſt, which he beſtowed on Simon, the ſon of Boethus, who bore the ſurname of Canthara. Now this Simon had two brothers, who had already officiated as high-prieſts, as had alſo their father, Boethus, whoſe daughter was married to king Herod, as hath been mentioned in another place. This ſingular diſtinction likewiſe happened in the family of Simon the high-prieſt, the ſon of Onias, whoſe three ſons ſucceeded to that office, during the Macedonian government, of which notice hath likewiſe been already taken.

He viſits Jeruſalem, and remits the tax on houſes.

The king had no ſooner adjuſted the affair of the pontificate, than he began immediately to pay his reſpects and acknowledgments to the inhabitants of Jeruſalem, for the honour they had done him, and the veneration they had ſhewn him, by aboliſhing the tax on houſes, which had been paid in former times; which he conſidered as an act of civility that could not eaſily be exceeded. Agrippa now appointed Silas to be general of his army, in conſideration of the many dangers and difficulties they had formerly encountered in the company of each other.

A ſtatue to Cæſar erected in the ſynagogue.

Some time after theſe events a number of young men belonging to Doris, impelled by the heat of their own imaginations, aſſembled together, and under pretence of a regard to religion, dedicated a ſtatue to Cæſar in the ſynagogue of the Jews. This circumſtance gave the utmoſt offence to Agrippa, who thought it would tend, in a high degree, to bring their religion into contempt: he therefore loſt no time in repairing to Petronius, the governor of Syria, to whom he made complaint of the inſult that had been offered: and Petronius expreſſed his abhorrence of the inſolence of the intruders, to whom he wrote a letter of rebuke, conceived in the following terms:

PUBLIUS PETRONIUS, Governor of SYRIA, by Appointment of TIBERIUS CLAUDIUS CÆSAR AUGUSTUS GERMANICUS, ſendeth greeting to the Magiſtrates of DORIS.

Letter from Petronius reprimanding the offenders.

"FORASMUCH as I have been certainly informed that, in oppoſition to the edict of Claudius Cæſar Auguſtus Germanicus, granting to the Jews full liberty to live agreeably to their own laws and cuſtoms, ſome of the people under your juriſdiction have been ſo preſuming, in defiance of the ſaid imperial edict, as to profane their ſynagogue, by erecting therein the ſtatue of Cæſar, which is an inſult on their religion, a violation of the freedom Cæſar hath granted them, an affront to their conſcience, and an indignity offered to the majeſty of Cæſar; for his image ought rather to have been placed in his own temple than in that of others, and by no means in the ſynagogue, particularly as the emperor had thought fit to permit every man the free indulgence of his own opinions. I wiſh to decline giving any orders as from myſelf in this buſineſs, after ſo atrocious an inſult offered to the authority of my maſter, who has not only gratified the Jews with reſpect to their religious ſentiments, but alſo allowed them the privileges of freemen, in common with the Greeks, in the ſeveral cities where they reſide; yet, as affairs are now ſituated, as an outrage hath been undoubtedly committed in defiance of the authority of Cæſar, and whereas you diſclaim all concern in the affair, which you attribute to the licentiouſneſs of a mob, you are therefore hereby required and commanded to deliver ſome of the offending parties to my officer Vitellius Proculus, that he may bring them to me to anſwer for their conduct, or at leaſt make him acquainted with their names, otherwiſe you will be ſuſpected of having been concerned in the buſineſs. In the interim, have a proper regard to the peace of the public, and quell thoſe turbulent ſpirits that are diſpoſed to create confuſion. With regard to my honoured maſter and myſelf, we are exceedingly anxious not to give the leaſt offence to the Jews by furniſhing them with any opportunity or pretext of doing juſtice to themſelves. However, for your fuller information in this affair, and that you may not plead ignorance of the opinion of the emperor, I herewith tranſmit you a copy of his edict to the people of Alexandria, which was communicated to me by the honoured prince Agrippa, as I was ſitting in the chair of juſtice, though it is already well known to the public; and this edict poſitively requires the ratification of all Cæſar's conceſſions in favour of the Jews. Wherefore I now give it you in ſtrict charge, that from henceforward you forbear all kind of litigations with that people, and peaceably permit them to worſhip God in their accuſtomed manner." In a word, Petronius gave ſuch directions in this buſineſs, that he ſoon rectified all the abuſes complained of, and prevented the like enormities being perpetrated at a further period.

Not long after this time, king Agrippa removed Simon, ſurnamed Canthara, from the office of high-prieſt, deſigning to reſtore Jonathan, the ſon of Ananus, as a perſon better qualified for that honourable diſtinction; but Jonathan declined it, with an acknowledgment of the favour intended by the king, whom he addreſſed in the following manner: "As the Almighty did not think me worthy of retaining that ſacred office, I reſt contented in the conſciouſneſs of having once worn the holy veſtments. I

could, originally, have better juſtified my entrance into that holy order than I now could my re-aſſumption of the dignity: but, Sir, as you ſeem to pay a high regard to the worthineſs of the party, permit me to recommend to your majeſty my brother, who is a man uncorrupted by the vices of this world, blameleſs and without offence before God and man, and of courſe highly proper to fill this dignified ſtation." This candid and modeſt behaviour of Jonathan ſo pleaſed the king, that he readily agreed to his reſignation of the office, which he beſtowed on his brother Matthias. In a ſhort ſpace of time after this, Petronius was diſmiſſed from the government of Syria, and Marſus ſucceeded to that honourable poſt.

CHAP. V.

SILAS, giving Inſtances of his Pride and Impertinence, AGRIPPA ſends him to Priſon, but afterwards invites him to Court. For his reproachful Anſwer, he is again ordered to Priſon. JERUSALEM fortified by AGRIPPA, but the Work is ſtopped by CLAUDIUS. Bounty and Magnificence of AGRIPPA. He goes from BERYTUS to TIBERIAS, and receives Royal Viſits. ELIONÆUS made High-Prieſt, inſtead of MATTHIAS. Games in Honour of CÆSAR. Blaſphemous Compliments to AGRIPPA. An Owl perches over his Head. He becomes violently tormented, reproaches his Flatterers, acknowledges his Frailty, and dies. Account of his Revenue and Children. The Ingratitude of CÆSAREA and SEBASTE. CUSPIUS FADUS entruſted with the Command.

Ambition and vanity of Silas, who is ſent to priſon by Agrippa.

SILAS, who was general to Agrippa, contemplating his faithfulneſs to the king, the imminent dangers he had encountered with him, and the difficulties he had undergone in his ſervice, thought that as they had been friends and aſſociates in the diſtreſſes of war, they had a right to an equal ſhare in the honour and prerogative of government. Having meditated on theſe circumſtances, he conſidered himſelf equal to the king, whom he treated with unwarrantable liberties. He was moſt inſolent in his common diſcourſe, at one time boaſting of his own merit, and then inſulting the king with his former low ſituation; frequently reminding him of the great ſervices he had done him, the pains he had taken, and the hazards he had run to contribute to his gratification. Theſe kind of ſpeeches, often repeated, had the appearance of reproach, and grew exceedingly tireſome to the king, who thought the freedom that was taken was greater than good manners would warrant; for the man who has been in a low ſituation does not like to be reminded of it when he riſes to a more elevated rank; and it diſplays equal meanneſs and ignorance to reproach a man with obligations conferred.

Agrippa diſpoſed to ſhew favour to Silas, but, for his reproachful conduct, ſends him again to priſon.

The behaviour of Silas became, at length, ſo rude, that the king was provoked beyond all patience, and, in the violence of his paſſion, deprived him of his command, and ſent him to his own country as a priſoner. But when Agrippa came afterwards to reflect on the ſeverity he had uſed towards a perſon to whom he had ſo many obligations, his heart began to relent; and the anniverſary of his birth-day now approaching, when all perſons began to make preparations to celebrate the royal feſtival, he ſent for Silas, to make one of the company; but the latter, who was a man that prided himſelf in ſpeaking his mind freely, and particularly in caſes where he thought himſelf offended, addreſſed the people who brought him the invitation in the following manner—"You perceive, gentlemen, the honour that is intended me by the king; but his preſent obliging diſpoſition will be of ſhort continuance; and this conduct is but a ſpecimen of his former behaviour. He has deprived me of my commiſſion, and deſtroyed my reputation, as far as lay in his power; and does he think that I will now refrain from ſpeaking the truth, or ceaſe declaring my opinion, while I am ſupported by the conſciouſneſs of my own integrity? No: the public ſhall be appriſed of the diſtreſs from which I have relieved him, and the danger I have encountered for his ſake; and how am I rewarded but by a chain and a dungeon! Injuries like theſe ought not to be forgotten, nor to paſs unrevenged: take this anſwer to the king your maſter." It was now evident to the king, that the obſtinacy of Silas was not to be overcome; wherefore he was again ordered to priſon.

Agrippa is prevented by Claudius from fortifying Jeruſalem.

Agrippa now gave his attention to the city, and fortified the walls of what was called the new town, at the public expence; building them higher, thicker, and ſtronger than they formerly were; and would finally have rendered Jeruſalem impregnable, but that Marſus, governor of Syria, ſent private intelligence of it to Claudius, fearing there might be ſome farther deſign; on which, the emperor inſtantly wrote to Agrippa, to forbid his proceeding; whereupon the work was ſuſpended.

Diſpoſition of Agrippa greatly excels that of Herod.

Agrippa was by nature ſo bounteous, that he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his liberal actions, having no higher pleaſure than in ſhewing the generoſity of his temper on all proper occaſions. Herein he widely differed from his predeceſſor Herod, who was of a deceitful, harſh, and cruel diſpoſition; excluſive of which he diſtinguiſhed the Greeks above the Jews in a moſt partial manner, which is evidenced in the treaſure he expended on foreign works of architecture and elegance; ſuch as theatres, temples, galleries, bathing-houſes, and places of parade: whereas he never put himſelf to any conſiderable expence in the erection of public works to the honour

nour of the Jews. On the contrary, Agrippa was, in the higheſt degree, gentle and humane, a friend and patron of ſtrangers, and of mankind in general; but in a more particular manner bountiful and compaſſionate to thoſe of his own profeſſion and country. To gratify his liberal wiſhes, he choſe Jeruſalem for his conſtant reſidence. He was exact and punctual in the duties of religion, and offered a ſacrifice every day; yet he was free from all taints of ſuperſtition. One remarkable inſtance of his benevolent diſpoſition will appear from the following narrative.

Simon calumniates Agrippa, who pardons him.

At a time when Agrippa was at Cæſarea, a certain lawyer, named Simon, publicly reflected on him as a man of diſorderly life, who ought, in juſtice, to be puniſhed for his irregularities, agreeable to the practice of the Jews in ſuch caſes. Of this circumſtance the governor ſent intelligence to the king, who inſtantly tranſmitted an order for the attendance of Simon, who accordingly went to him, and arrived at a time when the king was at the theatre; whereupon his majeſty called to him, and, in a ſtrain of great humanity, ſaid, "If you know any thing of me, my friend, that is diſagreeable, I would wiſh you to make public declaration of it in this place." Simon could ſay nothing in his juſtification; but, in a confuſed manner, begged the king's pardon, which was inſtantly granted (contrary to the general expectation), and received an immediate gratification, excluſive of the pardon; for Agrippa prided himſelf more in the exerciſe of an act of humanity than in that of revenge, and thought mercy, rather than pride, to be the characteriſtic of a king.

Agrippa's great liberality to the inhabitants of Berytus.

In every place where Agrippa arrived, ſome proofs were given of his bounty and magnificence; but Berytus was diſtinguiſhed above the reſt; for in that place, at an immenſe expence, he erected a theatre and an amphitheatre, of equal ſplendor, together with a number of bagnios and arched walks, which were all finiſhed in the higheſt degree of perfection. Theſe diſtinguiſhed buildings were dedicated with a very extraordinary degree of pomp: variety of ſhews were exhibited in the theatre, with a diverſity of muſic, and other kinds of entertainments. In the amphitheatre, a number of gladiators exhibited their feats in ſingle combat; and this being ended, no leſs than ſeven hundred malefactors were expoſed to another ſeven hundred, forming the reſemblance of a battle, and they fought till every man was deſtroyed; by this plan, the execution of public juſtice being rendered a matter of entertainment to the ſpectators.

At Tiberias, he entertains four kings with extraordinary magnificence.

Soon after this, Agrippa went from Berytus to Tiberias, a city of Galilee, where ſeveral royal perſonages paid him their compliments; as Antiochus, king of Comagena, Samſigeran, king of the Emenſenes; Cotys, king of the Leſſer Armenia; Polemon, an inferior prince of Pontus; and excluſive of theſe, Herod, king of Chalcis, and the brother of Agrippa. Theſe were received and entertained with a degree of royal hoſpitality becoming the character of Agrippa and his viſitors; and it was deemed much to the honour of the former to have ſo many gueſts of eminent diſtinction. While the above illuſtrious perſons were with Agrippa, Marſus, the governor of Syria, proceeded to pay him a viſit, and Agrippa, through reſpect to the ſovereignty of the Roman empire, went ſeven miles from town to meet him: but the above viſit, as it afterwards happened, occaſioned a diſſenſion between them; for Marſus, finding ſo many kings aſſembled in ſuch harmony, was apprehenſive that the public ſafety might be endangered by ſo powerful an alliance. Wherefore he diſpatched meſſengers to them reſpectively, directing that they ſhould depart without loſs of time, which circumſtance ſo diſguſted Agrippa, that he had ever afterwards the utmoſt contempt for Marſus.

Agrippa removes Matthias, and makes Elionæus high-prieſt.

Agrippa now diveſted Matthias of the office of high-prieſt, which he beſtowed on Elionæus, the ſon of Cithæus. In the third year of his reign over all Judæa, Agrippa made a journey to Cæſarea, formerly known by the name of Straton's tower, where a great number of the nobility, and other perſons of rank, aſſembled from all parts of the province, to be preſent at a ſolemnity of games and ſhews, which he inſtituted in honour of Cæſar. Early in the morning of the ſecond day of this feſtival, Agrippa went to the theatre, habited in a ſilver ſtuff, of ſo rich and ſingular a texture, that the eyes of the people were dazzled by the reflexion, as the beams of the riſing ſun ſtruck on it. The rays of light that emitted therefrom appeared to the vulgar to have ſomething divine in them, and inſpired them equally with ideas of fear and veneration: and, on this occaſion, a fawning crew of contemptible flatterers extolled him as a deity, and in a formal manner intreated him to pardon the ſins ariſing from their ignorance, when they thought he was a mere mortal; whereas, they were now convinced that he was a being of ſuperior rank, and ſomething more than human.

His ſplendid appearance induces the profane people to revere him as a god.

Not rebuking them for their impious adulation, he is ſtruck with a violent and mortal diſeaſe

Gratified in a high degree by this odious flattery, he ſought not to ſuppreſs it, as he ſhould have done; but while, in the pride of his heart, he was contemplating on his ſuperior dignity, and lifting his eyes towards heaven, he beheld an owl over his head, ſitting on a rope, which he conſidered as the fore-runner of miſchief, as a ſimilar circumſtance had heretofore been of good fortune: nor was he miſtaken, for he inſtantly felt a violent pain at his heart, and convulſions in his bowels. In the extremity of his torments, he addreſſed his ſurrounding friends, ſaying, "Now behold your god is ſentenced to death: by this inevitable fate I ſhall prove the abſurdity and impiety of flattery, and by my death convince the world that I am not immortal.

mortal. The will of Heaven be done! I have had no reaſon, during my life, to envy the happineſs of any prince exiſting, but ambition has been my ruin!"

The people mourn for his illneſs, and are ſolicitous for his recovery.

He had no ſooner ſpoken theſe words than his pains increaſed to ſuch a degree, that it was neceſſary to remove him into the palace; and a rumour immediately ſpread through the town that the king was at the point of death. Hereupon, the people in general, men, women, and children, adopted the cuſtomary mode of cloathing themſelves in ſackcloth, and united in prayers to God for the recovery of the king. In the interim, Agrippa, who was in an apartment at the top of the palace, could not refrain from tears on ſeeing his mourning ſubjects proſtrate on the pavement below. His extreme pain continued, unabated, from that time to the end of five days, when he died, in the ſeventh year of his reign, and the fifty-fourth of his age. During the firſt four years of his reign he governed under Caius the emperor, Philip being tetrarch during the firſt three years; and in the fourth Herod being joint tetrarch with him. Claudius was emperor during the remaining three years, and, excluſive of the government of Judæa, had beſtowed on him thoſe of Cæſarea and Samaria. His annual income was reckoned at twelve hundred myriads; but notwithſtanding this revenue, he was obliged to borrow; for the liberality of his diſpoſition was ſuch, that his expences exceeded his receipts. Silas being now in priſon, and Herod, prince of Chalcis, and Chelcias, general of the troops, being both his inveterate enemies, diſpatched Ariſton to deſtroy him, as by the order of the king, before his death was made public.

Death of Agrippa.

His revenue and profuſe liberality.

His children.

Agrippa's ſurviving family conſiſted of a ſon of his own name, aged ſeventeen years, and three daughters; of whom the eldeſt, Berenice, when ſixteen years old, was married to her uncle Herod. The ſecond, Mariamne, was ten years old; and the youngeſt, Druſilla, ſix years. Mariamne was contracted to Julius Archelaus, the ſon of Chelcias, and her ſiſter to Epiphanes, the ſon of Antiochus, king of Comagena.

Ingratitude of Cæſarea and Sebaſte to Agrippa's memory.

The death of king Agrippa was no ſooner made known to the public, than the inhabitants of Cæſarea and Sebaſte, inſtead of making a proper acknowledgment of the many obligations he had conferred on them, loaded his memory with the moſt ſcandalous and opprobrious epithets that their imaginations could poſſibly give riſe to. It happened that at this time there was a number of ſoldiers at thoſe places, who, in aid of the calumny, took the ſtatues of Agrippa's three daughters from the palace, and conveyed them in triumph to public brothels, with brutiſh terms of reproach that are too infamous for repetition. They feaſted, and played the tricks of buffoons in the ſtreets, adorned their heads with flowers and garlands, perfumes and ointments, as if they were ſacrificing to Charon; and likewiſe drank libations of thanks for the king's death. In this manner they entertained themſelves, regardleſs of all the favours they had received from, and the obligations they owed to Agrippa, or of thoſe due to Herod, his grandfather, who had founded thoſe ſplendid cities, and the temples and ports appertaining thereto.

Claudius's propoſal for the ſon of Agrippa to ſucceed his father is over-ruled by the courtiers.

At this time Agrippa, the ſon of the deceaſed king, was at Rome; being educated in the court of Claudius, who, being informed of the death of the father, and the horrid inſults that had been offered to his memory by the ungrateful inhabitants of Cæſarea and Sebaſte, expreſſed great concern at the loſs of the king, and equal indignation at the ingratitude of the other parties: wherefore he formed an idea of immediately ſending the preſent Agrippa to take poſſeſſion of his father's kingdom, which was equally agreeable to an oath he had taken, as conſiſtent with common reaſon and equity. But the emperor was eaſily diverted from carrying his plan into execution, by the perſuaſion of a number of favourites who ſurrounded him. They urged that it was unſafe to truſt ſo important a buſineſs in the hands of a man ſo young and unexperienced; for the commiſſion was of ſo difficult a kind, that it would furniſh ample employment for the moſt acute genius in the empire.

Cuſpius Fadus appointed to the government of Judæa.

Theſe artful inſinuations induced Claudius to change his mind, and thereon he deputed Cuſpius Fadus to the command, but paid ſo great a reſpect to the memory of the deceaſed, that he ſtrictly charged him not to receive Marſus into the government, on the conſideration that he had been the determined enemy of Agrippa; but he gave him ſtill more particular directions to puniſh ſeverely the inhabitants of Cæſarea and Sebaſte, on account of the indignities they had offered to Agrippa and his daughters. He commiſſioned him likewiſe to diſpatch to Pontius five cohorts, and the other troops that were in thoſe two cities; and to cauſe that their places ſhould be ſupplied by a ſelect body of men from the Roman legions then in Syria. This laſt order, however, was not obeyed; for, on an earneſt application, Claudius was induced to permit thoſe troops ſtill to remain in Judæa. From this circumſtance aroſe many great calamities which were afterwards ſuffered by the Jews, and which gave riſe to a ſeries of war when Florus had the command; ſo that Veſpaſian, though the conqueror, was obliged to compel them to quit the country.

BOOK

BOOK XX.

Containing the HISTORY of the TRANSACTIONS from the YEAR of the WORLD 4009 to 4030.

CHAP. I.

CLAUDIUS beſtows the Government of SYRIA on CASSIUS LONGINUS. A Rupture between the JEWS and PHILADELPHIANS. FADUS puts to Death THOLOMÆUS, the Captain of a deſperate Band of Robbers. AGRIPPA petitions that the JEWS may continue in Poſſeſſion of the holy Robes, and his Requeſt is granted. CLAUDIUS's Letter to the Senate. HEROD appoints JOSEPH to the Office of High-Prieſt.

Claudius makes Caſſius Longinus governor of Syria.

SOME ſhort time ſubſequent to the deceaſe of Agrippa, which we have ſpoken of in the preceding book, the emperor Claudius manifeſted the reſpect he entertained towards the memory of his late royal friend, by removing Marſus from the government of Syria, and appointing Caſſius Longinus to ſucceed him, agreeable to the requeſt which Agrippa had made and frequently repeated in divers letters to Claudius.

The Jews and Philadelphians taking out, the governor puniſhes ſeveral of the Jewiſh ringleaders for their ſeditious outrages.

At this period, Cuſpius Fadus aſſumed the government of Judæa; and in virtue of the commiſſion entruſted to him, he determined to ſuppreſs an inſurrection which then prevailed between the Jews reſident on the other ſide the river Jordan, and the Philadelphians, reſpecting the boundaries of a village called Mais, which was inhabited by a people remarkable for their courageous and warlike diſpoſitions. The Jews having taken up arms, and put ſeveral of the Philadelphians to death, without authority from their ſuperiors for purſuing ſuch violent meaſures, Fadus was ſo highly incenſed againſt them on account of their inſolent and ſeditious proceedings, that he cauſed Annibas, Amaram, and Eleazar, the principal ringleaders, to be put in irons; and he ſoon afterwards ſentenced Annibas to death, and his two companions to baniſhment. "If (ſaid he) they ſuppoſed themſelves to be aggrieved by the Philadelphians, it was their duty to ſubmit their complaints to my conſideration. But ſince they have offered ſo daring an affront as to conſtitute themſelves the judges of their own grievances, and have inſolently taken into their own hands a power that does not belong to them; to diſpenſe with inflicting the puniſhment they have incurred, would be inconſiſtent with the duties of the office which I am appointed to execute."

Tholomæus, leader of a band of robbers, ſeized and executed.

Soon after the above-mentioned ſedition had been quelled, Tholomæus, the captain of a band of robbers who had committed great devaſtation in Arabia and Idumæa, was brought before him, and he ſentenced the delinquent to be put to death; he alſo purſued the moſt effectual meaſures, with unremitting aſſiduity, for extirpating all other invaders of the public peace, and deſpoilers of private property. He then ſent to the prieſts and principal men of Jeruſalem, requiring them, under the authority of a mandate granted by Cæſar, to reſtore the pontifical veſtments, particularly aſſigned to the uſe of the high-prieſt, to the caſtle of Antonia, where they had been depoſited in ancient days. It being apprehended that the requiſition for reſtoring the ſacred robe and ſacerdotal ſtole to the caſtle of Antonia might exaſperate the multitude, the troops were drawn up, in order to preſerve the public tranquillity; and the prieſts and other leading people of Jeruſalem, judging that to put an abſolute negative on the demand would be attended with danger, applied to Fadus and Longinus, reſpectfully ſoliciting that they might be permitted to repreſent their caſe to Claudius, and that proceedings might be ſuſpended till they ſhould obtain the emperor's anſwer to their petition. Their requeſt was complied with, on the condition of delivering up their children as hoſtages, to which they readily conſented; and the deputies in behalf of the Jews departed for Rome. Information being given to Agrippa, who was at that time reſident at the court of Cæſar, of the arrival of the deputies, and the buſineſs they were employed to negociate, he petitioned that Cæſar would permit the ſacred veſtments ſtill to continue in the poſſeſſion of the Jews, and that, if he ſhould be pleaſed to grant the requeſt, he would tranſmit an order to Fadus, ſignify-

The ſacred veſtments ordered to remain with, and be depoſited in, the hands of the Jews.

ſignifying his benevolent determination. Hereupon, Claudius cauſed the deputies to be called into his preſence, and informed them that he granted the favour they were commiſſioned to ſupplicate, bidding them make acknowledgments to Agrippa, whoſe interceſſion had influenced him in favour of the Jews.

Herod, brother of the late king Agrippa, nominated by Claudius to the charge of the temple, and appoints Joſeph high-prieſt.

On the interceſſion of Herod, prince of Chalcis, and brother of the deceaſed Agrippa, Claudius nominated him to the charge of the temple, the holy veſſels, and other treaſures, and inveſted him with the authority of appointing the high-prieſt; and, till the concluſion of the Jewiſh wars, this power remained in the family of Herod. Having removed Canthara, Herod advanced Joſeph, the ſon of Caneus, to ſucceed him in the pontifical dignity.

CHAP. II.

IZATES King of ADIABENA, and HELEN, his Mother, embrace the JEWISH Religion. MONOBASUS ſettles the Province of CÆRON upon IZATES, ſoon after which he expires, and IZATES is declared his Succeſſor. All the Brothers of IZATES, excepting the elder, ſent as Hoſtages to CÆSAR and ARTABANUS. HELEN goes to JERUSALEM, where ſhe generouſly affords great Relief to the People during a terrible Famine. ARTABANUS dying, is ſucceeded by his Son VARDANES. Having made War upon IZATES, VARDANES is deſtroyed by his own Subjects. IZATES involved in various Diſputes and Difficulties. His Death, and is ſucceeded by MONOBASUS. The Remains of IZATES and HELEN interred at JERUSALEM. THEUDAS, a falſe Prophet, put to Death by FADUS.

Extraordinary event relating to Monobaſus and Helen.

ABOUT this period, Helen, queen of Adiabena, and Izates * her ſon, embraced the Jewiſh religion on an occaſion which we ſhall hereafter relate. The king of Adiabena, who was named Monobaſus, otherwiſe Bazeus, became violently enamoured of his ſiſter Helen, and eſpouſed her. It happened that when they were in bed together, at a time when Helen was pregnant, her huſband threw his arm over her body, and, while in that poſition, he heard a voice, bidding him remove his hand, leſt it ſhould injure the unborn infant, which would prove an object of particular care of the Divine Providence. He was aſleep when he heard the voice, but having awakened, and being ſomewhat recovered from his ſurpriſe, he communicated the extraordinary circumſtance to his wife. In the due courſe of time ſhe was delivered of a male child, to whom the father gave the name of Izates. Before the birth of Izates, he had a ſon, by the ſame princeſs, whom he called after himſelf, and by different wives he had ſeveral other ſons.

Partiality of Monobaſus for Izates, who is envied by his brethren.

Monobaſus entertained a more tender affection for Izates than for the reſt of his children, and his partiality was ſo apparent that they conceived a moſt intolerable envy towards the favourite. The king perceived their jealouſy, but was inclined to attribute it to a deſire they ſeverally entertained of obtaining the firſt place in his eſteem, rather than to conſider it as proceeding from deliberate and ſettled rancour: but obſerving that matters daily bore a more threatening aſpect, he determined to remove Izates into a ſituation which ſhould ſecure him againſt the effects of the enmity of his brothers. He therefore ſent him to the fort of Spaſinus; and, in order to ſecure him a favourable reception, furniſhed him with powerful recommendations and magnificent preſents to king Abennerigus, who received the youth with remarkable tenderneſs and reſpect, and at length conceived ſo high an eſteem for him, that he gave him in marriage his own daughter Samachas, and with her, by way of dower, a tract of land which produced a conſiderable revenue.

Izates marries Samachas.

Monobaſus beſtows on his favourite ſon the province of Cæron.

Being now arrived to a very advanced age, and apprehending that his diſſolution was ſpeedily approaching, Monobaſus was exceedingly deſirous of once more beholding his favourite ſon, whom he therefore recalled from Spaſinus; and after embracing him with the greateſt tenderneſs and affection that can be imagined, he aſſigned over to him the province of Cæron*, which was highly celebrated for the production of various kinds of aromatic plants of the moſt excellent quality, and for containing the veſtiges of Noah's ark, which were expoſed to view, and eſteemed matters of great curioſity. During the remaining part of his father's life, Izates reſided in the country of Cæron.

Death of Monobaſus.

In a ſhort time the king reſigned his life, and on the very day of his deceaſe the queen aſſembled the miniſters, commanders, and principal officers, and informed them, that her late huſband had elected Izates to ſucceed him in the ſovereign dignity, deeming him more eminently qualified than either of his other ſons for diſcharging the duties of the royal ſtation; but ſhe requeſted their advice, obſerving, that a private opinion would not operate to procure the happineſs of a prince, in oppoſition to the general ſentiments of the people. The queen directed this compliment in order to diſcover the intereſts they were inclined to

* Ezates, according to Tacitus.

* Cardon, in Bochart's Geographia Sacra, l. 1. c. 3.

ſupport,

ſupport. According to the eſtabliſhed cuſtom of the country, the miniſters, when the queen had concluded her addreſs, made a profound reverence, and then proceeded to inform her, that they were perfectly ſatisfied as to the juſt preference of the deceaſed king towards Izates, whom they were unanimouſly deſirous of advancing to the regal dignity.

Izates is declared his ſucceſſor.

They ſaid the people were ready to acknowledge allegiance to Izates, and that if the queen judged it expedient, they would themſelves engage to deſtroy the brothers, and ſuch other relations as it might be apprehended would diſpute the right of Izates to aſſume the throne. Helen thanked them for the inſtance they had ſhewn of their zealous attachment to her ſon, but ſaid, ſhe deemed it improper to take any meaſures againſt the brothers, or other branches of the family, without the ſanction of Izates's approbation. Apprehending that they ſhould not be able to prevail upon the queen to conſent to the death of the brothers, the council urged that the ſafety of the new king rendered it neceſſary to impriſon them, and intruſt the adminiſtration of government to a perſon whom the queen might approve, till the arrival of Izates. The queen acquieſced in the meaſures laſt recommended by the council, and nominated Monobaſus, the elder brother, to aſſume the office of viceroy. She then placed the crown upon the head of Monobaſus, delivered to him the ſignet-ring and royal robe, called the ſampſera, which had belonged to his father, and inveſted him with the full power of government during the abſence of Izates, who returned to Adiabena immediately upon receiving intelligence of the death of his father; and, on his arrival, Monobaſus reſigned his authority with the utmoſt readineſs.

The government intruſted to Monobaſus as viceroy.

Izates and queen Helen become Jews.

During the reſidence of Izates at the fort of Spaſinus, a Jew merchant named Ananias, contracted an acquaintance with ſome ladies of the court, and inſtructed them in the knowledge of God, according to the principles of the Jewiſh religion. Theſe women introduced the merchant to Izates, whom he alſo converted, and in compliance with the earneſt intreaties of the prince, accompanied him to Adiabena, when he was recalled a ſhort time previous to the deceaſe of his father. It happened that, at the ſame time, another Jew converted queen Helen to a belief in our religious principles.

Izates ſends his brothers as hoſtages to Cæſar, and Artabanus king of Parthia.

Upon finding that his brothers and other relations were impriſoned, Izates was extremely concerned, and the ſilent admonitions of conſcience would not permit him to conſent to their death, or to detain them in chains: but ſtill he reflected that if he reſtored them to liberty, the provocation to revenge which they had received might render his own ſafety very precarious: therefore, to avoid either extreme, he ſent them, accompanied by their children, as hoſtages, ſome to Claudius Cæſar, at Rome, and the reſt to Artabanus, king of Parthia.

Zeal of Izates for the Jewiſh rites and ceremonies.

When Izates perceived the partiality of his mother to the religion of the Jews, he deemed it proper to make a profeſſion of his own faith: and conceiving that while he remained in a ſtate of uncircumciſion he could not properly call himſelf a Jew, he determined to ſubmit to the operation, which he conſidered as eſſentially neceſſary to his perfecting himſelf. The queen endeavoured to diſſuade him from this meaſure, being fearful that it muſt neceſſarily be followed by very dangerous conſequences, ſince it could not be expected that the people would preſerve their allegiance to a profeſſed Jew. The advice of his mother occaſioned the king to defer the execution of his deſign, on the propriety of which he conſulted Ananias, who declared himſelf perfectly of the queen's opinion. He ſaid, that if the king perſiſted in his purpoſe, he muſt himſelf be abſolutely neceſſitated to depart from Adiabena, in order to avoid the vengeance of the people. who would conſider him as a public ſeducer, and an enemy to the government; adding, that the adoration of the Almighty being an act of the heart, the external ceremony of circumciſion would be diſpenſed with, when the peace and ſafety of a whole people would be endangered by a compliance, provided an implicit obedience was obſerved to the laws and precepts of Moſes. Theſe, and other arguments of the like nature, reconciled the king to the notions of the queen and Ananias.

Ananias exempts him from circumciſion.

Some time having elapſed, a Jew, named Eleazar, came from Galilee to Adiabena; he was a man of great knowledge in the Moſaic inſtitutions, and it was reſolved for him to remove every doubt which had revived in the king's mind reſpecting the neceſſity of circumciſion. Eleazar being introduced to the king, found him engaged in the ſtudy of the books of Moſes, and ſaid to him, "I fear, Sir, you are not appriſed of the affront you offer to the law, and of your high offence to the Almighty; for to be acquainted with the holy will is not ſufficient: a due conformity to the ſacred commandments of the Lord is abſolutely neceſſary to ſalvation. On what motive can you remain in ſo dangerous a ſtate as that of uncircumciſion? If you are ſtill ignorant of the law which pronounces circumciſion to be neceſſary, continue to read, and you will be convinced that to diſpenſe with ſo eſſential a ceremony is to be guilty of an horrid impiety." This remonſtrance had ſo powerful an effect upon Izates, that he commanded the immediate attendance of a ſurgeon in a withdrawing room, where he ſubmitted to the operation. Having informed his mother and Ananias of the tranſaction, they expreſſed the moſt terrible anxiety for the ſafety of the king's perſon and government; ſaying, that if the leaſt intimation of the circumſtance was communicated to the people, an inſurrection muſt be the inevitable conſequence, ſince they would never ſubmit to be governed by a prince profeſſing a faith

Eleazar enforces the neceſſity of it.

Izates being convinced, complies with his advice, and is circumciſed.

a faith contrary to the eſtabliſhed religion of the country: and they were greatly alarmed on their own accounts, apprehending that in the general outrage they ſhould fall a ſacrifice to public vengeance, under the ſuppoſition of being the adviſers and abettors of an act ſo violently militating againſt the inclinations of the people. The caſe of Izates is to be conſidered as an admirable leſſon to mankind; for it pleaſed the Almighty to deliver him from the moſt deſperate and hopeleſs ſituation; thereby intimating that virtue and piety will infallibly meet with due reward; but this matter will be treated of more at large in the ſequel.

Helen goes to Jeruſalem, and relieves the people during a famine.

Izates being eſtabliſhed in the peaceable poſſeſſion of his government, and having obtained in his own country, as well as in foreign parts, the reputation of being a juſt and wiſe prince, eſteemed by his fellow creatures, and particularly favoured by the Almighty; the queen conſidered, that ſince affairs were ſo happily ſituated in Adiabena, ſhe might reaſonably indulge an inclination ſhe had conceived of viſiting the holy temple at Jeruſalem, and of performing worſhip, and offering ſacrifice, according to the eſtabliſhed regulations. Izates highly approved of the intended expedition, provided his mother with immenſe ſums of money, and proceeded with her ſeveral days on her journey. At this time ſo terrible a famine prevailed in Jeruſalem, that many of the inhabitants daily periſhed; the arrival of the benevolent queen therefore proved a very happy circumſtance; for ſhe had no ſooner received information of the public neceſſities, than ſhe diſpatched meſſengers to procure the means of ſubſiſtence. In a ſhort time great quantities of wheat were brought from Alexandria, dried figs from the iſland of Cyprus; and theſe and other articles which had been procured by her order, ſhe cauſed to be diſtributed among the diſtreſſed Jews, whereby ſhe obtained a degree of reputation adequate to the ſeaſonable proof ſhe had afforded of her munificent and liberal diſpoſition. Upon receiving intelligence of the famine, Izates ſent vaſt ſums conſigned to the governors of Jeruſalem, to be applied to the uſe of ſuch of the people as ſtood in need of relief.

Izates ſends them a ſupply of money.

Artabanus, on a conſpiracy of his ſubjects, ſolicits the protection of Izates.

The principal men at the court of Parthia having engaged in a conſpiracy, they became at length ſo formidable, and proceeded in their deſigns with ſo much reſolution, that the king judged it would be exceedingly dangerous to remain in his own dominions; he therefore determined to requeſt the advice and aſſiſtance of Izates, as the moſt probable means of re-eſtabliſhing himſelf in his former ſtate of ſafety and power. In purſuance of this deſign Artabanus collected about a thouſand of his relations and moſt truſty friends, and, attended by theſe perſons, proceeded to meet Izates. The kings, who were not perſonally known to each other, met on the public way; but, from the great ſplendor and magnificence of his equipage, Artabanus readily concluded that the party approaching could be no other than Izates; therefore advancing towards him, he ſaluted him, according to the cuſtom of the country, with a reverence called *adoration*, and then addreſſed him to the following purpoſe: "Let me not be the object of your contempt, moſt illuſtrious prince! becauſe you now ſee me in the degraded ſituation of an humble ſupplicant. From the regal dignity it is my unhappy fortune to be reduced to the obſcurity of a private ſtation; and the extremity of my circumſtances compels me to ſeek a reſource in your majeſty's beneficence; and permit me to declare, that I entertain hopes of receiving ſuccour from a prince whoſe excellent underſtanding will naturally ſuggeſt to him a juſt idea of the viciſſitudes to which human life is expoſed, and who will reflect that his own elevated ſtation affords no perfect ſecurity againſt a change of fortune ſimilar to that which I have unhappily experienced. I muſt further obſerve, that it is the common intereſt of princes to aſſiſt and protect each other, for the ſucceſs of a revolt againſt one prince ſerves to encourage the reſtleſs and factious ſpirits of other nations to conſpiracy and rebellion." The addreſs of Artabanus was accompanied with tears and a countenance that plainly evinced the dejected ſtate of his heart.

Supplicant addreſs of Artabanus to Izates.

The king treats him with the utmoſt kindneſs and reſpect, promiſing him aſſiſtance.

When Izates underſtood that his ſuppliant was the king of Arabia, he inſtantly diſmounted from his horſe, and in the moſt kind and encouraging manner exhorted him not to deſpair, but rather to cheriſh the hope that Divine Providence would reſtore him to his former exalted ſtation. "Be aſſured, royal Sir (ſaid Izates), that you will find in me a ſteady friend, and a more conſiderable ally than you expect; for I will re-eſtabliſh you in the full poſſeſſion of your former authority, or relinquiſh my own crown in your favour." Izates now obliged Artabanus to mount his horſe, declaring his intention of accompanying him on foot, in acknowledgment of his ſuperiority; but in this Artabanus refuſed to comply, ſaying he would inſtantly diſmount if Izates did not take horſe and lead the way. At length Izates complied, and conducted Artabanus to his palace, obſerving towards him every mark of diſtinction, honour, and reſpect. He complimented him with the firſt place at all entertainments and other meetings, and in every other inſtance ſhewed him the greateſt reſpect; for he regulated his conduct according to the former ſtate of Artabanus, without deducting any thing for the unhappy revolution of his fortune, which he juſtly conſidered as a circumſtance to which every ſovereign was conſtantly expoſed.

Izates writes to the Parthians, recommending to recall their king, and engages to indemnify the

Izates now diſpatched letters to the Parthians, earneſtly intreating them to recall Artabanus to his dominions, giving his word of honour, and offering, if they ſhould deem it neceſſary, to ratify it by the ſolemnity of an oath, that, on condition of their compliance, he would become

discontented party.

come engaged that a full pardon ſhould be granted for all paſt offences. Their anſwer was rather an evaſion than an abſolute refuſal; for they urged, that having elected a man named Cinnamus to the ſovereignty, an attempt to diſpoſſeſs him of the authority would inflame the populace to an ungovernable outrage. Cinnamus, who had been brought up under the care and direction of Artabanus, was greatly affected at the miſerable ſituation of that prince; and being a man of an honourable and generous diſpoſition, he ſent word to him, that if he would return he would himſelf be anſwerable for his perſonal ſafety, and reſign to him the ſovereign authority. On this aſſurance, Artabanus ſet out, in order to take poſſeſſion of his kingdom; and on the way he was met by Cinnamus, who taking the crown from his own head placed it on that of Artabanus, ſaluting him by the title of king, and behaving towards him with the greateſt reſpect and reverence, and the uſual formalities of ſtate. In teſtimony of his gratitude to Izates for having reſtored him to his throne, Artabanus granted him the privilege to wear a tiara, and lay on a bed reſembling thoſe which the kings of Parthia had the excluſive right to uſe; and he preſented him with the fruitful and extenſive country of Niſibis, which had formerly belonged to the kings of Armenia, and was celebrated for containing the ancient city erected by the Macedonians, and called Antioch, but afterwards diſtinguiſhed by the name of Mygdonia.

Artabanus, being reſtored to his kingdom, teſtifies his gratitude to Izates.

Death of Artabanus, who is ſucceeded by his ſon Vardanes.

Soon after the above occurrences, Artabanus died, and was ſucceeded in the government by his ſon Vardanes, who ſoon after his acceſſion to the throne endeavoured to prevail upon Izates to commence hoſtilities againſt the Romans; but he was maſter of too great a ſhare of penetration to ſuffer himſelf to be unneceſſarily involved in a war with ſo powerful and well-diſciplined an enemy: he was beſides, on other accounts, averſe to the meaſure propoſed by Vardanes; for he had ſent five ſons to be inſtructed in the language and diſcipline of the Romans, and his mother had taken up her reſidence at Jeruſalem for the benefit of devotional exerciſes in the holy temple. Izates endeavoured to divert Vardanes from his purpoſe, by frequently repreſenting to him the undoubted bravery and great ſtrength of the Romans, and the ſurpriſing exploits they had performed; but Vardanes was ſo highly offended by theſe expoſtulations, that he immediately declared war againſt Izates: but he had cauſe ſeverely to regret his intemperate conduct. The reſolution that Vardanes had formed, and continued to perſevere in, of commencing a war againſt the Romans proved ſo highly offenſive to his ſubjects, that they put him to death, and elected his brother Gotarza to ſucceed him in the government. After a ſhort reign, Gotarza was treacherouſly murdered; and the throne was aſcended by his brother, named * Vologeſus, who gave the government of Media to Pacorus, the elder, and that of Armenia to Tiridates, the younger brother by the father's ſide.

The imprudent conduct of the new king occaſions his ſubjects to put him to death.

By the exemplary piety of Izates, he acquired the reputation of being a perfectly virtuous and in every reſpect a happy prince; and in conſideration of the happy conſequences that had reſulted from the king's change of religion, Monobaſus, his brother, and his other relations, formed the intention of adopting the cuſtoms and manners of the Jews. When the nobility and other principal people of the kingdom learnt what religious principles were entertained by the royal family, they were incenſed in the higheſt degree; but they diſguiſed their ſentiments, judging they ſhould, by ſuch caution, find an opportunity of revenge with the leſs difficulty. They wrote to Abias, the king of Arabia, repreſenting that Izates had forfeited every claim to allegiance from his ſubjects by an impious deſertion of the eſtabliſhed religion of his country; and that they were, therefore, reſolved that he ſhould not eſcape with impunity. They urged Abias to a declaration of war againſt Izates, promiſing him great ſums of money, on condition of his compliance, and that on the firſt encounter they would deſert their king in the open field. Abias accepted the propoſal made to him, and immediately marched a formidable body of troops againſt Izates. When the armies arrived within ſight of each other, Izates's ſoldiers fled, appearing to be in the utmoſt conſternation: the king, however, made a ſafe retreat to his camp, without betraying any marks of confuſion or abatement of his natural courage. Upon making inquiry into the cauſe of the deſertion, he diſcovered it to have been a pre-concerted plot between the enemy and his own ſubjects. Such of the conſpirators as he was able to detect he conſigned to puniſhments adequate to their demerits. On the day following, he gave battle to the Arabian army, which he intirely defeated, committing great ſlaughter upon a part of the army, and putting the reſt to flight: he cloſely purſued Abias, till he took refuge in the caſtle of Arſamas; and having reduced this place by ſtorm, and made booty of an immenſe treaſure, he returned to Adiabena in all the pomp of conqueſt. To avoid being taken priſoner, Abias put an end to his own life.

Monobaſus diſpoſed to adopt the religion and cuſtoms of the Jews.

Abias prompted to make war on Izates, whoſe army deſerts him.

He puniſhes the traitors, and defeats Abias, who deſtroys himſelf.

The leading men at Adiabena who formed the conſpiracy againſt Izates ſtill held the determination to purſue their purpoſe, notwithſtanding a conſciouſneſs that their late treachery had intirely ſubjected them to the mercy of their king. They wrote to

* Spanheim obſerves, that, according to the ancient coin, the name is Bolagaſes.

The malcontents of Adiabena apply to Vologesus, who seeks a quarrel with Izates.

Vologesus, the king of the Parthians, urging that his apostasy from the religion of his country had rendered Izates the object of universal detestation to his subjects, and supplicated that measures might be pursued for effecting his destruction, and that the Parthian would nominate some person of his own nation to assume the government, which their present king was no longer worthy to possess. In consequence hereof, and without any reasonable ground of quarrel, Vologesus determined to commence a war against Izates. The Parthian manifested his intention by a revocation of the grants which his father Artabanus had made in favour of Izates, and a menace of immediate war if he presumed to dispute his pleasure. The conduct of Vologesus proved highly embarrassing to Izates, for he considered that to be deterred by threats into a compliance would be an argument of meanness of spirit; and farther, that by relinquishing the privileges which had been so duly confirmed to him, and which he had so well deserved, no material advantage would be produced, since it was not probable that his acquiescence would induce the Parthian to suppress his hostile designs. At length he came to a resolution of risking life, honour, and fortune, on the issue of a battle, fully depending on the assistance of the Almighty. He sent his wives and children to a castle of great strength, and caused great stores of grain and other necessaries to be removed to the strongest forts he possessed; and burnt, or otherwise destroyed all the forage, hay, and such other articles in the neighbourhood as could not be removed, and which if seized by, might have proved serviceable to the Parthian army. Having taken the above precautions, Izates waited to receive the enemy. Vologesus had collected an army much more formidable than could possibly be expected in so short a time; and he formed his camp on the banks of a river separating Adiabena from Media: near the same spot Izates encamped his forces, which consisted of six thousand cavalry. Vologesus dispatched an herald to inform Izates, that he was preparing to attack him with the whole force of his empire, which extended from Bactria to Euphrates, in order to punish him for having insolently disobeyed his commands, and refused to acknowledge him as a master; and that he was guilty of an egregious folly in depending for success upon the Deity he worshipped, who had not power to protect him. The answer that Izates returned by the messenger was, that in point of numbers he did not pretend to rival Vologesus; but that he resigned himself to the will of an eternal God, whose goodness and power surpassed the narrow limits of human comprehension. Having dispatched the herald, Izates prostrated himself upon the earth, and thus addressed the Lord: "Almighty and ever blessed God, whom thy blessed servants never supplicate in vain, vouchsafe to extend thy mercy to thy faithful creature, who now submits himself to thy divine will, infinite goodness, and almighty power: punish the impious temerity of those people who have dared to blaspheme thy sacred name: but this vengeance upon mine enemies I do not supplicate so much on my own account, as in vindication of the affronted honour of thy holy name." The humiliation and prayers of this truly pious prince proved acceptable to the Almighty; and on the same night the following event happened, which deserves to be considered as a remarkable indication of the Divine Providence in his favour. Vologesus received intelligence that the Dahæ, and the Sacæ (inhabitants of Scythia), encouraged by the king's absence, had made an incursion into his dominions, where they were employed in ravage and devastation: hereupon, Vologesus led his army in order to repel the invaders.

Izates prepares to meet the enemy.

Haughty threats of the Parthian king.

Modest reply of Izates, and his pious prayer.

Interposition of Providence in favour of Izates.

Soon after the above events, Izates expired in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and the twenty-fourth of his government. He left four sons, but in acknowledgment of the integrity of his brother in resigning the authority that had been committed to him in trust, he appointed Monobasus to succeed him in the sovereignty. The decease of so truly religious, affectionate, and dutiful a son caused great affliction to Queen Helen: but the advancement of Monobasus to the throne afforded some mitigation to her grief. Upon the death of Izates, the queen retired to Adiabena, but she did not long survive. Monobasus sent the remains of his mother and brother to be deposited in the three pyramids which the queen had erected at the distance of three furlongs from Jerusalem. Farther particulars respecting Monobasus will be introduced hereafter.

Death of Izates, who appoints his brother Monobasus to succeed him.

Queen Helen dies, and is buried with her son at Jerusalem.

While Cuspius Fadus held the government of Judæa, a pretended prophet, named Theudas, persuaded great numbers of people to take their most valuable effects and follow him to Jordan, promising that by a single word he would cause the waters to divide, and afford them a dry passage to the opposite shore. He was followed by a great multitude, but they had sufficient reason to repent their folly; for Fadus sent against them a troop of cavalry, by whom many were slain, and others made prisoners. The soldiers returned to Jerusalem, and the head of the impostor was exposed as a public spectacle.

Theudas, a false prophet, apprehended and put to death.

Cuspius Fadus was succeeded in the government of Judæa by Tiberius Alexander, the son of that Alexander who held the office of * alabarcha in Alexandria, and who was considered as the most wealthy citizen of his days. Tiberius Alexander apostatized from the religion of his ancestors, and was

Tiberius Alexander succeeds Fadus as governor of Judæa.

* Vide Turnebus's Adversaria, l. xxvii. c. 25.

in

in other reſpects a more exceptionable character than his father. At this time, a terrible famine raged in Judæa, when queen Helen procured corn for the relief of the people at an immenſe expence, as we have already mentioned. Alexander cauſed the crucifixion of James and Simon, the ſons of Judas of Galilee. While Cyrenius was employed in taxing Galilee, the ſufferers above-mentioned exerted their endeavours to ſpirit up the Jews to a revolt againſt the Romans.

Ananias made high-prieſt; Cumanus ſucceeds Alexander; death of Herod, brother of Agrippa.

Joſeph, the ſon of Camydas was removed from the pontifical dignity by Herod, the king of Chalcis, who appointed Ananias, the ſon of Nebedæus, to ſucceed him. Tiberius Alexander was ſucceeded by Cumanus; and about the ſame period died Herod, brother of Agrippa the great, leaving the following ſons; Ariſtobulus, by a former wife, and Bernicianus and Hyrcanus, by Berenice, the daughter of his brother, king Agrippa. Claudius Cæſar appointed the younger Agrippa to ſucceed to the throne of Herod. During the government of Cumanus, an inſurrection took place in Jeruſalem, in which great numbers of Jews were deſtroyed, as will appear in the following chapter.

CHAP. III.

A great Concourſe of JEWS repair to JERUSALEM on Occaſion of the Feaſt of the Paſſover. A Soldier offers a ſhameful Indignity to the Temple. The People thrown into Conſternation, and in the general Diſorder Twenty Thouſand of them are ſmothered and trampled to Death. In the Tumult, the Books of MOSES are found, and deſtroyed by a Soldier. The Offender is condemned to loſe his Head.

The Jews meet to celebrate the paſſover.

THE time now approaching when it is uſual for the Jews to celebrate the paſchal feaſt, otherwiſe called the feaſt of unleavened bread, vaſt multitudes of people reſorted to Jeruſalem on occaſion of the feſtival. Cumanus judged it prudent to place a company of ſoldiers to guard the temple, and to ſuppreſs any diſturbances that might ariſe among the populace. His predeceſſors had frequently taken this precaution on ſimilar occaſions. On the fourth day of the feſtival, a ſoldier had the audacity to expoſe himſelf entirely naked to the public, who were enraged to the higheſt degree by this act of indecency, which they conſidered not ſo much as a mark of diſreſpect to themſelves as a manifeſt inſult to the Almighty power to whoſe honour the feſtival was dedicated. Some people, of more daring ſpirits than the reſt, attributed the offence to Cumanus, alledging that it was not probable the ſoldier would have been guilty of ſo daring an inſolence without having received encouragement from the governor. This diſgraceful imputation proved the ſource of great affliction and anger to Cumanus; but he exhorted the people, in terms of gentleneſs, to moderate their paſſion, and not to proceed to any acts of violence; but obſerving, that inſtead of appeaſing, his arguments ſerved to inflame the rage of the populace, he commanded the troops to march into the caſtle of Antonia, which, as we have already mentioned, commands a view of the temple. Upon perceiving the army advance, the people apprehended that they were preparing to attack them, and the idea of danger was ſo prevalent that each endeavoured to provide for his own ſafety by a precipitate retreat, and the paſſages being narrow, twenty thouſand of them were either ſmothered or trampled to death in the crowd. Thus did one beaſtly action of a ſoldier turn a public feſtival into a day of general ſorrow, for the public no longer attended to their prayers and ſacrifices, and other ceremonies, but employed themſelves in lamentations and mournings.

Indecent act of a ſoldier, and its dreadful conſequences.

One of Cæſar's domeſtics robbed, for which Cumanus ſeeks revenge.

Soon after the above unhappy events, ſucceeded another heavy affliction to the Jews. A number of people who had eſcaped from the neighbourhood of the temple, had proceeded to the diſtance of about an hundred furlongs from the town, when they met one of the emperor's domeſtics, whoſe name was Stephen; and this man they aſſaulted and robbed. When the circumſtance was related to Cumanus, he detached a body of troops, with a commiſſion to ravage the villages of the neighbourhood wherein the fact was committed, and to make priſoners of ſome of the principal inhabitants. In the plunder, one of the ſoldiers found the books of Moſes, which he produced to his companions, and having execrated the whole Jewiſh people and their laws, with the utmoſt virulence of rage, he tore and utterly deſtroyed the books. Hereupon, the Jews aſſembled in great multitudes, and Cumanus being at Cæſarea, they repaired thither, and ſupplicated that juſtice might be exerciſed upon the offender, urging that they did not conſider him as deſerving puniſhment for the affront to themſelves, ſo much as for his horrid impiety to the Almighty. Cumanus judged it not prudent to deny the juſtice claimed by the Jews, leſt a popular revolt might be the conſequence; and after having conſulted his friends on the matter, he ſentenced the offender to have his head ſtruck off.

A ſoldier deſtroys the books of Moſes, for which act Cumanus ſentenced him to loſe his head.

CHAP. IV.

A Diſſenſion between the JEWS and SAMARITANS. The JEWS defeated by CUMANUS. The SAMARITANS complain againſt the JEWS. ANANIAS

NIAS and ANANUS, with others, ſent to ROME, in order for Trial before the Emperor. The Cauſe heard by CLAUDIUS, who puniſhes the Offenders. The Government of JUDÆA given to CLAUDIUS FELIX. CÆSAR dies, and, it is ſuppoſed, by Poiſon. NERO declared Emperor. His Cruelties. He gives the leſſer ARMENIA to ARISTOBULUS, and part of GALILEE, with the Government of other places, to AGRIPPA.

The Jews and Samaritans quarrel.

SOON after the tumult mentioned in the preceding chapter had been appeaſed, a terrible diſſenſion happened between the Samaritans and the Jews, the particulars of which we ſhall now proceed to relate. When the Galileans repaired to Jeruſalem to celebrate the public feſtivals, it was their cuſtom to paſs through Samaria. As theſe people were going to Jeruſalem on ſome public occaſion, a quarrel took place between them and the inhabitants of a village called Nais, ſituated in the great plain, and under the juriſdiction of Samaris, and ſeveral of the people of Galilee loſt their lives in the conteſt. The Galileans being incenſed to an exceſs of rage, requeſted Cumanus to aſſert their cauſe, and he promiſed that due puniſhment ſhould be inflicted upon the promoters of the diſturbance; but they rejected all terms of accommodation, declaring their reſolution to ſeek redreſs by arms. In this diſpoſition they applied to other Jews, repreſenting to them that a ſtate of ſlavery was, under the moſt favourable circumſtances, a life of infamy, but that with the addition of tyranny and injuſtice it became wholly intolerable. In ſhort, they animated the other Jews to take up arms; and Eleazar, the ſon of Dinæus, was elected to the chief command. For ſeveral years Eleazar had been a mountaineer, and obtained a livelihood by making incurſions in Samaria. Cumanus marched againſt the Jews with ſome ſquadrons of cavalry from Sebaſte, four companies of foot, and a body of Samaritans completely armed: and with theſe forces he intirely defeated them, committing a great ſlaughter, and taking a great number of priſoners.

The Jews arm themſelves, and are defeated by Cumanus.

Methods uſed to pacify the multitude.

The ſituation of the Jews was now in every reſpect ſo truly deplorable, that they who were moſt diſtinguiſhed for rank, integrity, moderation, and good ſenſe, humbled themſelves in ſackcloth and aſhes, and fervently appealed to heaven to avert the dreadful calamities which ſtill ſeemed to be ſuſpended over their heads. They repreſented the deſolate ſtate of their country, the eventual deſtruction of the temple, and ſlavery of their wives and children to nations addicted to profane religions; adjuring their countrymen by the love of their religion, country, liberties, families and laws, to moderate their extravagant paſſions, ſuppreſs all farther deſigns of war, and peaceably return to their reſpective habitations. The arguments made uſe of had the deſired effect upon the common people, who gradually diſperſed; and the mountaineers returned to their former quarters, and continued to follow their illegal and rapacious courſe of living. From this period Judæa became a receptacle for robbers.

The Samaritans exhibit complaints to the Syrian government againſt the Jews.

Numidius Quadratus*, the governor of Syria, being at this time at Tyre, the principal people of Samaria went thither, and exhibited a complaint to him againſt the Jews, charging them with having ſet fire to, and plundered their villages; and alledging that they were not ſo ſenſibly affected by the injuries themſelves ſuſtained, as by the contempt ſhewn to the ſupreme authority of the ſtate of Rome, which poſſeſſed the excluſive right of taking cognizance of all diſturbances ariſing within the province they inhabited. Having made their charge, they demanded juſtice upon the delinquents. The Jews now addreſſed the governor, accuſing their adverſaries with being the firſt promoters of the tumult, and ſeverely arraigning the conduct of Cumanus, who, they aſſerted, inſtead of puniſhing the authors of the riot, had been induced by bribes to connive at their barbarous proceedings. Having heard the accuſation and defence, Quadratus told the parties, that he would go into Judæa and inform himſelf of the real ſtate of the facts, and then pronounce judgment according to the merits of the cauſe. In a ſhort time Quadratus went to Samaria, and the matter in diſpute being ſubmitted to his deciſion, he pronounced that the Samaritans were the original fomenters of the tumult. Information being made to him that a deſign had been conceived among the Jews for promoting an inſurrection, he condemned ſeveral of the priſoners who had been taken by Cumanus to be put to death. From Samaria Quadratus went to Lydda, a borough of ſo much conſideration that it might have paſſed for a capital city, and again heard the cauſe of the Samaritans, one of whom charged an eminent Jew named Dortus, and four others of the ſame tribe, with having endeavoured to ſpirit up the people to an inſurrection; and theſe men he cauſed to be put to death: Ananias, the high-prieſt, and Ananus, the captain, he ſent in bonds to Rome, to which place he alſo ſent many of the principal Samaritans and Jews, with Cumanus, the governor, and Celer, the tribune, in order for trial before Cæſar. Quadratus now went to Jeruſalem, where he apprehended further diſturbances would ariſe, but finding the people in perfect tranquillity, and the attention of the Jews wholly occupied in their religious ceremonies, he repaired to Antioch.

Defence of the Jews, who retort the charge.

The Samaritans adjudged guilty.

The matter heard at Lydda. Dortus and others put to death.

Claudius orders the cauſe to come before him.

The parties being arrived at Rome, a time and place were appointed for trial, and in all probability judgment would have been pronounced in favour of

* According to Salmaſius, Umidius Quadratus. Vide his annotations upon Ælius Spartianus.

Cumanus and the Samaritans through the powerful intereſt they had made with Cæſar and the freemen, had it not been for the interpoſition of Agrippa the younger, who obſerving that the Jews were in danger of being oppreſſed by the ſuperior power of their adverſaries, earneſtly intreated Agrippina to prevail upon her huſband Claudius to grant an impartial hearing of the cauſe; and paſs judgment upon thoſe who ſhould appear to have been the offenders. In conſequence of the interceſſion of Agrippina, Claudius conſented that the matter in diſpute ſhould be brought before him in proper form. From the evidence that was adduced on the trial, he adjudged the Samaritans to be guilty, and condemned them to ſuffer death; Cumanus he ſentenced to baniſhment, and Celer, the tribune, to be conveyed to Jeruſalem, and dragged through the ſtreets till he expired: and he nominated Claudius Felix, the brother of Pallas, to aſſume the government of Judæa.

Sentence and puniſhment of the Samaritans, &c. and Felix made governor of Judæa.

Cæſar confers great honours on Agrippa.

In the twelfth year of his reign, Cæſar appointed Agrippa to the tetrarchy which Philip had held, and of Batanæa, with Trachonitis and Abila*, which had been the tetrarchy of Lyſanias: but he removed him from Chalcis, after he had enjoyed that government four years. After the great honours and advantages beſtowed upon him by Cæſar, this young prince married his ſiſter Druſilla to Azizus, king of the Emeſenes, who had been converted to the Jewiſh religion. Druſilla had been betrothed to Epiphanes, the ſon of Antiochus, on the condition of his profeſſing Judaiſm: but upon his refuſal to comply with the terms, the contract was diſſolved. Another ſiſter, named Mariamne, he eſpouſed to Archelaus, the ſon of Chelcias, to whom ſhe had been promiſed by her father Agrippa: and a daughter, named Berenice, was the iſſue of this marriage.

Druſilla deſerts her truſt and Azizus, and marries Felix.

Soon after their union a ſeparation took place between Druſilla and Azizus. She was admired as the moſt beautiful woman of her time: and Felix, the governor of Judæa, became violently enamoured of her. He informed a Jew, named Simon, who was his particular friend, and a man highly celebrated as a magician, of the paſſion he had conceived; enjoining him to exert his endeavours to prevail upon Druſilla to deſert her huſband and marry him, and to aſſure her, that if ſhe conſented, he would make her the moſt happy woman upon earth. Druſilla was prevailed upon to renounce her religion, abandon her huſband, and marry Felix: and to this ſhe was partly induced by the deſire of avoiding all further uneaſineſs from her ſiſter Berenice, who envied her the poſſeſſion of the ſuperior attractions of her perſon. By Felix, Druſilla had a ſon named Agrippa, who in the time of Titus Cæſar, together with his wife, fell a ſacrifice to a violent eruption of Mount Veſuvius, as we ſhall hereafter particularly relate.

Berenice, ſuſpected of inceſt, abandons her huſband.

Berenice for a conſiderable time ſurvived Herod, to whom ſhe was both wife and niece. A report being circulated that a criminal intercourſe ſubſiſted between her and her brother, ſhe judged that the moſt effectual method for clearing herſelf from the horrid and ſlanderous accuſation of inceſt, would be to prevail upon Polemon, king of Cilicia, to embrace Judaiſm, and unite herſelf to him in marriage. In conſideration of her great wealth, Polemon accepted the propoſals of Berenice: but ſhe ſoon deſerted him, and he then abandoned the principles of our religion.

Mariamne's infidelity.

Mariamne was not more virtuous than her ſiſters; for ſhe quitted her huſband Archelaus, and eſpouſed Demetrius, the moſt conſiderable Jew of Alexandria, both on account of his family and wealth. He held the office of alabarcha ‡ of Alexandria. By Demetrius, Mariamne had a ſon named Agrippinus, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in the ſequel.

Death of Claudius, ſuppoſed by poiſon.

After a reign of thirteen years eight months and twenty days, Claudius Cæſar departed this life; and it was violently ſuſpected that his wife had adminiſtered poiſon to him. She was daughter of Germanicus, the brother of the emperor: ſhe was firſt married to one of the moſt conſiderable men of Rome, named Domitius Ænobarbus, to whom ſhe bore a ſon called after his father, but whoſe name was changed to that of Nero, upon being adopted into the family of Claudius. After the deceaſe of Domitius, Agrippina remained in a ſtate of widowhood a conſiderable time before ſhe was eſpouſed by Claudius. By a former wife, named Meſſalina, Claudius had Britannicus † and Octavia: being jealous of Meſſalina, he cauſed her to be put to death. The eldeſt of this emperor's children was Antonia, the iſſue of a marriage with Petronia, and he eſpouſed her to Nero.

Nero proclaimed emperor, who proves a moſt cruel tyrant.

In order to ſecure the ſucceſſion to her ſon Nero, Agrippina contrived the death both of her huſband Claudius and Britannicus, who was formerly called Germanicus. Immediately upon the deceaſe of the emperor, ſhe made intereſt with Burrhus, captain of the guards, the principal officers, tribunes, and other leading people, to convey Nero to the ſoldiers, and declare him ſucceſſor to the throne. The firſt action which rendered him remarkably odious after his advancement to the ſovereign power, was the cauſing Britannicus to be poiſoned. A few years after that cruelty, he requited his mother for having given him exiſtence, and poſſeſſion of the empire, by murdering her in a public and moſt barbarous manner. He alſo effected the death of his wife Octavia, as well as of many perſons highly diſtinguiſhed by their rank in life, and a proper conformity to the

* *Abenna*, but Abila ſeems to be the true reading. Vide Berkelius upon Step. Bryzant. p. 9.

‡ Or principal governor of the Jews. Vide Turnebuſs's Adverſaria. l. xx. c. 125.

† See Notes upon Tacitus, by Ryckius, p. 498.

principles of honour and integrity; endeavouring to excuse his barbarity by absurd and improbable pretences that they had concerted plots against his life. But it is unnecessary to dwell on this subject, the life of Nero having already employed the pens of divers historians. Different writers have spoken of Nero according to their respective prejudices, some having extravagantly commended his good qualities, and others, with equal violence, having execrated his bad ones: but, indeed, a more scrupulous regard to truth has not been observed in the histories of preceding emperors. It is my business to confine myself within the limits of truth in every instance; to touch but slightly on matters not immediately connected with the plan of this history, but to be more particular and diffusive as to what concerns our nation, candidly acknowledging wherein we have deserved censure, and faithfully recording the distresses we have experienced.

Partiality and prejudice in the Roman historians censured, and truth preferred to both.

Governments bestowed on Aristobulus and Agrippa.

But, to renew our narrative; in the first year of the reign of Nero, died Azizus, the king of Emesenes, and he was succeeded by his brother. Nero bestowed the lesser Armenia upon Aristobulus, the son of Herod, king of Chalcis. A part of Galilee, Tiberias, Taricheæ, with Julius beyond the Jordan, and fourteen villages annexed to the same jurisdiction, he subjected to the government of Agrippa.

CHAP. V.

The Robbers and Impostors of JUDÆA increase. FELIX employs DORA to effect the Death of JONATHAN, and he is stabbed by Ruffians. The People seduced by a false Prophet. The Multitude dispersed, but the Impostor escapes. A Contention between the JEWS of CÆSAREA and the SYRIANS. The pontifical Dignity conferred upon ISMAEL. Divisions among the High-Priests, &c.

Judæa infested with robbers and impostors.

THE situation of affairs in Judæa became daily more distressing: every part of the country being infested with robbers and seducers, notwithstanding Felix scarcely permitted a day to elapse without condemning some of them to the punishments due to their crimes. One of the most considerable of these people was Eleazar, the son of Dinæus, being the leader of a formidable troop of robbers: Felix got this man into his power by the following stratagem: he gave him an invitation to come over to him, promising in the most solemn manner that he entertained no design to ensnare him, and that he should, in every respect, be in a state of perfect freedom and safety: but Felix betrayed the faith reposed in him, and sent Eleazar in bonds to Rome.

Jonathan gives friendly advice to Felix,

It was through the intercession of Jonathan, the high priest, that the emperor had bestowed the government of Judæa upon Felix: Jonathan, therefore, considering that the public mischiefs arising from mal-administration would be charged on himself, was induced frequently to expostulate with Felix, with a view to effect a reformation in his conduct. It is the disposition of men of abandoned principles to conceive an aversion towards those who offer good advice, which, how friendly soever the intention, conscious guilt represents as malevolence and reproach. This proved the case with Felix, who revolved in his mind a variety of measures for removing Jonathan, and at length communicated his purpose to a man in Jerusalem named Dora, who was held in great estimation by the high-priest. Felix promised Dora a considerable sum of money, on condition of his effecting the death of Jonathan; observing that no difficulty would occur in procuring ruffians who would willingly execute the business. Jerusalem was at this time infested by a desperate gang of bravoes, provided with daggers concealed under their garments; and Dora employed these ruffians to execute the barbarous commission he had accepted from Felix. In their usual disguise of pilgrims the robbers dispersed themselves among the friends, and those who composed the train of the high-priest; and, availing themselves of a favourable opportunity, they stabbed him amidst the concourse of people by whom he was surrounded, and then the whole party escaped. The impunity which the perpetrators of this horrid and sacrilegious murder experienced, proved an encouragement to other iniquities of a similar kind; for it became customary for ruffians, in the disguise of pilgrims, to commit murders at public festivals, either from revenge, avarice, or other motives: and this practice was not confined to the several parts of the city, for the holy temple itself was no protection against the most abominable impiety and sacrilege. After the sacred house of the Almighty had been degraded from its original state of purity, it is not wonderful that his wrath should fall upon Jerusalem; that he should deliver the city into the power of the Romans, to be punished by expiatory flames; and that he should condemn the whole nation of the Jews, with their wives and offspring, to bondage and affliction, in order to convince them, by so judicial a punishment, of their abominable iniquites.

who causes him to be assassinated.

The disguise of pilgrims used for murderous purposes.

Miseries of the Jews accounted for.

Besides the violences committed by robbers, the people sustained great mischiefs from the impositions of pretended magicians and other impostors, who seduced the populace to follow them into solitudes and deserts, under pretence of shewing them miracles: but they had cause severely to regret their credulity and folly; for Felix caused a number of them to be taken into custody, and put to death. A man came from Ægypt at this time, and pretending to possess the gift of prophecy, invited the people of Jerusalem to follow him to the summit of Mount Olivet, situated about the distance of five furlongs from Jerusalem; promising

An Egyptian impostor deceives the Jews, but escapes punishment.

promiſing that upon his pronouncing certain words, they ſhould ſee the walls fall to the earth, affording them a free paſſage to enter the city. When Felix received intelligence of what the impoſtor had propoſed, he ordered his troops under arms, and, with a numerous body of horſe and foot, he preſently attacked the multitude by ſurpriſe, putting four hundred to death, and making priſoners of two hundred; but notwithſtanding the moſt vigilant ſearch was made, the Egyptian impoſtor eſcaped.

Dreadful miſchiefs by the robbers, &c.

The robbers, and other abandoned miſcreants, exerted their utmoſt endeavours to engage the people in an inſurrection againſt the Romans, whom they repreſented as oppreſſive to an intolerable degree. They traverſed the country, making ſpoil of the property, and burning the habitations of thoſe who refuſed to unite with them in oppoſing the power of the Romans.

Contention between the Jews of Cæſarea and the Syrians.

At this period a contention took place between the Cæſarean Jews and the Syrians, on the force of certain privileges. The Jews of Cæſarea eſtabliſhed their claim of preference in the right of Herod, their king, as the original founder of the city. The Syrians inſiſted that, previous to the eſtabliſhment of the city of Herod, and to its being inhabited by Jews, the place had exiſted under the denomination of the Tower of Straton. The governors of the adjacent provinces being informed of the prevailing commotion, cauſed the incendiaries of both parties to be apprehended and whipped: this puniſhment produced a ſuſpenſion of the tumult for ſome time: but the diſpute was, at length, revived by the Jews of Cæſarea, who, priding themſelves in their riches, calumniated and reproached the Syrians, who replied with no inferior degree of acrimony; for they were encouraged to a boldneſs of oppoſition by a conſciouſneſs that many of the ſoldiers in the ſervice of Rome were attached to their cauſe. From words they proceeded to annoy each other by caſting of ſtones, and the quarrel was continued till many on each ſide were ſlain and wounded; but the Jews had conſiderably the advantage. The contention having increaſed to a kind of war, Felix commanded the Jews to decline all farther animoſities; but finding that they treated his authority with contempt, he ordered his troops to march againſt them, and the conſequence was, that many of the Jews loſt their lives, and a much greater number were taken priſoners. Felix gave the ſoldiers permiſſion to plunder, and they rifled ſeveral of the moſt conſiderable houſes of property to a great amount. Thoſe Jews who were moſt remarkable for moderation and honour, dreading ſtill more fatal conſequences, ſolicited Felix to recall his troops, that the offenders might have the opportunity of repenting of their raſh and inconſiderate conduct; and he complied with their requeſt.

Many of the parties killed and wounded.

Felix chaſtiſes the ſeditious Jews.

The high-prieſts oppreſs the prieſts in ordinary.

At this time king Agrippa advanced Iſmael, the ſon of Phabeus, to the pontifical dignity: and the high-prieſts now detached themſelves from the intereſt of the other prieſts, and the governors and the principal officers and inhabitants of Jeruſalem. Each of the high-prieſts procured the attendance of a guard, compoſed of the moſt intrepid and ſeditious people they could ſelect: and they vilified their adverſaries in the moſt provoking terms, and moleſted them by caſting ſtones. So ſhameful was the conduct of the magiſtrates, in neglecting to reſtrain the inſolence of the high-prieſts, that, by means of their agents, they deſtroyed the barns and ſeized the tithes belonging to the other prieſts, many of the poorer ſort of whom actually periſhed for want of food. Had no order of government been eſtabliſhed, they could not have proceeded to greater extremities.

CHAP. VI.

BERYLLUS obtains a Mandate for diſfranchiſing the JEWS. JUDÆA infeſted by Bravoes and Robbers. AGRIPPA conſtructs a Palace commanding a view of the Temple: and the JEWS erect a Wall to intercept the Sight. FESTUS orders the Wall to be deſtroyed. The JEWS appeal to CÆSAR, who determines in their Favour. JOSEPH advanced to the Pontifical Dignity.

Feſtus ſucceeds Felix as governor.

THE emperor having now transferred the government from Felix to Portius Feſtus, ſome of the moſt conſiderable of the Cæſarean Jews repaired to Rome in order to exhibit accuſations againſt Felix for the exerciſe of tyranny and injuſtice; and their repreſentations muſt inevitably have produced his deſtruction, but for the interference of his brother Pallas, who being in high eſtimation with Nero, ſolicited and obtained his pardon.

Mandate for diſfranchiſing the Jews.

Two diſtinguiſhed Syrians of Cæſarea applied to Beryllus, who had been preceptor, and now held the office of Greek ſecretary to Nero; and, by an immenſe ſum of money, prevailed upon him to procure the emperor's mandate for diſfranchiſing the Jews, and for revoking the privileges and immunities of the city of Cæſarea, which they claimed in common with the Syrians. This mandate is to be conſidered as the cauſe of all the miſeries which we afterwards experienced; for the Cæſarean Jews were thereby inflamed to greater violence, nor did their reſtleſs diſpoſitions ſubſide till they were involved in all the calamities of an open war.

Judæa infeſted by a deſperate banditti.

Upon the arrival of Feſtus in Judæa, he found the country ravaged and laid waſte, the people compelled to deſert their habitations, the land over-run by great numbers of robbers, who ſet fire to, and plundered houſes, and committed every other kind of enormity without controul. Theſe deſperadoes were called Sicarii*,

* Vide Druſus de Tribus Sectis Judæorum, l. II. c. 24.

from

from the word Sica, ſignifying the weapon they uſed, which was curving towards the point, and otherwiſe made after a form between the Perſian ſcymeter, and the Roman falchion. It was the cuſtom of theſe bravoes, on public days, when the people reſorted to the city, to diſperſe themſelves amongſt the multitude and perpetrate the moſt horrid murders: at other times they attacked towns and villages, and ſubjected the unfortunate inhabitants to the moſt cruel extremities of fire and ſword.

An impoſtor and his followers deſtroyed by Feſtus.

A famous impoſtor lived at this time; he ſeduced great numbers of the people into the abſurd notion that if they followed him into a certain wilderneſs, they ſhould be no longer ſubject to the misfortunes and accidents of life. However, Feſtus ordered the proceſſion to be intercepted by a ſtrong detachment of horſe and foot, who purſued and put to death the ſeducer and his credulous diſciples.

The Jews, offended at Agrippa's palace, build a wall againſt it

Near the porch of the royal palace at Jeruſalem, formerly belonging to the Aſmonæan † race, king Agrippa cauſed a ſuperb edifice to be conſtructed. Being ſituated on an eminence, it commanded a proſpect of the city; and from the king's bed-chamber might be perceived all that paſſed in the temple. This circumſtance proved highly offenſive to the principal Jews; for our law does not allow our religious ceremonies, particularly the ſacrifices to be expoſed. To intercept the view from the king's bed-chamber, the Jews erected a wall before the ſeats, which incloſed the interior part of the temple toward the weſt, and it likewiſe concealed the galleries without the temple on the other ſide, where the Roman guards are ſtationed on public days, for preſerving tranquillity. Agrippa was highly offended with the Jews for building the wall, and Feſtus was ſtill more ſo; and the latter ordered them immediately to deſtroy it: but they replied, that they would ſooner relinquiſh their lives, than commit any violence upon their temple; and they requeſted that, before any meaſures were purſued againſt them, they might be permitted to appeal to Cæſar, through the agency of deputies; and Feſtus complied with their deſire. They nominated ten eminent citizens, with Iſmael the high-prieſt, and Chelcias the treaſurer of the temple, as commiſſioners to repreſent their caſe to Nero. Poppæa, the emperor's wife, a woman of great piety, and a friend to the Jews, interceded with Nero, and prevailed upon him to authoriſe the continuance of the wall. The empreſs detained Iſmael and Chelcias as hoſtages, but the ten deputies were permitted to return. Agrippa, being informed that the Jews had gained their ſuit, beſtowed the pontificate upon Joſeph, otherwiſe named Cabis, the ſon of Simon, who had formerly enjoyed the dignity of the high-prieſthood.

The emperor being appealed to, permits the wall to ſtand.

Agrippa tranſfers the pontificate to Joſeph.

† Al. Aſſamonæn.

CHAP. VII.

ALBINUS ſucceeds FESTUS. ANANUS made High-Prieſt. His violent Meaſures. AGRIPPA promotes JESUS, the Son of DAMNEUS, to the High-Prieſthood, and enlarges CÆSAREA PHILIPPI. Conſtructs a ſuperb Theatre at BERYTUS. ALBINUS ſucceeded by GESSIUS FLORUS. The Temple completed. The Origin, Qualifications and Number of the High-Prieſts.

The government and high-prieſthood again changed.

UPON the deceaſe of Feſtus, Nero conferred the government he had enjoyed upon Albinus. At the ſame period Agrippa diſplaced Joſeph, and promoted Ananus, the ſon of Ananus, to ſucceed him in the pontificate. The elder Ananus was conſidered as one of the moſt happy men on earth; for he had five ſons, who ſucceſſively enjoyed the pontificate after him: and this was what no other man could boaſt. Ananus, the ſon, was of a vindictive, fierce and haughty temper; he profeſſed the principles of the Sadducees, who, as we have already obſerved, were a ſect remarkable for their cenſorious and uncharitable diſpoſitions. After the death of Feſtus, and previous to the arrival of his ſucceſſor Albinus, Ananus aſſembled a council, and cited James, the brother of Chriſt, and others to appear, and anſwer to an accuſation of having committed blaſphemy, and violated the law; and in conſequence of this charge they were ſentenced to be ſtoned. The conduct of Ananus, with reſpect to theſe ſuppoſed offenders, proved highly diſguſting to thoſe citizens whoſe ſentiments were regulated by motives of piety, and a due regard to the laws: and they privately tranſmitted a repreſentation of the caſe to the king, requeſting that Ananus might be reprimanded, in order to deter him from a repetition of his unjuſtifiable conduct. The matter was alſo related to Albinus, then on his journey to Alexandria, to whom the letters ſet forth, that the parties could not be legally condemned without his concurrence, and that therefore Ananus had been guilty of uſurping his authority and violating the law. Highly incenſed againſt the high-prieſt, Albinus wrote to him a menacing letter, ſtrongly expreſſive of his diſpleaſure: and on the expiration of three months, king Agrippa depoſed Ananus from the pontificate, and appointed Jeſus, the ſon of Damneus, to aſſume that dignity.

Ananus cauſes James, the brother of Jeſus, to be ſtoned.

Ananus depoſed by Agrippa.

Upon the arrival of Albinus at Jeruſalem, he cauſed a conſiderable part of the robbers to be put to death, and exerted his utmoſt endeavours to reſtore the province to a ſtate of tranquillity. Ananus frequently complimented Albinus and the high-prieſt with preſents, and in many other inſtances ſhewed them great reſpect: and he gained the particular eſteem of the people by his affable and generous

rous diſpoſition: but he entertained a number of profligate domeſtics, who, uniting with others of equally abandoned principles, broke into the barns belonging to the prieſts, and ſtole their tythes, cruelly beating and wounding ſuch as oppoſed them; in conſequence hereof the prieſts, who had no means of ſubſiſtence but their tenths, were reduced to the moſt extreme diſtreſs.

The ſervants of Ananus plunder the prieſts.

On a holiday-eve the robbers privately gained admittance to the city, and ſurpriſed the ſon of Ananus, the high-prieſt, who held the office of ſecretary to Eleazar, a military officer, and having confined him in bonds, they carried him off. They diſpatched a meſſage to Ananus, propoſing that on condition of his prevailing upon Albinus to diſmiſs from his cuſtody ten of their aſſociates, they would reſtore their priſoner to liberty. Albinus foreſaw that a compliance with the requeſt would be productive of ill conſequences: but yet, in a caſe of ſo preſſing a nature, he could not refuſe. The redemption of Ananus's ſon proved a dangerous precedent; for the deſperadoes were perpetually inventing ſtratagems for making priſoners of the relations of Ananus, for the purpoſe of redeeming their companions. They greatly increaſed in number and ſtrength, and committed the moſt terrible devaſtations throughout the country.

Miſchievous acts and alarming progreſs of the robbers.

Cæſarea Philippi had now been conſiderably enlarged by king Agrippa, who, in honour of Nero, had given it the appellation of Neronias. At Berytus he cauſed a ſuperb theatre to be erected at a great expence; and he endowed the building with an immenſe ſum of money, for the purpoſe of annual exhibitions, and for providing corn and oil to be diſtributed among the people at a certain proportion by the head. He enriched the city with curious ſtatues, a moſt valuable collection of antique pieces, the productions of the moſt capital artiſts, and other pictures: this town, in ſhort, was the receptacle of the moſt curious and valuable articles in the kingdom. Agrippa was rendered extremely unpopular by his partiality to Berytus; his ſubjects conſidering themſelves highly aggrieved by the king's diveſting his own cities and villages of curioſities and valuables, for the purpoſe of gratifying ſtrangers.

Agrippa's ſuperb theatre at Berytus.

Agrippa depoſed the high-prieſt Jeſus, the ſon of Damneus, and appointed Jeſus the ſon of Gamaliel to ſucceed him: in conſequence hereof a violent enmity enſued between the parties, who were each attended by a band of ruffians, and when they met in the ſtreets they reviled each other, and ſometimes proceeded ſo far as to annoy each other by caſting ſtones. Two men of the royal blood, and nearly allied to Agrippa, named Caſtobarus and Saul, had each a party of bravoes at his command: theſe men had great intereſt, and exerciſed great oppreſſions upon the poor. From this period is to be dated the deſtruction of our commonwealth; for the circumſtances of the Jews were afterwards continually verging ſtill nearer to the extreme of miſery.

Jeſus the ſon of Gamaliel appointed high-prieſt.

Albinus having received intelligence that Geſſius Florus was appointed to ſucceed him, determined, as the moſt effectual means of obtaining the eſteem of the people, to execute juſtice upon the offenders who had been apprehended and committed to priſon. He ordered the priſoners to be brought into his preſence; and pronounced judgment upon them according to their degrees of criminality: ſuch as were accuſed only of ſlight offences, he diſmiſſed on their paying fines, and he ſentenced thoſe to death againſt whom ſufficient evidence was adduced to prove the commiſſion of capital crimes. Thus by clearing the jails did he ſuffer the country to be over-run by robbers and other abandoned characters. The ſinging men of the tribe of Levi petitioned Agrippa for permiſſion to uſe the linen ſtole, which only the prieſts had then a right to wear; urging, that from a compliance with their requeſt he would derive immortal honour. The king ſummoned a council, and granted their petition with the uſual formalities: and the other levites who ſerved in the temple he permitted to officiate as ſingers. The grant of theſe privileges was contrary to the laws and cuſtoms of our nation, which have never been violated with impunity.

Florus made governor.

Ill-timed clemency of Albinus.

The Levites obtain certain privileges.

The temple being now completed, eighteen thouſand workmen, who had been paid for their labour with the utmoſt punctuality, now became deſtitute of employment. The people being deſirous to aſſiſt theſe diſtreſſed artificers, and unwilling to keep large ſums of money by them, leſt they ſhould be ſeized by the Romans, made a propoſal to Agrippa for repairing an edifice, ſituated on the eaſt ſide of the temple, which overlooked a narrow valley of great depth. The wall of this building was four hundred cubits high: the ſtones were white, each being twenty cubits long and ſix deep, and the ſurface of them wrought ſmooth and regular. The ſtructure was raiſed by Solomon. the original founder of the temple. Claudius Cæſar commiſſioned Agrippa to make the propoſed reparations; but Agrippa conſidering the extenſiveneſs of the undertaking, the immenſe ſums of money it would require, and that all human works might eaſily be deſtroyed, he judged that it would not be expedient to comply with the deſires of the public: but he propoſed, inſtead of repairing the ſacred edifice, to pave the ſtreets of the city with white ſtones. After this, Agrippa advanced Matthias, the ſon of Theophilus, to the pontifical dignity in the room of Jeſus, the ſon of Gamaliel: and in his time the wars between the Romans and the Jews commenced.

The temple finiſhed, and propoſal for employing the diſcharged workmen.

Matthias made high-prieſt.

It will not be improper here to introduce ſome particulars reſpecting the origin and qualifications of high-prieſts, and to mention the perſons promoted to the pontificate till

Origin and qualifications of high-prieſts

the concluſion of the above-mentioned war. Aaron, the brother of Moſes, was the firſt of the order, and he was ſucceeded by his ſons. So inviolable a regard did our progenitors obſerve to the right of hereditary ſucceſſion, that only thoſe of the blood of Aaron were deemed eligible to aſſume the holy office, even kings themſelves being excluded. There were eighty-three high-prieſts from the time of Aaron to that of Phanaſus, who, during a time of hoſtilities, was elected to the pontificate by a faction: thirteen of them exerciſed the holy office from the time of the tabernacle of the Almighty being conſtructed in the deſert by Moſes, to the time of people entering Judea, where the ſacred temple was erected and dedicated to God by king Solomon*. According to the original inſtitution, there was no opportunity to ſucceed to the pontifical dignity but through a vacancy by death: but that cuſtom was aboliſhed, and it became uſual to diveſt the high-prieſt of his office, and appoint a ſucceſſor. The thirteen perſons above alluded to, deſcendents of the two ſons of Aaron, enjoyed the honourable diſtinction in due rotation †. The firſt eſtabliſhment of the government was ariſtocratical, the ſecond monarchical, after which kings were inveſted with the ſovereign authority. We compute that ſix hundred and twelve years elapſed from the time of our people being conducted out of the land of Egypt, by Moſes, to that of erecting Solomon's temple.

Different forms of government.

Under the government of kings the thirteen high-prieſts already mentioned were ſucceeded by eighteen others, reckoning from king Solomon to the time when, after ſubduing Jeruſalem, and deſtroying the holy temple by fire, Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, ſubjected Jozedec and the whole nation to captivity.

Succeſſions of high-prieſts.

Cyrus king of Perſia reſtored the Jews to liberty and their country, after they had remained ſeventy years in captivity in Babylon, and granted them permiſſion to rebuild the temple, the pontificate being at that time in poſſeſſion of Jeſus, the ſon of Jozedec. For the ſpace of four hundred and fourteen years, fifteen of the poſterity of Jeſus enjoyed the high-prieſthood, exerciſing their authority in a popular manner; and then king Antiochus Eupator, with his general Lyſias, put to death the high-prieſt Onias, otherwiſe named Menelæus, at the city of Berytus, excluding his ſon from the ſucceſſion, and conferring the dignity upon Jacimus, who, though of the race of Aaron, was not of the pontifical family.

Reſtoration of the Jews by Cyrus.

On occaſion of the death of Onias, his ſon, whoſe name was Onias alſo, went into Egypt, and ingratiated himſelf into the favour of Ptolemy Philometer, and his wife Cleopatra; he prevailed upon them to conſtruct a temple to the Almighty at Heliopolis, ſimilar to that at Jeruſalem, and to appoint him high-prieſt. Reſpecting this temple, we have ſufficiently ſpoken already. Jacimus died after he had enjoyed the high-prieſthood three years; but leaving no ſucceſſor, the pontificate remained vacant for the ſpace of ſeven years. After the revolt of the Jews againſt the Macedonians, the dignity of the high-prieſthood was transferred to the Aſmonæan line, Jonathan being promoted to the pontifical office, which he exerciſed for ſeven years. Jonathan falling a ſacrifice to the treachery of Tryphon, was ſucceeded by his brother Simon: and upon Simon being aſſaſſinated at a public entertainment by his ſon-in-law, the dignity devolved to his ſon Hyrcanus, who enjoyed it thirty-one years: upon his deceaſe, he was ſucceeded by his ſon Judas, otherwiſe called Ariſtobulus, who was the firſt that aſſumed the title and quality of king: having reigned one year, he died, leaving his brother Alexander the heir both to the kingdom and pontificate. Alexander continued in the exerciſe of the regal and pontifical functions for twenty-ſeven years, and then died, bequeathing the regency to his wife Alexandria, whom he authoriſed to beſtow the pontificate upon one of his ſons whom ſhe ſhould moſt approve; and ſhe conferred the dignity upon Hyrcanus, who enjoyed it during the term of her ſovereignty, which was nine years. Upon the deceaſe of Alexandria, Ariſtobulus declared war againſt his elder brother Hyrcanus, and having ſubdued and reduced him to a private ſtation, he aſſumed the ſovereignty and pontificate. At the expiration of three years and three months, Pompey conquered Jeruſalem, and carried Ariſtobulus and his children priſoners to Rome. He reſtored Ariſtobulus to the dignity of high-prieſt, and appointed him prince of the Jews, but he was not to aſſume the title and character of king. Excluſive of the nine years already mentioned, Hyrcanus remained twenty-three years in the exerciſe of the pontifical function. This time being elapſed, Barzapharnes and Pacorus, men of diſtinguiſhed characters, and generals in the Parthian army, croſſed the Euphrates and made war againſt Hyrcanus, whom they ſubdued and carried away priſoner. They promoted Antigonus, the ſon of Ariſtobulus, to the throne; but in three years and three months

The high-prieſthood frequently transferred.

* There is a feaſt of dedication opened by the Jews on the 25th day of Kiſlef or Caſleu, or the November moon, and is held for eight days ſucceſſively. It was inſtituted by Judas Maccabæus and his brethren, in memory of the dedication of the new altar, and of the deliverance of Jeruſalem, by the bleſſing of God on their hands, from the Greeks, who had profaned and defiled the temple, waſted the ſacred oil, and involved the Jews in many miſeries. But the Jews ſay (from tradition) that it was inſtituted in memory of the miraculous burning of a lamp in the temple, when Judas Maccabæus had driven out the Greeks, for eight days together, there being in all that time only ſo much oil in the lamp as was naturally ſufficient for ſubſiſting a flame the ſpace of one day. However this may be, there is read in the ſynagogue, on the 25th day, the 7th chapter of the book of Numbers, which treats of the dedication of the tabernacle and the altar, becauſe tradition ſays, this 25th day is the anniverſary of the finiſhing of the tabernacle by Moſes.

† Vide Selden de Synedr. Heb. l. ii. c. 15, p. 393-396.

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he was made priſoner in Jeruſalem by Herod and Soſus, who ſent him to Antony, by whoſe command he was ſoon after put to death at Antioch.

Herod makes great changes reſpecting the election of high-prieſts.

The Romans having eſtabliſhed Herod in the regal dignity, he diſpenſed with the practice of ſelecting the high-prieſts from the Aſmonæan family, and diſpoſed of the pontificate indiſcriminately, deeming even the moſt obſcure perſons in holy orders eligible to the office. The caſe of Ariſtobulus is, however, to be excepted; for he being the brother of his wife Mariamne, and the grandſon of Hyrcanus, who was taken by the Parthians, and whoſe memory was held in the higheſt veneration, he promoted him to the high-prieſthood, with a view to inſinuate himſelf into the favour of the people. The great and ſtill increaſing reputation of Ariſtobulus inſpired Herod with envy and jealouſy; and therefore, as we have already related, he cauſed him to be drowned, while ſwimming in a fiſh-pool at Jericho. After this, he intirely excluded the Aſmonæan race from the poſſeſſion of the pontifical dignity; and the ſame conduct was purſued by his ſon Archelaus, and by the Romans, when Judæa came under their government.

Number of high-prieſts, from Herod to the temple's final deſtruction.

In the courſe of one hundred and ſeven years, from the time of Herod to the conflagration of Jeruſalem and the temple by Titus, there were twenty-eight high-prieſts, ſome of them being under Herod, and Archelaus, his ſon. After the deceaſe of Herod and Archelaus, our nation was ſubjected to the ariſtocratical form of government, and the high-prieſt was inveſted with the exerciſe of the ſovereign authority.

CHAP. VIII.

FLORUS ſucceeds ALBINUS. The Beginning of the War between the JEWS and the ROMANS. General Hiſtory of the JEWS.

Florus appointed governor of Judæa.

NERO appointed Geſſius Florus* to ſucceed Albinus in the government of our nation, and he reduced us to a ſtate of the moſt extreme miſery. By birth, he was a Clazomenian, and when he came into Judæa he was accompanied by his wife Cleopatra, who was equal to Florus in a diſpoſition to iniquity. Cleopatra had a great influence over the empreſs Poppœa, and to that influence Florus was indebted for his exaltation. The oppreſſion of this man was ſo intolerable, that the Jews even regretted the loſs of Albinus. Though the wickedneſs of Albinus was exceſſive, he ſtudied to put the moſt favourable appearance upon his conduct; but Florus, on the contrary, triumphed in his iniquity, and all his behaviour ſeemed to intimate that the whole buſineſs of his commiſſion was to effect the ruin of our nation. His avarice and cruelty were without bounds: he gave encouragement to public robbers, by ſharing with them in the ſpoil; which induced him to countenance them in every ſpecies of depredation. His rapacity and tyranny were ſo extreme, that the Jews were driven to the cruel neceſſity of deſerting their country, altars, and religious ceremonies, and ſeeking refuge among the moſt inhoſpitable ſtrangers. In ſhort, the oppreſſion of this man precipitated the miſerable Jews to take up arms againſt the Romans, preferring to periſh together rather than longer to remain the objects of contempt in ignominious ſlavery, and gradually to fall ſacrifices to ſo inſupportable a government. The war commenced in the ſecond year of the government of Florus over Judæa, and in the twelfth year of the reign of Nero. Such as wiſh to be informed of the particulars of the war will be fully gratified by peruſing the books† written on that ſubject.

Infamous character of Florus.

His exceſſes prove the main cauſe of the Jewiſh war with the Romans.

I here conclude the ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS, contained in twenty books and ſixty thouſand lines‡, comprehending a narrative of what happened to them from the creation of the world to the twelfth year of the reign of Nero; their ſituation in Ægypt and Syria; their ſufferings under the Aſſyrians and Babylonians; and the treatment they experienced from the Perſians, Macedonians, and Romans. I have given an authentic account of the ſucceſſion of the high-prieſts during the courſe of two thouſand years; nor have I omitted to treat of the ſeveral forms and revolutions of government. The whole is founded on the authority of the holy writings, as was promiſed at the beginning of this work.

Concluding account of the Jewiſh antiquities.

I ſhall here venture to aſſert, that no man could have afforded the Greeks a more perfect hiſtory than the preſent production. The Jews will admit that there is none more converſant in the Moſaical law than myſelf. I have ſtudied the critical and grammatical properties of the Greek language with the ſtricteſt attention; but I pretend to no ſkill in the pronunciation, our people holding the knowledge of many languages in ſlight eſtimation, and conſidering the ſtudy rather as profane, being common both to freemen and ſlaves. The only learning and wiſdom which we account valuable, are a neceſſary attention to a knowledge of our laws, and a juſt conception of the ſacred ſcriptures: but among the numerous candidates there are perhaps but two or three who have arrived to a proficiency in thoſe excellencies.

* Geſtius, or Ceſtius, in notes upon Catullus by Voſſius.

† In the time of Veſpaſian, long before the Antiquities were written, the books on the Jewiſh Wars were publiſhed. Vide l. xviii. c. 2. Voſſ. de Hiſt. Gr. & Valeſ. in Euſeb. p. 48. & Ed. Pariſ.

‡ In the original, *Es muriaſi ſtikon.*

I have

The author's motives for writing the hiſtory of the wars.

I have conceived a deſign, by the permiſſion of God, to write a conciſe narrative of the war, from its commencement to the preſent period; being the thirteenth year of the reign of Domitian, and the fifty-ſixth of my age; in which it may not be improper to ſpeak briefly of my family, and my own perſonal conduct, while people are living to bear teſtimony of my truth, or diſprove the authority of my aſſertions*. I likewiſe intend to treat of the opinions of the Jews, in four books, concerning the Almighty himſelf and his nature; and alſo of our laws, explaining the reaſons why ſome matters are allowed, and why from others we are expreſsly reſtrained.

* This ſentence, perhaps, means the life of the author. Vide Valeſius upon Euſebius, p. 47, 48.

A DEFENCE OF THE

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES,

IN ANSWER TO APION:

CONTAINED IN AN EPISTLE FROM

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

TO

EPAPHRODITUS.

BOOK I.

The author's preface.

IN my hiſtory of the Jewiſh Antiquities (moſt honoured Epaphroditus) I have ſaid ſufficient to aſcertain the ancient deſcent of the Jews, and to prove that they are a people which derive not their origin from any others; alſo to prove their undeniable claim to this originality from the beginning of time. This I have made appear by a faithful deduction of hiſtory for five thouſand years, extracted from the authority of the ſacred writings: yet has this been inſufficient to ſecure me from the moſt opprobrious invectives, or to gain my hiſtory any other character than that of a fable. It has been aſked by my enemies, that if the Jews were of ſuch diſtinguiſhed origin as I have made them, how it happens that the beſt Grecian hiſtorians have made no mention of the circumſtance. It

His deſign in writing this defence.

therefore becomes me, for three obvious reaſons, to declare the truth: in the firſt place, to confute my enemies; in the ſecond, to inſtruct the ignorant; and, in the third, to repreſent the whole ſtate of the caſe, in an open and fair manner, to all thoſe who are friends to truth. With regard to my authorities, I ſhall make uſe of thoſe only whom the Greek writers themſelves hold in the higheſt reputation: with reſpect to thoſe by whom myſelf or my writings have been traduced, either through ignorance or malice, I ſhall alſo try to explain how it happens that the Greeks in general have taken ſuch ſlight notice of the Jews; and ſhall prove that, with reſpect to particular writers, they either were, or pretend to be, totally ignorant of the affairs of which I have treated.

Authorities from Greek writers.

The world abounds with people who are ſo devoted to the opinion of the Greeks, that they conſider them as the only perſons worthy to be conſulted with reſpect to the credibility of hiſtory; to the inſult and diſgrace of men of all

Abſurd partiality in favour of the Greeks.

all other nations whatever. Now I own I am greatly aſtoniſhed at the preſumption of theſe pretenders to a knowledge of antiquity, when they are equally oppoſed by plain reaſon and indubitable fact. In matter of hiſtory we ought not to be governed by the private opinion of any particular man, or body of men, but by the internal evidence of the facts themſelves. With regard to the Greeks, every thing among them appears to me to be diſtinguiſhed by the air of novelty. Their buildings, their arts, their laws, are but of late date; and even the uſe of hiſtory among them is but a very modern improvement. On the contrary, they themſelves acknowledge that the Egyptians, Chaldæans and Phœnicians (not to mention the Jews), have kept regular periodical records, to tranſmit to poſterity the memorable acts of former times. Theſe were preſerved by means of monumental pillars and inſcriptions, agreeable to the advice of the wiſeſt men among them; that the memory of their public tranſactions might not be loſt, but faithfully recorded to after ages. It is likewiſe worthy of obſervation, that as theſe people lived in an open air and fine climate, their mountains were leſs liable to moulder and decay: which was by no means the caſe with the Greeks, who neither gave orders for ſuch inſcriptions, nor would their climate preſerve them.

Other nations have better preſerv'd antient memorials

Origin of the Greeks.

It is very natural for thoſe who erect new ſtates or ſocieties, to think themſelves perfect in the art of government. With regard to the Greeks, their ſkill of letters is of late date, nor are they at this preſent time arrived to a full degree of perfection in this ſcience. Reſpecting their antiquity in this particular, themſelves pretend to no farther origin than the Phœnicians; and conſider Cadmus as their firſt maſter; but neither in their temples, nor on their public regiſters, are they able to produce one authentic memorial of the period to which they pretend to allude. It is an acknowledged fact, that when it was debated if the uſe of letters was known at the time of the Trojan war, the queſtion was carried in the negative; and it was determined that no ſuch characters then exiſted. Certain it is, that there is no Greek manuſcript now extant written before the poem of Homer; and it is equally certain that the Trojan war was at an end before the writing of this poem. It will be likewiſe confeſſed, that Homer never committed his poem to writing, but that it was ſung about as a ballad, in different places, till the people had learnt it by heart, and in proceſs of time copies were taken of it from the memory of the reciters; which clearly accounts for the number of errors and contradictions found in the firſt manuſcripts.

Homer's poem the firſt Greek manuſcript.

With regard to Cadmus, the Mileſian, Acuſilaus, and other Grecians who were afterwards reputed hiſtorians, theſe exiſted but a little time before the inroad made into Greece by the Perſians. Pherecides of Syros, Pythagoras, and Thales, who were among the moſt ancient of their philoſophers on

The diſciples of the Egyptians and Chaldeans eſteemed the moſt antient Greek writers.

celeſtial and divine affairs, combine to own that they derive their knowledge from the Egyptians and Chaldæans; and though what has been committed to writing on theſe ſubjects has been allowed the authority of antiquity, yet it is even to this day a doubt, whether the perſons above-mentioned were the authors of the pieces alluded to.

The Greeks not intitled to a ſuperior knowledge in antiquity.

Is it not, then, aſtoniſhing that the Greeks ſhould claim, not only the credit of having a ſuperior knowledge in antiquity, but ſhould arrogate to themſelves the further credit of hiſtorical faith and candour, in preference to other men? Whereas, even from their own works, it is evident that their writings are rather founded on conjecture and opinion, than on matter of fact, and that every man indulges his own fancy in his writings: for their authors diſagree with each other, and relate to the public very inconſiſtent accounts of the ſame circumſtances.

Divided opinions among them accounted for.

Many reaſons might be aſſigned for theſe variations among the Greek authors, if it were neceſſary to beſtow the proper attention to diſcover them: but the two points which I principally inſiſt on are, firſt, in not preſerving the memory of diſtinguiſhed actions, by a proper foundation of their hiſtory in records and memorials: for poſterity muſt be left uninformed without theſe monumental traditions: and ſecondly, I charge them with giving falſe accounts of the hiſtory of ancient times, where they are little liable to be contradicted. The mode of keeping public regiſters hath been neglected, not only in the exterior parts of Greece, but even in Athens itſelf, where the people, with regard to their original, are diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Earth-born*, and pride themſelves above all other people, on account of their antiquity and learning. It is generally acknowledged that Draco's penal laws preceded all their other writings, though they are not of much greater antiquity than the time of the tyrant Piſiſtrates. What then is to be ſaid with reſpect to the Arcadians, who received the uſe of letters later than any of their countrymen, and yet pretend to a precedence in point of antiquity?

The Greek hiſtorians claſh with each other.

Now as there was no valuable intelligence extant, for the inſtruction of thoſe who were deſirous to be well informed, or for the rectifying the errors of thoſe who might otherwiſe wilfully deviate from the line of rectitude; how was it poſſible but that their hiſtorians ſhould give contradictory accounts; eſpecially if we conſider that truth was leaſt of all their object, though they made perpetual profeſſions of a contrary nature? In fact, they wrote with a view to popular applauſe, and if they could but obtain the name of diſtinguiſhed orators, they were little ſolicitous for the honeſt name of men. Some of them wrote from whim and caprice, totally diſregarding the truth of their recital: others were mere panegyriſts, and ſought only the favour of perſons of eminence: while a third ſort prided themſelves in depreciating the perſons and writings of thoſe that preceded them; all of

which deviates intirely from the office and duty of an hiſtorian.

Characteriſtics of genuine hiſtory.

When a number of writers agree in the ſame thing, and concur as to the particulars of time and place, it is an infallible ſign that the hiſtory is genuine: but the Greeks have proved where the truth lay, by their contradictions of each other. If the only conteſt between them and us was with regard to elegance of diction, we ſhould not deny them the precedence: but with regard to the antiquity, and matter of fact, it is otherwiſe.

The Egyptians and Babylonians exact in their records.

It is known that the Egyptians and Babylonians were anciently extremely exact in noting their accounts and annals. Among the Egyptians the care of this regiſtering was committed to the prieſts, who were very aſſiduous and careful in the diſcharge of this duty. The example of the Babylonians was followed by the Chaldæans; and the Phœnicians, on their incorporation with the Greeks, taught them the uſe of letters, and how far theſe were ſubſervient to the conduct of life, and the preſervation of public traditions. But as this is a matter confeſſed by all parties, it is unneceſſary that I ſhould ſay any thing farther of it in this place: wherefore I ſhall content myſelf with briefly obſerving that our predeceſſors took at leaſt as great, if not greater, care to ſecure this order and regulation, than any other people; for the high-prieſts and prophets were charged with this commiſſion, and the practice hath been regularly kept up to the preſent time; and, if I may be allowed to propheſy, I dare preſume to ſay, it will never fail; for care was originally taken in the choice of perſons of diſtinguiſhed piety and virtue for the office of prieſt (excluſive of thoſe who were devoted to the ſervice of the altar), and a proviſion was made that the line of prieſthood ſhould not be contaminated by a mixture with any other family; for no man is qualified to execute the office of a prieſt except his mother be deſcended from the line of the prieſthood; wherefore, regardleſs of riches or rank, the man who makes his pretenſions to the ſacerdotal office muſt produce a number of witneſſes to prove his deſcent in a regular line.

The Jewiſh annals noted down by their prieſts and prophets.

Their cuſtom with reſpect to pedigree and marriage.

This is not only the caſe in Judæa but in Egypt, Babylon, and all places throughout the earth, where our people are diſperſed; for our prieſts make it a point of conſcience not to marry with any but thoſe of their own tribes. When they are diſpoſed to wed, they ſend to Jeruſalem the name of the bride (by permiſſion of her father), with a draught of her pedigree, properly atteſted. But in times of war (which have frequently happened), particularly in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes, Pompey the Great, and Quintilius Varus, and likewiſe within our own memory; in theſe caſes, the ſurviving prieſts ſupply and reform the old regiſters, and make new ones; and the women who remain are examined with the moſt exact ſcrutiny. The prieſts are never married to captives, leſt they ſhould contract a foreign mixture; nor can there be a more convincing proof of their uprightneſs than that, for the ſpace of two thouſand years, the names of all our prieſts have ſtood upon record, from father to ſon.

Puniſhment of a prieſt who prevaricates.

If among the prieſts any one be found to prevaricate, or depart from the truth, he is depoſed from the exerciſe of his function, and forbidden to attend on the altar. By theſe proceedings, we are undoubtedly and unavoidably in the right. Few perſons have been permitted to write; and we meet with no contradictions among thoſe that have written. With regard to thoſe wonderful antiquities in the books of the prophets, we do not ſo much account them hiſtory as divine revelation. Reſpecting thoſe who have recorded the hiſtory of their own times, they are not many in number, and their accounts generally agree with each other. But let me proceed in my preſent taſk.

Twenty-two books only of higheſt eſteem among the Jews.

I deem that there are no more than twenty-two books which we are bound to believe; and in theſe are contained the hiſtory of the world from its original to the preſent time. Of theſe twenty-two books, five are employed in giving an account of the creation of the world, and the generation of mankind. This hiſtory is continued to the death of Moſes, and comprehends a period of almoſt three thouſand years.

The prophets wrote the hiſtory of their own times.

Each of our prophets wrote the hiſtory of the age in which he lived, from the death of Moſes to the reign of Artaxerxes, the ſon of Xerxes, and king of Perſia; and this hiſtory is contained in thirteen books; and the other four books conſiſt of divine hymns and precepts of morality. We have likewiſe a regular ſeries of hiſtory, from the days of Artaxerxes to the preſent time, which we hold in great eſteem, but do not venerate it as we do the others, becauſe it is not authenticated and made ſacred by a continuation of the deſcent of the prophets. With reſpect to the other writings, we pay as much regard to their contents as if we had been eye-witneſſes of the circumſtances related, for we know how long they have remained in the world, without any attempt to increaſe or abridge them, or even to diſguiſe or tranſpoſe them in any manner; and theſe writings we hold to be divine; we diſtinguiſh them by this epithet, and are taught from our earlieſt infancy to conſider them in that light, and pay a proper obedience to them, and, if neceſſary, to ſuffer death in their defence, rather than forego opinions thus ſacredly impreſſed.

Unadulterated ſtate of canonical writings.

Superior zeal of the Jews, ſhewing their ſufferings for the preſervation of their book, and adherence to the laws.

Numbers of our countrymen are at this time captives, ſuffering a variety of torments, ſtruggling with death in its moſt formidable ſhape, and contending in theatres with beaſts, and men ſtill more brutal than they; and all this becauſe they refuſe to abandon the laws of their coun-

try,

try, and blaſpheme the God whom their anceſtors worſhipped! Can it be ſaid that the Greeks have ever given an equal proof of their faith and reſolution? Theſe people would refuſe to abide ſuch trials in defence of all they hold moſt dear; but the fact is, that they deem thoſe things which ought to be held ſacred as mere matter of form; and their beſt hiſtorians are culpable in this particular. They frequently commence the writing of their hiſtories without any knowledge of the facts to which they allude, without conſulting thoſe who have been on the ſpot, and parties in the actions; or, if they do conſult them, without crediting what they ſay. Very extraordinary hiſtories of our late wars have been publiſhed by thoſe who were never near enough to the ſcene of action to form the ſlighteſt opinion of the matter of fact; but their plan has been to compile a confuſed hiſtory, partly from report and partly from imagination, and then to aſſume the character of hiſtorians of the firſt credit.

Authenticity and faithfulneſs of Joſephus as an hiſtorian.

I have acted, however, in a very different manner, for I have related nothing of which I had not either ocular demonſtration, or other indubitable authority; for I had ample opportunities of acquainting myſelf with the various tranſactions. I have been as faithful in the report of events as I was accurate in the ſearch after facts. As long as the Jews were able to ſupport themſelves againſt the Romans, I had the honour of a command in Galilee; but it was at length my misfortune to be made captive, and carried to Veſpaſian and Titus. In this ſituation, I was kept in chains, but was ſoon permitted to make my obſervations on all that paſſed; and not long afterwards obtained my liberty; when the ſiege of Jeruſalem taking place, I went abroad with Titus from Alexandria.

I was now diligent in my remarks on all that happened. I was well acquainted with all the motions of the army, and was extremely careful to repreſent every circumſtance exactly as it occurred. With regard to the ſituation of the city, I was informed of it by priſoners and deſerters, as they were all under my particular direction and management, by the abſolute command of the emperor. In fact, I took every proper opportunity of making written obſervations, and from thoſe obſervations my hiſtory is compiled.

Hiſtory of the Jewiſh war compiled at Rome.

Having thus laid the foundation of my work, when I returned to Rome I got the aſſiſtance of ſome friends accompliſhed in the Greek language, and proceeded with the hiſtory, in which I have paid ſo ſtrict an adherence to the rules of veracity, that I have no doubt but even Veſpaſian and Titus will give teſtimony to my honour. As ſoon as my book was finiſhed, I preſented it to theſe illuſtrious perſons, and after that to ſeveral noble Romans, who had been commanders in the war. I ſold other copies to ſeveral of our own people who had a knowledge of the Greek language; particularly to Julius, Archelaus, the accompliſhed Herod, and the moſt diſtinguiſhed king Agrippa. Now all theſe univerſally applaud me, as having diſcharged the duty of a faithful hiſtorian; whereas, they would certainly have expoſed the impoſition, if, either through ignorance or corruption, I had deviated from the truth. Yet many perſons treat me as if I had impoſed upon the world, by declaiming only on trifling or abuſive circumſtances; but theſe calumniators have not reflected, that the man who pretends to relate the whole truth ſhould either do it on his own knowledge or the information of thoſe on whom he can depend; and I have taken both theſe methods to render my work complete.

The author refutes the calumnies of his enemies.

His materials derived from the beſt authorities.

As I have acted in the character of a prieſt, I have, in the courſe of my profeſſion, extracted my Antiquities from the books of the holy ſcripture, and have arranged them in the moſt regular manner. With regard to the hiſtory of the war, I had an active ſhare in many parts of it, and was a ſpectator of other events; ſo that I was not a ſtranger to any thing that happened. How inſolent then is it in my enemies to pretend to doubt the veracity of my recitals! Admitting what they ſay, that they have ſeen the journals of Titus and Veſpaſian, how can this invalidate the truth of my hiſtory, which treats of matters to which the Roman generals muſt be perfect ſtrangers?

It was but proper that I ſhould make this digreſſion, to evince what kind of hiſtorians we ought to expect, if this humour ſhould prevail; but I think I have ſaid ſufficient to ſatisfy any reaſonable man that, in point of the credit and dignity of hiſtory, the Greeks ought even to yield to the Barbarians.

Antiquity of the Jews proved and defended.

I muſt now addreſs myſelf to thoſe kind of people who inſiſt that the Jews are mere moderns, and aſſign as a reaſon for this, that we are not mentioned by the Grecian hiſtorians. It will become me to quote authorities out of our own books, to expoſe that ill-founded malice by which our enemies are inſtigated. With regard to the place of our habitation, it is in the midland country, and with reſpect to trade and voyages, they are circumſtances about which we never gave ourſelves any concern. Our cities are far removed from the ſea, our ſoil is fruitful, and the lands are well cultivated. We devote ourſelves much to the ſupport and education of our children, and deem it the moſt important buſineſs of our lives to take care that they are educated in a pious manner, and in ſtrict obedience to the laws of their country. Excluſive of theſe circumſtances, we have a mode of living peculiar to ourſelves, from which alone we are well aſſured, that in ancient times we could not have had any intercourſe with the Greeks, as the Phœnicians, Ægyptians, and other people had, for the promotion of their mutual intereſt, by the advantages reſulting from trade, commerce,

They had formerly no intercourſe with the Greeks.

merce, and navigation. Our predeceſſors did not follow the example of other nations, by making incurſions on their neighbours to increaſe their territories; though they were by no means deficient in number or courage, to render themſelves formidable, if they had been diſpoſed to acts of this kind.

The Greeks known to other nations.

By the methods above-mentioned, the Phœnicians became known to the Greeks, and through theſe, the Egyptians, and others who traded into Greece. Then the Medes and Perſians, having obtained the command of Aſia, the latter carried the war into Europe. The Greeks knew the Thracians from their neighbourhood; the Scythians from their correſponding with thoſe who uſed the Pontus; and thus there could be no want of hiſtorians on the coaſt of the eaſtern and weſtern ſeas; but the inner parts of the country were in a manner unknown to them for ſeveral ages. This was likewiſe the caſe in Europe; for after the Roman power and dignity had been eſtabliſhed by ſucceſſive conqueſts and triumphs, yet this mighty empire is not at all mentioned by Herodotus, Thucydides, or any of the writers living at that time: and it was a long time before the Greeks obtained a knowledge of its exiſtence.

Detection of a groſs error in a celebrated hiſtorian.

What opinion ſhall we form of the writers in general, when Ephorus, one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed among them, could commit ſuch an error as that I am about to recite. Having undertaken to give an account of the Gauls and Iberians, he repreſents the kingdom of Spain, and the whole continent on which it ſtands, only as a ſingle city; and thus mentions things that were never tranſacted or thought of there, as the hiſtory of the place itſelf. Thus ignorance ariſes from an endeavour to reach truth at too great a diſtance; and in other inſtances from an affectation of exceeding the truth. Can it, therefore, afford any cauſe of ſurpriſe, if people, who live as a ſort of ſtrangers in the world, and wholly detached from it, and under ſuch regulations as the Jews do, ſhould not afford any ſubject for the hiſtorical pen?

The argument of the Greeks retorted on themſelves.

Suppoſe, now, I ſhould turn the Greeks mode of reaſoning againſt themſelves, and deny their antiquity becauſe our books do not mention it? Would not this be deemed abſurd? And would not the Greeks appeal to their neighbours in juſtification of their claim? If this would be right in them, it cannot be leſs ſo with me. The principal witneſſes I ſhall uſe are the Egyptians and Phœnicians. No exceptions can be taken to their evidence, for the Egyptians are well known to be our determined enemies; nor are the Phœnicians, particularly thoſe of Tyre, leſs ſo. The Chaldæans, however, form a different opinion of us. We were formerly in ſubjection to them; and on the ſcore of affinity, as well as on account of our country, they mention us in the moſt reſpectful manner in their writings.

BOOK II.

I PRESUME that I have already proved the antiquity of our nation, on the teſtimony of ſeveral Phœnician, Chaldæan, and Egyptian hiſtorians, and ſome of the Greek writers: I proceed now (moſt honoured Epaphroditus) to anſwer thoſe who have attacked me perſonally, and particularly Apion, the grammarian; though, in truth, ſuch a writer is ſcarcely worthy of regard. His narrations are, in the higheſt degree, vulgar and fabulous; his writings are dull and obſcure: he appears to be ignorant of his ſubject, but is calumnious in every thing that he advances: in fact, there is a mixture in his writings which prove that the author is illiberal, boiſterous, and troubleſome in the extreme. On reflection, however, that fools abound in the world more than men of ſenſe, and are gratified with folly rather than with good ſenſe and ſound reaſon; conſidering, likewiſe, that the majority liſten more eagerly to the abuſe than the applauſe of their neighbours, I am tempted to take up the pen of criticiſm, to chaſtiſe this arrogant man for his inſolence in preſuming to judge in this affair; and I am encouraged to proceed, by the conſideration that the world is generally gratified by ſeeing the miſchief ariſing from calumny revert on the head of the calumniators.

The narrations and writings of Apion mean, fabulous, and obſcure.

His confuſed and contradictory method.

Apion's mode of writing is ſo obſcure, and there is ſuch confuſion and contradiction in his narrations, that it is difficult to determine what he aims at. Sometimes he miſtakes the account of our anceſtors leaving Egypt, as hath been done by others, whom I have already refuted: at another time he attacks the Jews of Alexandria; and then the rites and ceremonies of our temple and worſhip become the objects of his cenſure.

I ſhall now only take notice of what Apion hath ſaid, particularly in his Egyptian hiſtory, book the third. He ſays, "Moſes was a native of Heliopolis, as I have been informed by the moſt ancient people reſident in that country within my remembrance. In ancient times the inhabitants held their religious aſ-

ſemblies

ſemblies in the open air, till Moſes, who was an adept in the worſhip of his country, prevailed on the people to aſſemble in the houſes in the city, directing them always to pray with their faces towards the ſun. With regard to the buildings, they were open at the top, and conſiſted of pillars erected on the figures of baſons, with engravings thereon, and the ſhadow, falling on the baſons, moved as the ſun moved."

Some remarks on his errors;

Theſe are the romantic opinions of this author: but I had rather leave the refutation of him to the writings of Moſes, than undertake the taſk. Moſes relates nothing of preſcribing ſuch forms as above mentioned at the firſt erecting the tabernacle; nor doth he direct poſterity to uſe them. Nor was Solomon (the founder of the temple at Jeruſalem) acquainted with any ſuch building as is mentioned by Apion.

particularly thoſe relating to Moſes.

He tells us, that old men informed him, that Moſes was a native of Heliopolis. Hence it ſhould ſeem, that being too young to know the fact, he inquired of his cotemporaries, who appear to have been well acquainted with him. How abſurd and ridiculous! Apion could not diſcover the country of Homer or Pythagoras, though they lived comparatively in modern times. How happens then that he is ſo clear with regard to Moſes, who flouriſhed ages before them; and this merely on the information of the old men?

The hiſtorians equally diſagree reſpecting the time when Moſes conducted the lepers, lame, and blind, from Egypt. Manetho aſſerts that it was in the reign of Themoſis, three hundred and ninety years before Danaus was baniſhed to Argos. Lyſimachus ſays it was in the reign of Boccoris, which was ſeven hundred years before Molon; and others calculate as their fancies ſuggeſt: but Apion, who pretends to the utmoſt exactneſs, fixes the time to the firſt year of the ſeventh olympiad, in which year he aſſerts that Carthage was built. By this mention of Carthage, he ſeems to expect to authenticate his computation: but if he had reflected a moment, he would have ſeen that he was giving evidence againſt himſelf; particularly if he had attended to the Phœnician records; for that hiſtory makes it plain that Hiram lived full an hundred and fifty years before the building of Carthage, as hath been already proved from the Phœnician annals. Hiram had a ſingular attachment to Solomon, and contributed great quantities of materials towards building the temple at Jeruſalem. The fact is, that it was not till ſix hundred and twelve years after the Jews left Egypt, that Solomon laid the foundations of the temple.

With regard to the number of exiles, Apion concurs with Lyſimachus in the erroneous account of one hundred and ten thouſand: but his account of the origin of the word Sabbath is amazingly ridiculous. He ſays, "The Jews having been ſix days on their journey, were compelled to reſt on the ſeventh, being ſeized with ulcers and inflammations in the groin. When they had arrived in the country they now call Judæa, they named their reſting-day the Sabbath, from the Egyptian word *Sabbatoſis*, which ſignifies, "The diſeaſe of the groin." How ſtrange it is that any man could write ſuch a heap of nonſenſe, and attempt to impoſe it on the world as authentic hiſtory! He repreſents one hundred and ten thouſand men, all afflicted with the ſame diſeaſe! If theſe were lame and blind, as he aſſerts in another place, how was it poſſible for ſuch a diſtempered multitude to proſecute their journey through the deſert, even for a ſingle day? How improbable is it, I repeat, that ſuch an immenſe number of men ſhould be at once ſtruck with the ſame diſorder? The common courſe of nature could never occaſion this; and to ſay that it aroſe from chance would be an unpardonable error.

How ſtrange is Apion's idea of one hundred and ten thouſand diſeaſed perſons travelling to Judæa in ſix days only! And what a ſtory does he recount of Moſes going to the top of Mount Sinai, betwixt Egypt and Arabia, remaining there forty days, and delivering the law to the Jews on his deſcent! Two queſtions naturally ariſe here. How was it poſſible for ſuch an immenſe multitude to traverſe ſuch an enormous deſert in ſix days? And how could they ſubſiſt forty, in a place where neither bread nor water was to be obtained?

Apion's definition of the word Sabbath frivolous.

His obſervations reſpecting the ſenſe of the word Sabbath, are trifling in the higheſt degree. There is no affinity between the meaning of the words *Sabbo* and *Sabbatum*: the former, according to his explanation, ſignifies the Egyptian diſeaſe; by the latter we underſtand the day that the Jews devote to reſt. This may be conſidered as the fabulous appendix which Apion has given to the hiſtory of Moſes, and the account of the Jews' departure from Egypt, contrary to all hiſtorical truth. But it is not wonderful that a man ſhould traduce others, who contradicts himſelf. His birth-place was Oaſis in Egypt; but this he diſclaims, to be deemed an Alexandrian; which proves that he had no veneration for the Egyptians; and, indeed, by that name he diſtinguiſhes all thoſe whom he wiſhes to calumniate: and for this reaſon, among others, he ſeeks to diſguiſe his extraction. They who are not aſhamed to avow their country, are anxious to aſſert their claim to it, and zealous in the ſupport of their rights and privileges. With regard to the Jews, the Egyptians ſometimes claim kindred with us, and then boaſt of the affinity; and in inſtances where themſelves are reproached, they ſeem fond that we ſhould bear our part in the ſcandal. Apion, however, gives vent to all his malice againſt us, as if he ſought to pleaſe the Alexandrians for granting him the freedom of their city. He knew what an enmity there was at that time between the Alexandrians and the Jews of that place; and though his pretenſion was to traduce only one kind of Jews, yet his rancour extends to the whole people of that denomination.

Unjuſt charges againſt the Jews of Alexandria.

Let me aſk what crime he charges, with ſo much acrimony, on the Alexandrian Jews? He ſays, that when the Jews came from Syria, they took up their habitati-

ons on the coaſt, within reach of the tide, but not near a port where a veſſel could ride. Is he not cenſurable for ſcandalizing ſo diſtinguiſhed a city, a city which he boaſted (though not with truth) to have been the place of his birth? For that diſtrict is a dependency on Alexandria, and allowed to be a convenient ſituation. If the Jews forcibly took poſſeſſion of it, and then held that poſſeſſion, they are to be applauded for the act.

Alexander and others were benefactors to the Jews.

But the truth is, that the Jews were put in poſſeſſion of this place by Alexander the Great, who allowed them privileges equal to the Macedonians. What would Apion ſay, if, inſtead of being eſtabliſhed in this royal city, they were permitted a reſidence at Necropolis; and if their tribes are called Macedonians to this day? It is a doubt whether Apion ever read the epiſtles of Alexander, Ptolemy, the ſon of Lagus, and his ſucceſſors, kings of Egypt; with the inſcriptions engraven on the pillar at Alexandria, by Cæſar's order, to commemorate the privileges he granted to the Jews. If he had read them, he muſt have been a bad man to falſify his own knowledge; if not, he has at once betrayed his malice and his ignorance.

They took their names from places to which they were tranſplanted.

He is not leſs miſtaken in the aſtoniſhment he expreſſes at the Jews taking the name of Alexandrians. It is common for colonies to take their names from the places of their firſt foundation, of which we have many inſtances. The Jews of Antioch bear the name of Antiochians, king Seleucus having made their anceſtors free of that city. The Jews of Epheſus are denominated Epheſians: and Ionians is the name given to thoſe of Ionia: and they are entitled to thoſe names by ancient grants. Favours of this kind Rome hath granted to whole nations and provinces, as well as to individuals. How elſe happened it that the name of Romans was given to the ancient Iberians, Tuſcans, and Sabines? Apion is unwilling to allow this benefit to other people, and yet calls himſelf an Alexandrian. By this rule, no man born in Egypt ſhould aſſume the name of an Alexandrian; for the Egyptians are, of all people, refuſed this liberty by the Romans. But our malicious writer, incapable of juſtifying his own claim to this privilege, traduces thoſe who have an honeſt title to it.

Alexander's favourable opinion of them.

Alexander accepted the aſſiſtance of the Jews in the building of this city; not that he wanted hands; but that he was willing to ſhew the reliance he placed in their truth and honour. Hecatæus ſays, that Alexander had ſuch regard for the loyalty and modeſty of the Jews, that he gave them the province of Samaria, free of taxes, excluſive of other gratifications.

Confidence placed in the Jews by Ptolemy ſon of Lagus; and kind treatment of them by his ſucceſſor

Ptolemy, the ſon of Lagus, ſucceeded Alexander, and was not leſs pleaſed with the Alexandrian Jews, to whoſe care he committed all the fortreſſes in Egypt; and fixed colonies of theſe people in Cyrene, and other cities of Lybia, for his greater ſecurity.

This Ptolemy was ſucceeded by Ptolemy Philadelphus, who releaſed all the Jewiſh priſoners in the country, remitted their taxes and other debts; and was ſo zealouſly inclined to be inſtructed in our laws and cuſtoms, and in the holy ſcriptures, that he begged for interpreters to explain theſe matters to him. That no time might be loſt in ſuch a work, it was committed to the care of Demetrius Phalereus, who was diſtinguiſhed for his knowledge and probity, and to Andræus and Ariſtæas, two captains of the king's guards. Now it is unreaſonable to think that this veneration for the cuſtoms and laws of the Jews could ſubſiſt without a proportionable reſpect for their predeceſſors. But Apion muſt be unacquainted with this part of hiſtory, if he did not know that all the Macedonian kings favoured the Jews.

also by Ptolemy Euergetes;

Ptolemy, named likewiſe Euergetes, having ſubdued Syria, did not worſhip the Egyptian gods, in acknowledgment of his victory; but ſacrificed after the Jewiſh manner; and returned thanks to God in the temple of Jeruſalem.

and by Ptolemy Philometer, &c.

The whole weight of the government was committed, by Ptolemy Philometer, and the queen Cleopatra, to two Jews, named Onias and Doſitheus. Apion ſeeks to cenſure their conduct; whereas his thanks were due to them for preſerving Alexandria, of which he pretended to be a citizen: for when a rebellion prevailed in Egypt, and the place was nearly loſt, all was adjuſted by the conduct of theſe Jews. Apion ſays, that ſoon after this the place was entered by Onias, with a ſmall army; Thermus, the Roman ambaſſador, being preſent: but he ſays no more of this affair; though the action was undoubtedly a very brave one.

The war made by Ptolemy Phiſcon on Cleopatra. Onias takes up arms to defend her.

Ptolemy Philometer was ſucceeded by his ſon Ptolemy Phiſcon, who marched from Cyrene, to drive Cleopatra, and the king's ſons, from Egypt, and aſſume the government. Hereupon Onias made war on Phiſcon, in favour of Cleopatra, to defend the rights of royalty at all events: but never happened a more ſingular inſtance of the divine power and juſtice than on this occaſion: for Ptolemy being ready to engage in battle with Onias, he gave orders that the Jews of Alexandria, of both ſexes, and all ages, ſhould be ſtripped, bound, and thrown to the elephants, that they might be trampled to death; the beaſts having been previouſly intoxicated, to inflame their rage: but, moſt unexpectedly, the elephants touched not the Jews, but deſtroyed numbers of the beſt friends of Ptolemy, to whom, at this moment, appeared a horrid figure, commanding him to ceaſe perſecuting the Jews. Ptolemy's favourite miſtreſs likewiſe ſupplicated him to the ſame purpoſe; on which he was not only prevailed

Wonderful interpoſition of Providence in behalf of the Jews.

vailed upon to comply, but repented of all the cruelties which he had either perpetrated or intended. This fact is so well known, that an annual festival in memory of their escape, is to this day kept by the Jews of Alexandria; yet such is the antipathy of Apion to every thing generous, that he censures the Jews for engaging in this war against Phiscon, whereas he ought to have extolled that sense of justice which inspired them.

Cleopatra, though an infamous character, is celebrated by Apion.

The last Cleopatra who reigned in Alexandria, is celebrated by Apion, on account of her ingratitude to the Jews, instead of his reproaching her lewd life and conduct; her infidelity to the best of husbands; her treachery to the Romans, and her imperial benefactors; her causing her innocent sister Arsinoe to be put to death in the temple; the perfidious murder of her brother; the rifling the temples of the gods, and the sepulchres of her ancestors; and her rebelling against the adopted son and successor of the first Cæsar, from whose bounty she had received her kingdom. Nor is this all: Cleopatra's charms and falcinations rendered Antony a traitor to his friends and country: she dethroned some princes, and made others the instruments to propagate their vices.

Instances of her vile conduct.

It will be now proper to remark on the meanness of spirit evinced by this Cleopatra, who, at the naval battle of Actium, deserted even her beloved Antony (the father of many of her children), whom she compelled to forfeit his honour, quit his forces, and follow her. What conduct could be more worthy of censure? When Cæsar took Alexandria, she was so enraged, that she prided herself on her barbarities; and thought if she could have killed all the Jews with her own hands, she should have been recompensed for the loss of the city. If, as Apion reports, corn was refused to the Jews, during the time of famine, by Cleopatra, this writer could have no reason to assign this as a disgrace to us. But the evil deeds of Cleopatra have been rewarded.

The Jews vindicated by appealing to Cæsar, and the Roman decrees.

The Jews, in their justification, may appeal to the emperor himself, to the testimonials of Augustus Cæsar, and the public decrees of the senate of Rome; which will furnish united testimony of the firm faith and allegiance they have always borne to the empire, and particularly in the Egyptian war. These are the authorities that Apion should have consulted, if he meant to have done justice to the Jews. He ought to have taken the opinion of Alexander, the Ptolemies, and all the most distinguished Roman emperors, as well as of the senate. It was owing to a season of scarcity, and not to any fault of the Jews, that Germanicus could not supply all the Alexandrians with corn. The affection of the emperors towards the Alexandrian Jews was never doubted: wheat was granted to them in common with their neighbours: they had ample credit at all times, having the command of the river, and other passes of consequence: in fact, they were trusted more than other people, in stations and affairs of importance.

Reply to Apion's objections.

Apion asks, If the Jews are citizens of Alexandria, why they do not embrace the same religion; and worship the same gods as their fellow-citizens? To answer his question by a similar one, How happens it that the Egyptians differ in opinion respecting the mode of worship? Shall we doubt their being men, because in an unnatural manner they breed up beasts, and then worship them? The Jews, on the contrary, live in harmony. Now if the Egyptians are divided in sentiment, ought they to wonder that the Alexandrian Jews, who came from another country, should adhere to their old laws, though totally dissimilar from theirs?

Josephus clears the Jews of Alexandria from being the authors of the sedition there.

Apion imputes all the factions in the state to the divisions respecting matters of religion between the Alexandrian Jews, and the old inhabitants. If this were true of the Alexandrian Jews, why not of all the Jews in other places: since wherever we are dispersed, there is an uniformity in our conduct? They who attend to the nature of these commotions, will find that they were excited by persons of Apion's disposition: since, while the Greeks and Macedonians resided in this city, the Jews exercised their religion unmolested, and the people in general lived in harmony: whereas, on the increase of the Egyptians, the times grew more tumultuous. The Jews, in all variations, remained the same; while the others, less consonant than the Macedonians, less prudent than the Greeks, made all the disturbance; being previously irritated by the aversion they had to the Jews, and instigated by the ill example of the Egyptians. These people, I say, were the authors of our confusion; and we are blamed for the crime of the very persons who accuse us. We are likewise treated by Apion as strangers, though undoubtedly invested with all the rights of freemen; while our adversaries pretend to be citizens, without the shadow of a title to support their claim. History does not inform us that the princes of ancient times, or the later emperors, granted freedom to the Egyptians: whereas Alexander the Great was the first who bestowed that favour on us, and his grants have been extended by future monarchs: and since their time the Romans have continued and confirmed them.

Just reason assigned why the Jews could not consent to set up images and statues in honour of the emperors.

The Jews are likewise censured by Apion for not erecting statues in honour of the emperors; as if they could not have noticed this circumstance without his interposition. Instead of reflecting on us, he ought rather to have extolled the Romans, for permitting their subjects to enjoy their own religion, without demanding of them such honours as they could not discharge consistent with the rights of conscience. The value of obligation is enhanced by the unsolicited freedom with which it is granted. It may be said, that it is common, among the Greeks and other people, to hold in high estimation the pictures or images of their parents, children, servants, and even strangers;

gers: and ſhall not an equal degree of reſpect be paid to their ſovereigns? To this I reply, that the caſe with us is different, having reſpect to our venerable law-giver, who hath poſitively enjoined us not to uſe images of the likeneſs of any thing, animate or inanimate. This he could not have done with a view to derogate from the dignity of the Roman empire; but ſingly to forbid the bodily repreſentation of a God inviſible and incomprehenſible. But we are not forbid a veneration for good men, next to the Deity. We pray for the emperors and people of Rome; and, at the public expence, offer daily ſacrifices for their proſperity: but this we do not for any other people.

I thought proper to ſay thus much reſpecting the extravagancies of Apion concerning Alexandria. I am aſtoniſhed at the preſumption of Poſidonius and Apollonius Molon, who furniſhed materials for the work, and charge our people with worſhipping gods different from thoſe of other people. I forbear to remark on the ridiculous ſtories propagated on this ſubject, which even tend to ridicule our temple. A wilful falſity on any occaſion is an atrocious crime; but this crime is aggravated when it tends to ſcandalize a temple, univerſally celebrated for the regularity of devotion therein ſolemniſed.

Apion's ridiculous ſtory of the aſs's head.

Apion ſays that, "In this place was the head of an aſs, wrought in gold, of immenſe value, which was worſhipped by the Jews, and was a deity correſponding with their religion: it was lodged in the treaſury, and when that place was rifled, it was found, and carried off by Antiochus Epiphanes." If this ſtory were true, it comes with an ill grace from an Egyptian: for an aſs is no more diſgraceful than a goat, or weazle, or other beaſts worſhipped by the Egyptians: but it is ſtrange that any man could affect to believe ſo ridiculous a ſtory. The Jews have ever governed themſelves by the ſame laws and cuſtoms: and though Jeruſalem and its temple have fallen into the hands of enemies, as Theos, Pompey, Craſſus, and Titus Cæſar, yet nothing was ever ſaid of this aſs's head before, or of any thing extraordinary, but evidences of real piety.

Antiochus cenſured; and appeal of Joſephus to authors oi credit.

Antiochus, in his plunder of the temple, acted not as an open enemy, but as a faithleſs friend and traitor, who, being in want of money, ſupplied himſelf by robbery. There are, however, a number of hiſtorians who do juſtice to our cauſe; as Polybius, Strabo, Nicolaus, Timagenes, Caſtor, and Apollodorus, who agree that Antiochus, urged by his neceſſities, violated his faith with the Jews, and plundered their temple of a vaſt quantity of gold and ſilver. Now Apion would have conſidered theſe circumſtances, if he had not been as ſtupid as an aſs, and as impudent as a dog, two of the Egyptian gods; but we venerate not our aſſes, as thoſe people do their aſps and crocodiles: for they hold that if a perſon is ſtung to death by one, or devoured by the other, he inſtantly takes his reſidence with the gods. We think of aſſes as other men of ſenſe do: we employ them in laborious offices: but if they diſobey us, or tread down our corn, we puniſh them with ſtripes.

The captive ſtate of the Jews, no arguments againſt the purity of their religion.

Apion argues againſt the juſtneſs of our laws, our mode of worſhip, and the truth of our religion; that we are reduced to a ſtate of ſervitude and oppreſſion; that our city, formerly free and powerful, is now under ſubjection to the Romans. I would aſk what people are able to contend with the Roman power? who but Apion would argue as if dominion were entailed? Government and ſubjection are alternate. The Egyptians alone pretend to be free from obedience to the governors of Europe and Aſia; and this is founded on the gratitude of the ſtrange gods, who fled to their country for ſanctuary, and aſſumed the ſhape of beaſts. How ridiculous this, from a people who have been always ſlaves at home or abroad! The Egyptians have frequently ſubmitted to the Perſians, who have raſed their cities, plundered their temples, deſtroyed their idol gods, and ridiculed their religion. I would not write in Apion's manner, reproaching people for their misfortunes. The Lacedæmonians were always brave, and the Athenians diſtinguiſhed by their piety; yet neither valour nor religion could protect them from the viciſſitudes of war. Crœſus, one of the beſt of kings, was deplorably miſerable: the tower of Athens, the temples of Epheſus and Delphi, and many other diſtinguiſhed places have been laid in aſhes; but the crime of deeds like theſe reſts with thoſe who commit, not with thoſe who ſuffer them: but Apion has diſcovered a new mode of crimination, without recollecting how far Egypt might be concerned: but he was at this time ſo vain of Seſoſtris being king of Egypt, that he ſcarcely knew what he wrote. If the Jews were diſpoſed to vanity, they might boaſt of their kings, David and Solomon, and recite the hiſtory of princes and nations ſubdued by their valour. But let us adhere to our ſubject. The Egyptians were originally ſlaves to the Perſians, and other princes of Aſia, and then to the Macedonians. At this time the Jews lived in freedom, and commanded the adjacent cities, during one hundred and twenty years; even to the time of Pompey the Great. At length, when the Romans had ſubdued the ſeveral kings they contended with, they treated our anceſtors as friends and allies, in conſideration of their fidelity and courage: but Apion pretends to be unacquainted with theſe circumſtances, otherwiſe ſo well known.

Are not an obſcure and ignorant people.

This writer inſinuates that we are an obſcure and ignorant people. "The Jews (ſays he) have no men among them diſtinguiſhed by arts, ſciences, or the wiſdom requiſite for political government; like Socrates, Zeno, Cleanthes, and others." Apion even mentions himſelf as a man of eminence, and congratulates Alexandria on poſſeſſing ſo reſpectable a citizen. But Apion's character is ſo notorious for his impure life, that Alexandria is by no means to be envied the having ſo illuſtrious a freeman. With regard to the conteſt between the two nations, which poſſeſſes

poſſeſſes moſt men of learning, the reader may be ſatisfied by conſulting our Antiquities. Reſpecting the ſcandal yet unanſwered, we refer to Apion's writings, which actually accuſe the other Egyptians and himſelf.

Sacrifices of beaſts vindicated.

He pretends to be greatly offended at our cuſtomary ſacrifice of beaſts, and our abſtaining from eating ſwine's fleſh; and perfectly ridicules our ceremony of circumciſion. With regard to killing beaſts, it is practiſed by the world in general, as well as by us. Reſpecting our ſacrifices, he unavoidably diſcovers himſelf to be an Egyptian; for a Greek or Macedonian would not have objected to this circumſtance, as they offer whole hecatombs to their gods: nor in this is there any danger of deſtroying the ſpecies, as Apion affects to dread: on the contrary, were the Egyptian cuſtom general, men would leſs abound than wild beaſts, for theſe are the gods worſhipped by that people.

Some cuſtoms of the Egyptian priests, correſpond with thoſe of the Jews.

Were Apion aſked which of the Egyptians he thought the wiſeſt and beſt men, he would, doubtleſs, reply, the prieſts, who are charged, by tradition from their ancient kings, to worſhip the gods, and apply to the ſtudy of wiſdom. Now theſe prieſts are circumciſed, abſtain from ſwine's fleſh, and join not in ſacrifice with the other Egyptians. So that Apion, inſtead of gratifying the Egyptians by abuſing us, has rather defamed them by an indirect charge of practiſing the ceremonies he cenſures in the Jews. Herodotus ſays, that they alſo adviſe and encourage circumciſion: and it appears to me, that Apion was juſtly puniſhed for his virulence againſt the laws of his country. Being adviſed to be circumciſed, the wound putrified, and he died in torments not to be deſcribed. May this be a warning to thoſe who, like Apion, forego the duties of a good life, and employ their abilities in abuſing others. Thus ended the life of Apion; and I ſhall now draw this book to a concluſion.

Death of Apion.

Defence of Moſes and his laws.

But ſince Apollonius Molon, Lyſimachus, and other writers, have, with the utmoſt folly, reflected on our great lawgiver Moſes, whom they repreſent as an impoſtor and magician, and deſcribe his laws as of pernicious tendency, it may not be improper to give ſome particular account of our converſation and government; and I hope to make it evident that the laws* framed by Moſes excel all others, in their tendency to advance the general good of mankind, by the promotion of piety, juſtice, charity, induſtry, and all the other virtues, even thoſe which lead to the contempt of death: never, I repeat it, were laws ſo framed, if they were rightly conſidered. I mean not to write a panegyric on our forefathers, but to aſſert the truth, in defiance of the arts of detraction.

The Jews unjuſtly abuſed and defamed by Apollonius.

Apollonius does not, like Apion, abuſe us in a regular diſcourſe; but ſeeks every occaſion to miſrepreſent us: at one time he aſſerts that we are atheiſts, and obnoxious to God and man: then he repreſents us as cowards; and the next charge againſt us is, that we are preſumptuous, fool-hardy, and more ignorant than the moſt illiterate barbarians; for the Jews, he ſays, never were the authors of any inventions for the benefit of mankind. Now theſe malicious aſſertions are at once confuted, by a retroſpect to the laws by which we are governed, and the regularity with which we conform our lives to thoſe laws. If, then, we are compelled, by way of juſtifying ourſelves, to develope the faults of other political inſtitutions, they who have provoked us to make the diſagreeable compariſon muſt reſt content with the odium which the defence of ourſelves makes neceſſary.

Nature of the Jewiſh laws, and the obſervance of them, conſidered.

In this caſe two principal things are to be conſidered. In the firſt place, whether our laws are valuable in themſelves; and in the ſecond, whether we ſtrictly obſerve them. If the former be denied, we can eaſily prove the fact by quotations from our laws; and the ſecond point is ſo obvious, that it will not admit of a doubt. But let us conſider this matter farther. It is indiſputable that they who, through their benevolence, firſt framed our laws for the promotion of good order, are worthier characters than they who live in defiance of all order; though they boaſt of their antiquity, and are ambitious of teaching others how to act, rather than imitate the good actions of others. This will be allowed: and it is the duty of the law-giver to enact ſuch laws as by their own excellence prove their tendency to promote the public welfare: on the contrary, it is the duty of the people to adhere to ſuch laws, in defiance of all danger and diſcouragement.

Moſes the firſt legiſlator.

In point of antiquity our law-giver has an indiſputed precedence to all others: for Lycurgus, Solon, Zaleucus of Locris, and the other diſtinguiſhed Greeks ſo boaſted of, are mere moderns in reſpect to Moſes. In ancient times the name of law was unheard of, and even Homer wanted a word by which to expreſs it. In thoſe times the people were not governed by any written law, but by the ſole command of kings, who iſſued their orders as exigencies required. Even his enemies grant the precedence to our law-giver, who gave wonderful proofs of his abilities in council and government. He firſt compoſed a body of laws admirably

* The Jews have a feaſt, called "the Feaſt of Joy for the Law," It is purely of rabbinical inſtitution, and celebrated on the day after the Feaſt of Detention, which ſucceeds immediately after that of Tabernacles. The Jews divide the books of Moſes into 52 ſections, and on every ſabbath read a ſection, but they begin the reading on this feaſt; and on this feaſt the reading is finiſhed, and begun again: and the feaſt itſelf is a time of rejoicing in the goodneſs of God, who hath permitted them to paſs another year in the reading and ſtudy of the Law.

In the morning they repair to the ſynagogue; where, after certain

admirably calculated for the government of life; and then prevailed on the people to accept, and declare they would pay obedience to them. But the actions of this man are the beſt teſt of his merit.

His ſkill and wiſdom as a general and counſellor.

When many thouſands of our anceſtors marched out of Egypt, to the land which God had allotted them, through a ſandy deſert deſtitute of water, and were frequently attacked by enemies, againſt whom they were obliged to defend themſelves and families, our great law-giver was their guide through every difficulty; acting at once as a general, a counſellor, and protector. His modeſty was ſo ſingular, that though the whole multitude were abſolutely at his command, he never made the leaſt unreaſonable uſe of the power that was veſted in him; and in inſtances where others would have tyrannized, or acted licentiouſly, Moſes made a point of walking in the fear of God, and by his example encouraged others in acts of piety and moral honeſty, as moſt conducive to their welfare: and he alſo improved every occurrence to their advantage.

Moſes received his commands from God.

In all things Moſes followed the commands of God, aſſured that he was then acting right; and he laboured to promote the ſame conduct in others. Nothing is ſo effectual a check to irregular actions, as the conſideration that we are perpetually obſerved by an all-ſeeing God. Our law-giver was by no means a magician, as he hath been repreſented: but rather reſembled the character of Minos, and others who are ſaid to have been among the Greeks. Some aſcribe the origin of the Greeks laws to Jupiter, others to Apollo, or the Delphian oracle. Whether the authors of theſe accounts credited them, is doubtful: but the excellence of theſe laws will be beſt judged of by a compariſon; to which we now proceed.

The Jewiſh laws compared with thoſe of other nations.

Different nations have their different laws and modes of government. Single perſons have the management of ſome governments; the people, of others: but our law-giver avoided both theſe extremes, and formed what he denominates a divine commonwealth, of which God is the head, who is to be worſhipped as the diſpenſer of all good, and the fountain of all authority. To him we have recourſe in all diſtreſs; he hears our prayers, and knows our inmoſt thoughts. Moſes delivers the doctrine of one God, uncreated, eternal, unchangeable, infinitely glorious, and incomprehenſible, but through his works. This does not ill correſpond with what the more celebrated of the Grecian philoſophers have revealed by the mere light of nature: for they are almoſt unanimous in opinion as to the majeſty and excellence of the Deity. Pythagoras, Anexagoras, Plato, and the Stoics, are nearly of the ſame ſentiment on this ſubject; but the people in general being ſuperſtitiouſly prepoſſeſſed againſt theſe opinions, the philoſophers could not uſe their own freedom in promulgating them. Our law-giver was diſtinguiſhed by making his precepts the rule of his conduct, which has confirmed the preſent age, and will eſtabliſh poſterity in belief of the truths he delivered. He made it his general rule, that the public good ſhould be the end of all the laws he inſtituted. He conſtantly inculcated that the worſhip of God was only one part of the duty of a good man; and that the other parts conſiſted in fortitude, juſtice, and univerſal benevolence. Thus his precepts tended to the advancement of piety, and the glory of God; circumſtances to which he paid a rigid attention.

Attributes of the Divine Being.

Moſes lived as he taught.

Reſpecting religion and moral conduct he aſſociated theory with practice, in which other law-givers are generally deficient. The inhabitants of Lacedæmon and Crete were inſtructed in morals, though not regularly: whereas, the Athenians, and moſt other Greeks, had laws adapted for all occaſions, to which they frequently paid too little obedience. Our law-giver attended to the cultivation of our morals, while he gave written laws to operate on all emergencies. He gives us directions what food to eat, and what to abſtain from, and with whom we are to feed; and commands that all perſons, indiſcriminately, ſhall follow the ſame rule. He regulates our labour and reſt, ſo that every one may know his duty: we conſider the law as the command of a maſter, and know that wilful offenders againſt it are puniſhed. If we tranſgreſſed our laws, we ſhould be inexcuſable: for we not only hear them read once or twice; but are ſtrictly commanded to abſtain from all other buſineſs, and aſſemble weekly, in full congregation, to hear the law read, and learn it by heart; which was never enjoined by

His ſuperior excellency above other law-givers, and wherein it conſiſts.

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tain prayers pronounced by the chaſſan (i.e. reader or chanter), they bring out all the books of the Law, and carry them, in ſolemn proceſſion, about the pulpit; offering up at the ſame time certain prayers. This done, all the books are carried back and laid up again in the ark, excepting three; out of which is [illegible] read the finiſhing ſection in the courſe of reading the Law [illegible] immediately after which, the firſt ſection, in the ſame courſe, [illegible] read out of another book: and out of the third, the *hamaphtir*, or he who diſmiſſes the aſſembly, reads the concluding verſes (beginning at verſe the 35th) of the 29th chapter of Numbers, concerning offerings.

They are taught, that the laſt and firſt ſections of the Law are read on this feaſt, to the end the devil may not take occaſion to go to the Almighty, and ſay, "O Lord of the world, the Jews have indeed finiſhed the reading of the book of the Law, but they will not read it again." While all the books of the Law are out of the ark, a burning wax candle is placed in it; for the ark is never to be left empty: and a lighted candle is put in the place of the books, becauſe it is ſaid (Prov. vi. 23.) "The commandment is a lamp; and the Law is light."

Apples, pears, nuts, and other fruit, are on this feaſt, thrown in the ſynagogue to the boys, that they likewiſe may have ſomething to rejoice at. But as the boys ſcramble for them, it is often ſeen that their mirth is ſpoiled by the frays which happen in that general contention for the fruit.

other

other law-givers. People in general, so far from conforming to the laws of their country, are even unacquainted with them; and having committed an offence, frequently enquire what law they have broken. This is even the case among persons of distinction, who confess their ignorance, by asking advice of council: but our people know the laws as readily as their own names; being taught them from their earliest infancy. Thus being certain of detection and punishment, they are more cautious of offending.

Unity of sentiments among the Jews.

From this it arises that we are so unanimous in sentiment. We entertain the same ideas of God; our worship, our lives and manners, are the same. Thus we differ from every other people, who entertain various opinions of the same God. This is not only the case with the vulgar, who talk at random, but even with the philosophers, some of whom deny the divinity of God, and others his providence, by the insinuation of the equality of all men, who should possess all things in common. On the contrary, we say that all things are directed by God, and that our whole lives should be devoted to his service: and even our wives and children are of the same sentiment.

Adherence of the Jews to antient establishments.

I would now advert to that reflection, that we are void of industry or genius in arts or letters; whereas men of spirit refine on the custom of their ancestors. We make it a point of conscience to adhere in all things to the establishment of antient times, thinking their antiquity a mark of their virtue, and that neither time nor arguments will destroy them. They who believe the divine authority of our laws, will think themselves bound to hold them sacred. Who shall presume to remove the foundations laid by God, or attempt to amend them by an intermixture of the laws of other governments? Can any constitution be so firm, as that of which the King of kings hath been the author? Our priests are qualified for their respective services, and are all subject to the power of the high-priest. Our law-giver did not promote them to gratify their ambition, or advance their interest, but because they had given proof of their piety, wisdom, and temperance; and the care of religion and God's worship is committed to them. They are judges in personal disputes, and have power to punish the aggressor. What form of government can be more venerable than ours? How can we honour the Deity more than by devoting our lives to his service, under the direction of his priests? The solemn dignity of our devotion makes every day appear a festival. Other people are fatigued by the celebration of their sacrifices but for a few days; yet we are still happy in the performance of our duties, though so many ages have elapsed since their first institution.

Qualifications of priests.

Opinion of the Jews concerning God.

One of the most acknowledged precepts of our religion is, that God is all in all; self-sufficient, happy, perfect; the beginning, midst, and end of all things; that all his works are glorious; that his power and greatness are equally obvious and incomprehensible; that man can neither express or conceive any thing to resemble the Divine Majesty. We hold him to be incomprehensibly excellent in all his attributes, and that, being a spirit, he is invisible. But we are permitted to contemplate him in his works; as in the light, the heavens, earth, sun, moon, rivers, sea, animals, plants, &c. All these were created by God, without labour, and without assistance. They are the effect of his will, and the creatures of his word; which powerful word gave birth to all things, and pronounced them good. We seek to adore this almighty God by the practice of virtue.

Unity of the Godhead, and uniformity of his worship.

It appears to us, that as there is but one God and one world, there should be but one temple; for the Deity delights in order and unanimity. Daily devotions are offered in this temple by the priests, the chief of whom performs the sacrifices, orders due obedience to the laws, hears causes, and punishes the violators of the law. We hold that appealing from the judgment of God is not more criminal than disputing the authority of the priest.

Temperance enjoined, and the priest's office and authority.

When we eat the flesh of sacrifices, we are careful not to indulge in gluttony; considering that God is the friend of sobriety and temperance, and the enemy of all profusion. The first prayer the priest offers is for the general welfare of mankind: then each man, as a part of the whole, prays for himself; for we are convinced that mutual charity and affection is highly agreeable to God. In our prayers we are forbid to ask for wealth and honour, and the blessings of this life; since these are indifferently bestowed on people in common: but our prayer is for grace rightly to use what we possess.

Purifications, marriage, and chastity.

Certain forms are prescribed us respecting the purification of women, and in other cases: this the law ordains, as pleasing to God, and we consider God himself as the essence of the law. Marriage must be celebrated by consent of parents, without fraud or force, purely for the procreation of children, without regard to fortune, or the gratification of appetite. Death is the punishment of the mere attempt to gratify unnatural passions.

Laws respecting married women, &c.

Our law ordains that a woman be in all things subject to her husband; not that the man is thereby permitted to use her ill, but that proper decorum may be maintained. The woman who lies with another man than her husband is to suffer death; and the same punishment is due to the man who injures a betrothed virgin, or seduces a married woman, or the mother of children. The law is equally severe on women who destroy or conceal their children at the birth; as the practice tends to depopulate the world, and we hold that the soul suffers with the body. After connection with a woman, a man is deemed unclean; and a woman, after such connection with her husband, is to wash herself, for which purifying water

is

is conſtantly at hand; for we believe, that in this caſe, the communication between ſoul and body is very intimate.

Birth-days not to be luxuriouſly celebrated.

Our law diſapproves of feaſting at the birth of children, ſince it is intended to educate them in ſobriety, and leſt ſuch conduct might lead to intemperance. Children are to be educated in the knowledge of law and hiſtory, to inſpire them with courage to imitate great examples, and to give them a perfect ſenſe of their duty.

Funeral ceremonies to be decently performed.

Care is taken to moderate the expence of funeral ceremonies and monuments; but the domeſtics of the deceaſed are impowered to perform the office with decency. People in general are permitted to lament over the dead; but the family being deemed unclean, are to remain at a diſtance; and after the funeral the houſe is to be purified. In caſes of wilful murder or chance-medley, the law puniſhes according to the degree of the crime.

Laws reſpecting children, and civil life.

Next to our duty to God, we are commanded to reverence our parents, and the diſobedient are to be ſtoned to death. Young people are to pay reſpect to the elder. There muſt be no concealments among friends, but the fulleſt confidence; and if a friendſhip is diſſolved, we muſt not reveal former ſecrets. Death is the puniſhment of a judge who receives a bribe. All men are forbidden to invade the property of their neighbours, or lend their money on uſury. Thus much for our tranſactions with each other.

Treatment of ſtrangers.

It may now be proper to conſider our behaviour reſpecting ſtrangers; and to ſhew that our law-giver hath carefully ſought to advance the public weal, by keeping us obedient to our laws, and extending their benefit to all who chuſe to embrace them; for we freely receive people of all nations who will agree with us in the common principles of life and behaviour. They, indeed, who come to us without intention of joining with us, are not permitted to attend our ſolemnities; but we are commanded to do them good offices, to ſupply them with food, fire, and water; to give them good advice, and decently to bury their dead. Theſe we conſider as duties of mere humanity.

Laws concerning war, and captives.

Our law-giver likewiſe directs moderation to be obſerved towards our enemies; and enjoins us to be charitable to priſoners; particularly women. He would not permit ſtripping the bodies of thoſe who fell in battle. So great was his zeal for the encouragement of benevolence, that he recommended the practice of it towards the irrational creation, allowing no other power over them than for abſolute uſe. We are commanded to ſpare domeſtic animals; and with regard to others, not to deſtroy the dam and young together. We are likewiſe to forbear deſtroying beaſts of labour.

Such were the conſtitutions of our law-giver, to promote the cauſe of humanity, and ſeverely to puniſh tranſgreſſors. In many caſes death follows the crime, as in adultery, rape, and unnatural practices, in which both parties are doomed to ſuffer; and the puniſhment extends to bond and free, and to all ranks of life. Our weights and meaſures are regulated by law, which forbids frauds in our dealings, or that we appropriate another man's goods to our uſe. Perſons thus offending are more ſeverely puniſhed by our laws than by others. They who blaſpheme their God, or revile their parents, are doomed to inſtant death.

Puniſhments of tranſgreſſors in various crimes.

Our people expect not, for their obedience to theſe laws, the rewards of gold, ſilver, precious ſtones, or worldly honours; but the ſilent approbation of a good conſcience, and the perfect hope of endleſs happineſs; of which our law-giver has aſſured us, and which God hath promiſed to thoſe who obey his laws: and in this confidence they conſider death itſelf only as a paſſage from this world to a better.

Reward of obedience to the laws.

I ſhould have ſcrupled urging thus much, if the facts had not been as clear as the ſun, as appears by the hiſtory of our anceſtors, who bore the moſt exquiſite torments without murmur, rather than ſpeak a word to the diſcredit of their profeſſion. But let us ſuppoſe that the Jews had been a people never heard of, and that there were no witneſſes of the veneration they had conſtantly maintained for their laws. What idea would the Grecians form, if any one ſhould recite to them a ſtory of a ſtrange people in an unknown land, who had ſo ſtrictly adhered to the laws and religion of their anceſtors, through ſuch a long ſucceſſion of ages! Would not a people ſo unſettled in themſelves be aſtoniſhed at the recital?

Strict adherence of the Jews to their religion and cuſtoms.

How much are modern writers, who treat of government, ridiculed for their ſuppoſed impracticable ſchemes! Not to mention other philoſophers who have written on this ſubject, there is Plato, the moſt eminent of the Greeks, a philoſopher, and a man diſtinguiſhed by his wiſdom and piety. Now this Plato is ridiculed on a public theatre, by ignorant buffoons, for what they call his abſurd notions of government: yet his writings, on a careful peruſal, will be found conſiſtent with the laws of nature and reaſon. Plato himſelf ſays, "It is unſafe for a wiſe man to deliver his opinion reſpecting God, leſt he ſhould be ridiculed by the vulgar." The Greeks ſay that Plato writes too vainly and licentiouſly; but they allow Lycurgus to be a perfect law-giver, from a reverence to the duration of his laws. Now if it be acknowledged that the laws are better for their antiquity, how can the Lacedæmonians contend with us, whoſe claim is of above two thouſand years ſtanding? I may add,

Vindication of Plato from unjuſt charges.

Lycurgus deemed a perfect law-giver.

that the Lacedæmonians paid a ſtrict veneration to their laws no longer than while themſelves remained in a ſtate of freedom; but they deſerted their laws as ſoon as themſelves were abandoned by fortune.

Conſtancy of the Jews in adhering to their laws.

On the contrary, our people never quitted the cuſtoms of our anceſtors during all their troubles in Aſia, when they were reduced to the utmoſt extremities; nor did they ever conſult their eaſe in the preſervation of their laws: a ſlight compariſon will ſhew that the Lacedæmonians had no ſuch hard duty as the Jews. They were not reduced to the neceſſity of labouring hard; but lived in the city at their eaſe, having the conveniencies of life provided for them. Their chief duty conſiſted in an occaſional attack on a public enemy. Even in this ſervice they failed: they often deſerted, in great numbers, to the enemy, laying down their arms, and violating their duty. This cannot be aſſerted of the Jews. I cannot recollect more than two or three of our people who have deſerted their cauſe in the fear of death: I mean not the death of a ſoldier in the field of battle, but a death of deliberate cruelty and torment. To this diſtreſs many of our people have been expoſed; not, as I firmly believe, through malice, but to try their heroiſm, and to ſee if they were men who would rather ſubmit to be torn in pieces than violate their laws by word or action.

Severity of the Jewiſh diſcipline.

Nor is there any thing ſo extraordinary in this reſolution of the Jews; for our common mode of living would appear hard to other people: I mean our laborious fatigues, penurious fare, days of faſting, inferior cloathing, coarſe lodging, and other circumſtances. How would the Lacedæmonians behave in their military life, if reſtricted from certain meats, and other indulgences? Our people, on the contrary, glory in their conſtancy and reſolution, and in a ſtrict obedience to their laws; wherefore, thoſe like Lyſimachus and Molon, and others who wrote to corrupt the morals of youth, may proceed to traduce us as they pleaſe.

Laws of other nations not to be traduced.

We rather chuſe to obey our own laws, than abuſe thoſe of others. Our lawgiver was ſo cautious, that he would not permit any inſult to be offered to the gods of other nations, holding even the name of the Deity in the higheſt reverence. Yet it would be improper for us to remain indifferent where it is ſo neceſſary to ſilence our adverſaries, and where, in fact, the work is already done to our hands. All the wiſe men among the Greeks exclaim againſt their poets and law-givers, for infuſing the idea of ſuch a number of gods into the minds of the vulgar, and extending this number at pleaſure, and deriving their origin agreeable to fancy, from any age or country: they go farther; they even aſſign them ſtations, like other creatures: they have ſubterranean and ſea gods; and feign that the eldeſt is kept in chains in hell. Jupiter is the name of their principal celeſtial god. They call him Father, but make him think and act as a tyrant, and pretend that his wife, his brother, and the daughter of his brain, conſpire to deſtroy him, as he had deſtroyed his father. All wiſe men have deſpiſed theſe fabulous deities, and held them in the contempt they deſerved. Some of theſe gods are repreſented as children, others in youth and vigour, and ſome as reverend figures with long beards. They have likewiſe deities preſiding over particular arts, as that of the weaver, ſmith, and others; and protectors of pilgrims, champions, archers, and harpers. They make the gods quarrel with each other, and eſpouſe the cauſe of mortals: in theſe quarrels, they are wounded, and languiſh under their calamities. Theſe pretended gods and goddeſſes proceed even to illicit amours with men and women. Even Jupiter, the father and prince of their gods, after debauching of mortal women, is unable to protect either them or his offſpring, but laments their deſtruction, in being obliged to ſubmit to irreſiſtible fate.

Heathen deities ridiculous and contemptible.

What a picture is this of lewd and impious debauchery, and its probable conſequences! Open adulteries in heaven, committed by the gods, and boaſted of even ſo far as to envy the proſtitutes. If Jupiter, the principal of all the deities, could not reſiſt the charms of a laſcivious female, what is to be expected from the unbridled paſſions of the ſubordinate deities! What opinion are we to form of gods converted to ſhepherds and maſons, and confined priſoners in hell? What ſhall we ſay to gods in liveries, acting as ſervants? Muſt not every man of common ſenſe abhor and deteſt thoſe who could invent, propagate, or credit, ſuch blaſphemous tales? Theſe people ſometimes make gods of their paſſions, as their frights and fears, and then worſhip them in theſe imaginary characters; ſo that what is moſt diſagreeable among men becomes paſſable in the character of a god. Yet all this is inſufficient to prevent people ſacrificing to ſome of theſe monſters that are leſs obnoxious than the reſt; but they deem their gods the authors of good and evil, and, of courſe, their friends or enemies, as circumſtances vary. On this conſideration, they treat their deities as they would men of dangerous diſpoſitions: they pay them obedience in the fear of being injured by them.

Their lewdneſs and debaucheries expoſed.

It is ſtrange that mankind ſhould thus labour under ſuch egregious miſtakes regarding the Deity. We can impute it only to the ignorance of the law-givers reſpecting the divine nature, or their neglect in communicating to the world the ideas they formed of theſe things, as matters which they thought of very little importance. Thus the poets and orators were left to imagine ſuch gods as they pleaſed; and their political inſtitutions were blended with idle tales and amuſements reſpecting ſtrange deities and ridiculous worſhip.

Heatheniſh ignorance reſpecting the Deity accounted for.

Deities formed by painters and ſtatuaries.

This abuſe has been, in a great degree, increaſed by painters and ſtatuaries, ſince the Greeks were fond of dreſſing up their gods in imaginary ſhapes and figures, according to the fancy of the artiſt. They had, likewiſe, abundant matter on which to employ their ſkill. Some of them worked in plaſter, ſome in ſculpture, ſome in colours, and others (who were more eminent) in gold and ivory; and the laſt production was generally moſt in repute, on account of its novelty. As the old gods grew out of faſhion, their places were readily ſupplied by new deities. Thus too it was with reſpect to their religion; one mode of it ſucceeded another. The ſame cuſtom prevailed with regard to their temples; one was no ſooner decayed than another was raiſed from its ruins, agreeable to the prevailing faſhion of the times; whereas, in truth, the worſhip of God ought to be unalterable as the divine nature.

Some Greek philoſophers had the ſame notions of the Deity as the Jews, particularly Plato.

Apollonius Molon may be reckoned among the number of the ſuperſtitious writers: but thoſe of the Greeks who may be juſtly called philoſophers know the truth of what I have recorded, entertain the ſame ideas of God that we do, and the ſame contempt for ſuperſtitious fables. Plato had his reaſon for admitting no poets in his commonwealth: he even diſmiſſes Homer, though with all honour as a poet, leſt the true religion ſhould be deſtroyed by the fabulous. Plato, in his commonwealth, reſembles Moſes, in his orders to his ſubjects to ſtudy of the laws, retain them in memory, and not intermix the cuſtoms of ſtrangers; but preſerve the government pure, and pay a ſtrict regard to poſitive injunctions. This ſeems to be forgotten by Molon, when he attacks the Jews for not communicating with perſons of a different perſuaſion; as though they were ſingular in this; whereas it is the cuſtom with the wiſeſt of the Greeks, and with people in general.

Rigid ſeverity of the Lacedæmonians.

The Lacedæmonians refuſed to admit ſtrangers among them, nor would they permit their citizens to travel to other countries, for fear of the contamination by evil example. It ſeems ſevere thus to deny people the rights of ſociety and commerce. Now the Jews are ſo far from acting thus rigorouſly, that though they do not intrude into other people's concerns, yet they readily receive all ſuch as chuſe to join them, which argues a benevolent turn of mind.

Attachment of the Athenians to their fabulous gods.

The Athenians, likewiſe, boaſt of admitting all ſtrangers: but this ſeems to be more than Apollonius was acquainted with. So zealous were the Athenians for the honour of their gods, that a ſingle diſgraceful word on that ſubject was a capital offence. Socrates loſt his life, not for any atrocious crime, but for making new oaths, which he ſaid a divine ſpirit had ſuggeſted to him. Whether he was in earneſt in his aſſertion, is yet a ſecret; but he was tried, and condemned for it, and died by poiſon. He was alſo charged with inſpiring the people with falſe ideas of the religion and laws of their country.

Punishment inflicted by them on account of religion.

Anaxagoras, the Clazomenian, ſuffered death for declaring that the ſun, which the Athenians worſhipped as a god, was only a red-hot ſtone. Diagoras, the Melian, having ridiculed their religion, proclamation was made, offering a talent for his head: and the ſame would have happened reſpecting Protagoras, but he made his eſcape. He was charged with being author of a writing expreſſing his doubts of the Athenian gods. But we need not be ſurpriſed at this treatment of men, when women fared no better. A prieſteſs was put to death on a charge of worſhipping ſtrange gods: and it was made death to introduce a new religion. It is then evident that the people could have no faith in other gods, as far as the laws could operate to prevent them: and if they had ſuch faith, they would have ſought the favour of ſuch gods.

Attachment of the barbarous Scythians to their laws and cuſtoms.

Even the Scythians, who are a barbarous and ſavage people, are yet ſo cautious of keeping the myſteries of their religion ſacred, that they put Anacharſis to death for ſpeaking too reſpectfully of the Grecian gods: and we are told of ſeveral perſons who were executed upon a ſimilar account. Now Apollonius was a warm friend of the laws of the Perſians, and admired them as well as the Greeks, for their conſiſtency of worſhip. He not only thought well of, but partly imitated theſe people, by abuſing the wives of other men, and putting out their childrens eyes.

Zeal and conſtancy of the Jews for the obſervance of their laws.

The Jews are ſo ſtrict in obſerving their laws, that they cannot be tempted by fear, advantage, power, or any other conſideration, to deſert their duty. We do not willingly encounter hazards but in ſupport and protection of our lawful rights. We have patiently ſubmitted to all other outrages; but the violation of our laws moſt ſenſibly affects us, and has made us in the higheſt degree daring and obſtinate. Why ſhould we envy the laws of other nations, when their very founders have abandoned them? How will the Lacedæmonians excuſe their want of hoſpitality, and their cuſtom of cohabiting without marriage? The inhabitants of Elis and Thebes are abandoned to unnatural luſts, to ſuch a degree that cuſtom hath almoſt made them lawful. This vice has likewiſe prevailed among the Greeks, till it has been attributed to their gods, who are ſaid to have lain with their own ſiſters, and then compounded for the offence.

Vicious conduct of other legiſlators.

Their neglect of juſtice.

How ſhall we ſpeak of thoſe law-givers who are more anxious to ſave than puniſh offenders; who forgive adultery for a fine, and excuſe fornication, on marrying the injured virgin? Theſe kind of compoſitions are great temptations to ignorant people to renounce virtue, and violate the laws; and the reſolution is often previouſly taken to trample upon all that is ſacred. Nothing of this kind is imputed to our people:

ple: the protection of liberty, property, or even of life, would never tempt us to depart from obligations we held sacred. If the intrinsic excellence of our laws thus engaged us, it must be allowed our affections were well placed, and that the laws answered the proposed end: if the goodness of our laws is denied, they are still more culpable who have better laws, and do not observe them.

The legislator Moses, and his laws, the most ancient.

Time is the test of excellence, and antiquity the best proof of the goodness of a law. Here then we rest the argument, for the credit of our law-giver, and his laws respecting the worship of God. No one will deny that Moses was, by several ages, the earliest law-giver; and as our laws are derived from him, so all nations have imitated them in some degree. I admit that the ancient Greeks had, to appearance, separate laws; but their philosophers had the same ideas of God that we have, and advanced the same doctrines for the conduct of life.

The Jewish laws imitated by foreign nations.

The piety and regular government of the Jews are so well established in the world, that there is scarce any nation, Greek or Barbarian, that has not in some degree followed their example, either in observing our sabbath on the seventh day; in fasts; in the use of lamps; in abstaining from particular food; in the exercise of humanity; in social sentiments; in industry, or in resolution to suffer for the truth. In all these things they copy from our original.

Their wonderful efficacy on the human mind, from their transcendent excellency.

But the most extraordinary circumstance remains unnoticed; which is, that this single code of laws should have such an universal influence on the minds of men as to operate without any other authority than its own intrinsic merit, as the universe is influenced by the Almighty. Whoever takes a view of his own country or family, will see the force of this remark. Now would any one but an enemy advise us to change our old laws for new, and those less valuable? If not, all reproach ought to cease. In embracing our cause, we have no enmity to any man, but speak reverently of our prophet, convinced that God speaks to us through him. But suppose we were not enough acquainted with our laws to esteem them on their own account; yet the number of eminent persons who have reverenced them, must engage our regard. Of this I have spoken more fully in my Antiquities; but am impelled to make this observation in support of the truth against detraction, without wishing to calumniate others, in order to validate our own credit.

But to conclude, I think I have made good my promise; having fully proved the antiquity of our people, and quoted many respectable authorities that speak highly of us in their annals. It has been asserted that our ancestors came originally from Egypt: this I have disproved. It has been likewise said, that we were expelled Egypt on account of contagious diseases. I have made it appear that our ancestors valiantly fought through their enemies to their own country. Some writers have represented Moses as a man of the most immoral character, which is contrary to the united testimonies of a succession of ages to his credit.

Peculiar happy tendency of the laws of the Jews proved, on various accounts.

It were needless to vindicate our laws from abuse. All persons of wisdom and piety, who read and understand them, are convinced that these laws are inimical to vice, extravagance, and faction; and tend to promote peace, justice, industry, and benevolence. They forbid war, through ambition or avarice, and discountenance returning evil for evil. They recommend courage in the common cause: caution people not to be deceived by false pretences, and advise men to be virtuous rather in actions than in words.

On the whole, I may assert that our laws are unequalled, since nothing can exceed a strict piety; a just obedience to institutions; union in prosperity; friendship in adversity; bravery in war; and an industrious application to arts and husbandry in peace; and lastly, a consciousness that wherever we go, or whatever we do, we are superintended by an omniscient God, and his governing providence. If our laws had been elsewhere written, or deposited in other hands before they reached us, we should certainly be under obligations to those who thus preserved them; but if they never were otherwise disposed of, and if we have constantly made them the rule of our conduct (as is indisputably the case), I defy such writers as Apion and Molon, and am happy in this appeal to Epaphroditus, and others to whom the truth of our history may be considered as an object of importance.

THE

THE WARS OF THE JEWS. BY FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES ſubdues JERUSALEM, perſecutes the JEWS, and aboliſhes the Worſhip of GOD. BACCHIDES is ſlain by MATTHIAS. JUDAS obtains Poſſeſſion of the Temple, and reſtores the Rites and Ceremonies of Religion. The Death of ANTIOCHUS. Death of JUDAS.

Competition between Antiochus and Ptolemy.

A WAR was maintained between Antiochus Epiphanes and Ptolemy the ſixth, reſpecting the right to the kingdom of Syria; and the principal people among the Jews were divided into factions, ſome eſpouſing the cauſe of one king, and ſome that of the other: but the party favoured by Onias, one of the high-prieſts, proving moſt powerful, he compelled the ſons of Tobias to abandon the city. They repaired to Antiochus, intreating him to make an incurſion into Judæa, offering to become his guides, and otherwiſe to aſſiſt him to the extent of their power. He had entertained an anxious deſire to engage in this enterpriſe, and therefore but little perſuaſion was neceſſary to obtain his conſent. He entered Judæa with a formidable army, reduced Jeruſalem by ſtorm, and put to death a vaſt number of perſons who were ſuppoſed to be attached to the intereſt of Ptolemy. He allowed his troops the benefit of the plunder, deſpoiled the holy temple of its dedications and immenſe wealth, and, for the ſpace of three years and an half cauſed the daily ſacrifices and prayers to the Almighty, and every religious ceremony, to be intirely ſuppreſſed. Onias, the high-prieſt, fled to Ptolemy, who granted him permiſſion to erect a temple adjacent to the city of Heliopolis, formed after the model of that at Jeruſalem. Of this temple we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more particularly in the progreſs of the work.

Malevolent diſpoſition of Antiochus towards the Jews.

Though Antiochus had obtained poſſeſſion of Jeruſalem, and put great numbers of his enemies to death, his barbarity and ambition were yet unſatisfied: the remembrance of the difficulties he had encountered during the ſiege, inſpired him with a moſt implacable rancour towards the Jews, whom he compelled to abandon the laws of their country, and the ceremonies of their religion: he iſſued a prohibition to their circumciſing their children, and decreed that no victims ſhould be ſacrificed upon the altar but hogs, the ſacrifice of which animals is expreſsly forbidden by our law. Theſe outrageous proceedings were held in the utmoſt abhorrence, but

but thoſe who expreſſed the leaſt diſſatisfaction were immediately put to death. At this period, Bacchides held the command of Judæa under Antiochus: he was a man perfectly qualified to execute the mercileſs orders of the tyrant, being naturally of a ferocious, cruel, and unrelenting diſpoſition: the inſolence of this man was ſo great, that he conſtantly treated perſons of the moſt diſtinguiſhed rank with the higheſt indignity. In ſhort, every day afforded a repreſentation of the horrors that prevailed at that fatal time when Jeruſalem was vanquiſhed.

Bacchides alſo perſecutes the Jews.

The outrageous behaviour of Bacchides became, at length, ſo intolerable, that ſome of the injured parties concerted meaſures for revenge. One of the prieſts, named Matthias, who was an inhabitant of Modin, and the ſon of Aſmonæus, being attended by his five ſons and a company of his domeſtics, all armed with poniards, went in ſearch of Bacchides, whom he put to death; immediately after which he retreated to the mountains, in order to avoid the fury of the garriſons eſtabliſhed by Antiochus. Being ſoon joined by great numbers of people, he ventured into the plains, and engaged the enemy, whom he totally vanquiſhed, and drove out of Judæa. This ſucceſsful enterpriſe obtained him ſo high a veneration among the people, that, in gratitude for their deliverance, they elected him their general. Upon his death, Matthias bequeathed his authority to Judas, his eldeſt ſon.

Judas oppoſes Antiochus, and gets poſſeſſion of the temple.

Judas, apprehending that Antiochus would endeavour to revenge the injuries he had ſuſtained, collected a powerful army of his countrymen, and contracted a league of amity with the Romans. Antiochus again led his army into Judæa, but he was repulſed by Judas, who, determined to purſue the advantage his victory had afforded, immediately aſſaulted the city garriſon, which yet remained intire: he compelled the ſoldiers to abandon the upper city (otherwiſe called the *holy-place*), and they took refuge in the lower town. Being now in poſſeſſion of the temple, Judas purified every part of the building, encompaſſed it with a wall, provided it with the various kinds of veſſels neceſſary to the ſolemnities of religion, the other utenſils being deemed polluted, and cauſed another altar to be conſtructed, on which ſacrifices were offered to the Almighty.

Death of Antiochus, and defeat of the Jews by his ſon and ſucceſſor.

When the pious endeavours of Judas had reſtored the worſhip of God, Antiochus departed this life. He was ſucceeded by a ſon named after him, whoſe enmity towards the Jews was equal to that of his predeceſſor. This Antiochus led an army conſiſting of fifty thouſand infantry, near five thouſand cavalry, and eighty elephants, by the way of the mountains, into Judæa: he ſubdued the town of Bethſura: and Judas engaged him in a narrow paſs in a place called Beth-zacharias. The Jews maintained the battle a long time with remarkable bravery: but, at length, great numbers of them being deſtroyed, Judas retreated with the remainder into the toparchy of Gophnis. Antiochus marched to Jeruſalem, but on account of a ſcarcity of proviſions, he remained in that city only a few days; previous to his departure he eſtabliſhed a garriſon for the protection of the place, ordering the reſt of his army into Syria, there to take up their winter-quarters.

Judas availing himſelf of the abſence of Antiochus, aſſembled ſuch of the troops as had eſcaped in the late encounter, and many other of his countrymen, and at a place called Adaſa gave battle to ſome of the troops of Antiochus; in this action he remarkably ſignalized himſelf by ſkill and reſolution: but being oppreſſed by numbers, he loſt his life. John, the brother of Judas, did not ſurvive this event many days, being ſeduced by the friends of Antiochus into an ambuſh, where he was deſtroyed.

Judas ſlain in battle.

CHAP. II.

The Treachery of TRYPHON *towards* JONATHAN, *whom he cruelly puts to Death.* SIMON *murdered by the Treachery of his Son-in-law* PTOLEMY. PTOLEMY *puts the Mother and Brothers of* HYRCANUS *to Death.* SEBASTE *deſtroyed by* ARISTOBULUS *and* ANTIGONUS.

Jonathan, prince of the Jews, betrayed and murdered by Tryphon.

UPON the deceaſe of Judas*, his brother Jonathan ſucceeded to the dignity of the Prince of the Jews. He conducted himſelf with great circumſpection and prudence to the people under his government: he confirmed himſelf in his authority, and added ſtrength to his intereſt, by forming an alliance with the Romans, and effecting a reconciliation with the ſon of Antiochus: but the ſtrict propriety of his conduct was not ſufficient to inſure his ſafety. Tryphon, the preceptor of young Antiochus, treacherouſly concerted meaſures for the deſtruction of Jonathan; and upon his arrival at Ptolemais, in order to join Antiochus, he ſeized the opportunity of making him priſoner by ſurpriſe; after which he marched his forces to attack Judæa: but the tyrant was effectually repulſed by Simon, the brother of Jonathan, which circumſtance ſo highly exaſperated him that he returned and ſacrificed the life of Jonathan to his revenge.

Simon ſubdues ſeveral

Simon was naturally diſpoſed to activity and reſolution: he ſubdued Gazara†,

* See Joſephus's Antiquities, Book XIII. Chap. 1, 9, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16.

† The true orthography is Gazara, and not Zara.

towns, and recovers Judæa.

Joppa, and Jamina, and laid Accaron‡ in ruins: he then joined Antiochus in oppoſing Tryphon; and previous to his expedition to Media, Antiochus beſieged Dora. So extreme was the avarice and ingratitude of Antiochus, that, notwithſtanding Simon had rendered him a very conſiderable ſervice, by aſſiſting in effecting the death of Tryphon, he ſoon after that circumſtance diſpatched an army under the command of Cendebæus, in order to ravage the country of Judæa, and make Simon a priſoner. Though he had arrived to an advanced age, Simon maintained the war with as much ſpirit, reſolution, and vigilance, as he could have ſhewn in the prime of life. Having diſpatched his ſons and his beſt troops, he led the reſt of his forces by a different route: he planted ambuſhes in different parts of the mountains; and at length gained a complete victory. After this event he was appointed to the pontifical dignity. As we have related, Simon delivered his country, after it had been for the ſpace of an hundred and ſeventy years ſubject to the Macedonians.

He is treacherouſly ſlain by his ſon-in-law Ptolemy.

After the moſt eminent ſervice rendered to his country, Simon fell a ſacrifice to the treachery of his ſon-in-law Ptolemy at a public entertainment, who at the ſame time cauſed his wife and two of his ſons to be made priſoners, and diſpatched ruffians with orders to deſtroy John the Third, otherwiſe named Hyrcanus. Upon gaining information of the deſign againſt his life, the young man repaired to Jeruſalem, where he found a conſiderable number of people ſtrongly attached to his intereſt, partly for a veneration to the memory of his deceaſed father, and partly on account of their abhorrence of Ptolemy. Having already received Hyrcanus, the people refuſed to admit Ptolemy into the city, who endeavoured to enter by another port. In conſequence of this repulſe, Ptolemy directed his march to the caſtle of Dagon, beyond Jericho. Hyrcanus being declared ſucceſſor of his father in the high-prieſthood, offered ſacrifice, and performed other ſacerdotal functions, and then marched to beſiege the caſtle where Ptolemy had retreated, and to reſtore his mother and brothers to freedom.

The caſtle of Dagon, the retreat of Ptolemy, aſſaulted by Hyrcanus.

Hyrcanus aſſaulted the place, which he would indiſputably have reduced, but for the natural tenderneſs of his diſpoſition. Perceiving the advantage that Hyrcanus was likely to obtain, Ptolemy cauſed the mother and brothers to be expoſed on the battlements, threatening that they ſhould be caſt down from the walls, unleſs Hyrcanus inſtantly drew off his forces, and to theſe menaces the tyrant added blows. This barbarity excited the rage and indignation of Hyrcanus, but his deſire of vengeance was repreſſed by compaſſion for the ſufferings of his relations. The mother exhorted Hyrcanus to preſerve his reſolution, without regarding the torments ſhe endured, or the death with which ſhe was threatened, and urged him to wreak revenge on the cruel tyrant, ſaying, that ſhe could reſign her life with pleaſure, if ſhe was convinced that juſtice would be executed on the inhuman tyrant. The arguments made uſe of, and the fortitude diſplayed by his mother, animated Hyrcanus to continue the ſiege; but obſerving, that as he proſecuted the aſſault, the cruelty to his mother was repeated, his reſolution abated, and his mind was wholly occupied by ſentiments of grief and filial tenderneſs; ſo that the ſiege was protracted till the arrival of the ſabbatical year: every ſeventh year, like every ſeventh day, being pronounced a time of reſt by the Jewiſh laws. Conſcious that the aſſault could be no longer continued, Ptolemy put the mother and brothers to death, and fled for refuge to Philadelphia, which country was under the government of Zeno, otherwiſe named Cotylas.

Aſtoniſhing fortitude of the mother of Hyrcanus, who is put to death by Ptolemy.

Jeruſalem beſieged by Antiochus, who quits it for a ſum of money.

The deceaſed Simon having vanquiſhed Antiochus, he ſtill entertained an enmity on occaſion of that event, and was determined to ſeek revenge upon the ſon for the injury he had received from his father; he therefore beſieged Hyrcanus in Jeruſalem. In this extremity, Hyrcanus opened the ſepulchre of David (the moſt wealthy king that had been known), and thence took upwards of three thouſand talents*; he paid three hundred talents to Antiochus on condition of his raiſing the ſiege. Hyrcanus was the firſt prince of the Jews who took foreign ſoldiers into pay.

Expedition of Hyrcanus into Syria.

Antiochus having raiſed the ſiege, proceeded with his army towards Media. Upon receiving information that the towns of Syria were in a defenceleſs ſituation, Hyrcanus led his forces into that country, and gained poſſeſſion of Medaba, Samæa†, Sichem, Gazirim, and other places: he alſo conquered the Chuthites, who inhabited a part where a celebrated temple, on the model of that at Jeruſalem, was ſituated; and, in Idumæa, he conquered Dorion*, Mariſſa, and many other towns.

Samaria beſieged and taken by the ſons of Hyrcanus, and the inhabitants made priſoners.

Hyrcanus afterwards went to Samaria, a city which Herod rebuilt, and named Sebaſte, and having environed the place with his troops, appointed his ſons Ariſtobulus and Antigonus to proſecute the ſiege, which they continued till the people were reduced to the extremity of ſubſiſting upon food that was not proper for human creatures. Thus diſtreſſed, the people ſupplicated the aſſiſtance of Antiochus, otherwiſe named Aſpendius†, who readily conſented to their requeſt: but

‡ Ἀκχὰν, in the Greek. Lat. *Arcem avertit ſubactis præſidiis:* "having reduced the garriſons, he demoliſhed Accaron."

* Our author is cenſured by Jacobus Salianus, for giving credit to this circumſtance, which he inſiſts upon to be a fiction of the Rabbins, &c.

† Samega. Vide Antiq. Book XIII. Chap. 11.

* Al. Adora.

† Spondius *Ruf.* probably Cizicenus. Vide Vaillant's Num. Seleucidarum, p. 350.

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he was entirely ſubdued by the brothers, who purſued him as far as Scythopolis, where he eſcaped their vigilance. Ariſtobulus and Antigonus returned to the ſiege of Samaria, reduced the city to ruins, and made priſoners of the inhabitants. All the undertakings of the brothers ſucceeded to the extent of the warmeſt hopes; and, leſt the ardour of their troops might ſubſide, they marched directly to the other ſide of Scythopolis, where they ſhared between them the lands in the neighbourhood of Mount Carmel.

CHAP. III.

ARISTOBULUS ſucceeds HYRCANUS. Cruelty to his Mother. He is afflicted with a judicial and mortal Illneſs. He is proclaimed King. After various Succeſſes, he is defeated by OBADAS, King of the ARABIANS. He cauſes eight Hundred Priſoners to be crucified as a Spectacle for his Concubines.

Death of Hyrcanus, who is ſucceeded by his ſon Ariſtobulus.

THE proſperity of Hyrcanus and his ſons ‡ provoked the envy of the neighbouring princes, and a war enſued; but Hyrcanus proved victorious, and he paſſed the remainder of his life in tranquillity and happineſs. After having enjoyed the government thirty-three years, he died, leaving five ſons. He was diſtinguiſhed in a manner almoſt peculiar to himſelf; being at the ſame time prince of the Jews, poſſeſſed of the pontifical dignity, and favoured by the Almighty with the gift of prophecy. He predicted that the government of his two eldeſt ſons would be of ſhort duration. The conduct of Hyrcanus was ſo happily regulated as intirely to eſcape cenſure, and he was univerſally eſteemed a man of probity and virtue.

The government changed to a monarchy

Ariſtobulus, the eldeſt ſon of Hyrcanus, altered the form of government from a principality to a monarchy. This event took place four hundred and eighty-one years and three months ſubſequent to the time when the Jews were delivered from captivity in Babylon. So particular a regard did Ariſtobulus entertain towards his brother Antigonus, that he conferred upon him a joint ſhare of the regal dignity: but his other brothers and his mother he caſt into priſon. The mother made ſome pretenſions to the government, urging that Hyrcanus had bequeathed to her the regency, and on this circumſtance was founded the cruelty of Ariſtobulus, which he purſued to the utmoſt extreme, by denying her the neceſſaries of life, in conſequence whereof ſhe died, while under confinement: and to theſe enormous crimes, he added that of putting his favourite brother Antigonus to death, in compliance with the wiſhes of a faction who had propagated malicious calumnies for the purpoſe of effecting his ruin. Ariſtobulus entertained ſo tender an affection for his brother, that it was ſome time before he would give credit to the ſlanderous inſinuations concerning him. However, during the the feaſt of the tabernacles, Ariſtobulus was afflicted with ſickneſs, and at this time Antigonus returned in great martial pomp from the camp at Jeruſalem, and, intending to do honour to his brother, he wore an apparel of unuſual magnificence, and was attended by a number of armed men: thus he proceeded to the temple with a deſign to ſupplicate the Almighty for the reſtoration of his brother's health. His enemies availed themſelves of this opportunity to effect the ruin of Antigonus: they immediately repaired to the king, and repreſented to him, that they were greatly alarmed by the return of Antigonus in all the pomp of royalty; that he was attended by a great concourſe of ſoldiers under arms; and that they could draw no other concluſion from his conduct than that he was diſſatisfied with a part of the government, and determined to poſſeſs himſelf of the whole.

Antigonus ſlandered by his enemies.

Though the king at firſt rejected every inſinuation in prejudice of his brother, he was at length prevailed upon to give them credit; and determined to provide for his own ſafety, without diſcovering any ſymptoms of jealouſy or ſuſpicion. He then reſided in the caſtle of Baris, which was afterwards named Antonia by Herod. He ordered his guards, therefore, to ſtation themſelves in a dark ſubterraneous paſſage, called Straton's tower, and that if Antigonus ſhould come that way unarmed they ſhould ſuffer him to paſs unmoleſted, but if, on the contrary, he ſhould be provided for defence, that they ſhould put him to death. He then diſpatched a meſſage to his brother, requeſting to ſee him, and deſiring that he would not come armed. But the queen, in conjuction with the other enemies of Antigonus, concerted a moſt horrid ſtratagem for effecting his deſtruction. They prevailed upon the meſſenger to ſay, that the king deſired to ſee his brother equipped in the ſuit of arms of extraordinary and exquiſite workmanſhip which he had brought from Galilee. Antigonus haſtened to comply with his brother's requeſt: but in the paſſage already mentioned, the ſoldiers obſerved him to be accoutred in arms, and therefore, in obedience to the king's commands, they ſeized and put him to death. This circumſtance may be juſtly conſidered as an example to prove that neither natural affection, common juſtice, equity, or the ſtricteſt bonds of friendſhip are always proof againſt artifice and detraction.

He is aſſaſſinated by the king's command.

Relation of the cruelty of Ariſtobulus to his mother and brother.

The ſhocking cruelty had been no ſooner perpetrated than the diſeaſe with which Ariſtobulus was afflicted was increaſed to ſo terrible a degree, by the ſevere upbraidings of his conſcience, that his entrails came out, and he vomited great

A judicial diſtemper inflicted on Ariſtobulus, of which he dies in great agony of mind.

‡ Vide Antiq. Book XIII. Chap. 12.

great quantities of blood. The domeſtics who removed the blood, caſt it, by a ſingular providence, upon the exact ſpot where Antigonus had been ſlain, and where the ſtains of his blood were ſtill to be perceived. The ſpectators imagined this to be the effect of deſign, and intended as an oblation to the manes of the deceaſed prince, and ſo loudly expreſſed their ſurpriſe as to be overheard by the king, who inſtantly inquired as to the cauſe of what he had heard: but as he became anxious to be informed of the matter, the others were more deſirous of ſuppreſſing it. However, by the force of threats and intreaties, he at length prevailed: but his deſire had been no ſooner complied with, than ſhedding abundance of tears and deeply ſighing, he exclaimed, "Could I hope that my iniquities would eſcape the knowledge of the all-ſeeing God; or that my enormous crimes would not provoke the divine vengeance? How long, alas! thou moſt miſerable body, wilt thou confine my ſoul from rendering juſtice to a mother and a brother, both cruelly murdered? Inſtead of loſing my blood thus drop by drop, why do I not yield it up all at once? But I am condemned to be the ſport of fortune, and to expire in the moſt excruciating agonies." Having delivered theſe words he expired, after a reign of only one year.

Alexander ſet at liberty, and proclaimed king.

Upon the deceaſe of Ariſtobulus, the queen, his widow, reſtored the brothers to liberty; and ſhe advanced Alexander, the eldeſt of them, to the regal dignity. He was eſteemed a man of moderation and juſtice: but when he had obtained the poſſeſſion of power, he put to death one of his brothers, who had aſpired to rival him in the ſovereignty. The others he did not attempt to moleſt, as they conſented to live in a private ſtation.

Alexander wages war with Ptolemy.

After Ptolemy Lathur, king of Egypt, had ſubdued Aſochis, Alexander gave him battle, and deſtroyed a conſiderable number of his forces; but before the engagement was concluded, Ptolemy proved victorious. Cleopatra having compelled her ſon Ptolemy to go into Egypt, Alexander beſieged and ſubdued Gadara; he alſo took Amathus, by much the moſt conſiderable caſtle beyond the Jordan, wherein Theodore, the ſon of Zeno, had depoſited his moſt valuable treaſure. But Theodore attacked him by ſurpriſe, recovered the property that had been ſeized, made booty of Alexander's baggage, deſtroyed nearly twenty thouſand Jews in the encounter, and gained a complete victory. After reinforcing his army, Alexander removed the ſeat of war to the ſea coaſt, and ſubdued Raphia, Gaza, and Anthedon. The latter place was afterwards named Agrippias by Herod.

The Jews engage in a ſedition againſt Alexander.

Where the people are numerous, and public meetings frequent, inſurrections are by no means uncommon. At the time of celebrating a ſolemn feſtival, the Jews revolted againſt Alexander, whoſe crown and perſonal ſafety were thereby put to ſuch imminent hazard, that he judged it expedient to ſtrengthen his power by employing foreign mercenaries: he took Piſidians and Cilicians into his pay; but rejected the Syrians, whom he deemed it unſafe to confide in, knowing that they entertained an implacable enmity againſt the Jews. He marched againſt the inſurgents, upwards of ſix thouſand of whom he put to death: and he afterwards declared war againſt Obodas, king of Arabia, and having vanquiſhed and impoſed tributes upon the Galaadites and Moabites, he returned to the ſiege of Amathus. The fame of Alexander's conqueſts inſpired Theodorus with terror, and he abandoned the place, which Alexander finding in a defenceleſs ſtate, immediately laid in ruins.

He is routed by Obodas, king of Arabia, his army deſtroyed, and himſelf narrowly eſcapes.

The next expedition of Alexander was againſt Obodas, king of the Arabians, who had encamped a part of his army in the province of Gaulon, which afforded the moſt advantageous ſituation for ambuſcades. In this place Alexander was attacked by ſurpriſe, and being driven into a valley of conſiderable depth, the camels of the enemy cruſhed his people to death in the defiles, and his army was intirely ruined. With infinite difficulty Alexander himſelf eſcaped, and repaired to Jeruſalem; but, on occaſion of his late defeat, he found that his enemies had conceived a ſtill more violent hatred againſt him. Though he was driven to great extremities by frequent inſurrections among his ſubjects, he proved victorious in all encounters, and put more than fifty thouſand Jews to death in the ſpace of ſix years.

Alexander reſolves to moderate his conduct, but without ſucceſs.

Alexander was conſcious that his conqueſts over his own ſubjects muſt neceſſarily weaken his power; and in that conſideration he was extremely unhappy. At length he determined to decline all further endeavours to reſtore his ſubjects to obedience by the force of arms, and to adopt the more gentle mode of argument and perſuaſion. This change of conduct, however, ſerved but to increaſe the popular enmity: and upon his aſking the people what conduct he could purſue to afford them ſatisfaction; they told him that ſhould he ſacrifice his life to their reſentment, they ſhould ſcarcely be able to pardon him for thoſe actions which had involved them in the greateſt diſtreſs.

The Jews invite Demetrius to aſſiſt them, and Alexander is defeated.

The Jews now requeſted the aſſiſtance of Demetrius Eucærus; and this king by intereſted views was induced to join them with his army in the neighbourhood of Sichem. The force of the Jews now conſiſted of three thouſand cavalry, and forty thouſand infantry: and this formidable army Alexander oppoſed with only one thouſand horſe, ſix thouſand mercenary foot, and about ten thouſand Jews who ſtill maintained their allegiance. Demetrius endeavoured to induce Alexander's mercenaries to deſert and join him; and Alexander was equally ſolicitous to gain over the Jews in the army of Demetrius: but neither party was able to prevail; and an engagement enſued, which ended in the defeat of Alexander; but it muſt be acknowledged, that his mercenaries fought

with aſtoniſhing bravery. The event of this victory, however, was contrary to the expectations of both the kings; for ſix thouſand of the Jews who had fought againſt Alexander, being now moved to compaſſionate his ſufferings, fled to, and joined their king, in the mountains, whither he had returned for refuge. This circumſtance proved exceedingly alarming to Demetrius, who, apprehending that the reſt of the Jews in his army might follow the example of thoſe who had deſerted, abandoned all thoughts of continuing the war, and drew off his forces. But the reſt of the Jews ſtill continued to proſecute the war againſt Alexander, till great numbers were ſlain, and the reſt driven into Bemezel, which place Alexander conquered, and then carried them priſoners to Jeruſalem.

Retreat of Demetrius.

Execrable cruelty of Alexander towards his priſoners.

We ſhall now proceed to ſhew what exceſs of paſſion people may be hurried into when they ceaſe to make the principles of piety, honour, and virtue, the rule of their conduct. Alexander gave an entertainment to his concubines; and on this occaſion he cauſed eight hundred priſoners to be crucified, after the throats of their wives and children had been cut in the preſence of theſe miſerable ſufferers*. In the height of the debauch this horrid ſcene was preſented for the diverſion of the women: but ſo ſhocked were the inhabitants of the city at this execrable barbarity, that, on the following night, eight thouſand of them deſerted their country; nor did they return till after the death of Alexander. By ſuch acts of inhumanity it was that this prince, with the greateſt difficulty preſerved his dominions in a kind of tranquil ſtate.

CHAP. IV.

Expedition of ANTIOCHUS DIONYSIUS againſt the JEWS. He is ſurpriſed, routed, and ſlain by ARETAS the ARABIAN King. The Wars of ALEXANDER; and his Death. The Queen aſſumes the Government. HYRCANUS made High-Prieſt. ALEXANDRA wholly guided by the PHARISEES, The Queen leaves the Government, at her Death, to HYRCANUS. An Engagement between the Brothers. Their Reconcilement.

Antiochus engages in an expedition againſt the Jews.

NOTWITHSTANDING the inteſtine broils amongſt the Jews had ſubſided, yet Antiochus Dionyſius, the brother of Demetrius, and the laſt of the race of Seleucus, involved Alexander in freſh troubles. This prince, having overcome the Arabians, put Alexander into ſome apprehenſion for himſelf, ſo that he ran a line with a deep ditch and an high wall before it, with wooden towers, the better to prevent any ſudden approaches. This line or intrenchment was carried all along the mountains near Antipatris to the borders of Joppa. But Antiochus ſet fire to the towers, filled the ditches, and ſo paſſing over with his army marched ſtrait away againſt the Arabians, deferring his revenge upon Alexander till a more convenient opportunity.

The Arabians attack him, and he is ſlain in battle.

Upon the approach of Antiochus, Aretas king of Arabia, drew his army into ſtrong holds, and then on a ſudden, when the latter thought himſelf ſecure, fell upon him with ten thouſand horſe. The action was obſtinate and bloody, but while Antiochus ſurvived, his men ſtood bravely by him, though the Arabians made very great ſlaughter. When he fell in the heat of the battle, they turned back and fled; ſo that upon the iſſue, betwixt thoſe that were cut off in the engagement and the purſuit, the army was nearly deſtroyed. Some eſcaped into the village of Cana, where the greater part of them periſhed with famine. The people of Damaſcus had ſuch an hatred for Ptolemy, the ſon of Mennæus, that they entered into a league with Aretas, and made him king of Cœlo-Syria. He carried the war into Judæa, defeated Alexander, and then retired upon a mutual compoſition.

Alexander defeated by Aretas.

Exploits and death of Alexander.

After the king of the Jews had taken Pella, he aſſaulted Geraſa, and carried it, though fortified with a triple circumvallation, making himſelf maſter not only of the place, but of all the treaſure Theodore had depoſited therein. After this, he demoliſhed Gaulan, Seleucia, and a place called the valley of Antiochus, together with the ſtrong caſtle of Gamara. In this place he took priſoner Demetrius the governor (a man of infamous character), and ſo returned to Jeruſalem, where he was received with joyful acclamations, after a ſucceſs of three years. At the expiration of the war, he fell into a quartan ague, and being of an opinion that action would do him good, entered into a freſh and unſeaſonable war, and, ſtruggling beyond his ſtrength, wore himſelf out with fatigue, and thus cloſed the ſcene of life, after having reigned twenty-ſix years.

Alexandra is left regent.

The kingdom was bequeathed by Alexander to Alexandra his queen, as one that had acquired popularity by her moderation and virtue; he therefore made no doubt of the people's ready ſubmiſſion and reſignation to her authority. Nor was he deceived in his opinion, for the reputation of her goodneſs atoned for the diſadvantages of her ſex; being a woman verſed in the Jewiſh rites and cuſtoms, and one that had given conſtant proof of her zeal for the obſervance of their holy laws. As ſhe had two ſons by Alexander, ſhe made Hyrcanus the elder high-prieſt, not only on account of his ſeniority, but the inactivity of his diſpoſition, which would prevent him from diſturbing the public peace. Ariſtobulus, the younger, ſhe thought it more expedient to continue him in a private ſtation, he being of an enterpriſing ſpirit.

The pontificate conferred on Hyrcanus.

* See the Antiquities, Book XIII. Chap. 15.

Alexandra, who was bigotted in her religion to a degree of superstition, held the Pharisees in most profound reverence, on account of their mighty pretensions to sanctity; and they availed themselves so far of her favourable opinion, as to engross the honour and privileges of government, recommend to places under administration, and imprison or discharge whom they thought proper. They reserved both the honourable and profitable commissions of government to themselves; but the cares, expences, and difficulties, were left to Alexandra. She had great sagacity in the conduct of affairs, made a point of augmenting the militia, kept two armies on foot, and a great number of foreign auxiliaries in pay, which rendered her respectable at home and formidable abroad. But though she had thus far the command of others, she was herself under the absolute dominion of the Pharisees, who managed all affairs of importance.

Alexandra influenced by the Pharisees, who oppress the Jews.

The principal men of this sect caused Diogenes, a man of the first rank, and a particular friend of the late king, to be put to death, upon a suggestion that he had a concern in crucifying the eight hundred prisoners at the command of Alexander. Nay, they also prevailed with the queen not to suffer one man to escape that was an adviser to that horrible proceeding. Alexandra was so captivated, that she could deny them nothing, so that, under the colour of such prevailing influence, they destroyed whom they pleased, and carried their violence to such lengths, that no good man was safe; insomuch that several persons of condition were forced to take sanctuary with Aristobulus, who persuaded his mother to spare those persons out of respect to their dignity, and for the future to expel those from the city whom she might suspect of having been guilty. This being granted, instead of being put to death, they were banished.

Alexandra takes Damascus.

About this time Alexandra sent an army to Damascus, on a pretext that Ptolemy grievously oppressed that city, and got possession of it without any considerable resistance. Cleopatra was now besieged in Ptolemais, by Tigranes king of Armenia, while Alexandra plied him with presents and proposals; but Lucullus having already entered Armenia with the Roman army, he marched away, to prevent further mischief in his own dominions.

Aristobulus assumes the government.

About this time Alexandra fell dangerously ill, whereupon the younger brother, Aristobulus, with a train of adherents in the prime of youth, faithful and brave, got possession of the castles, seized what money he could find, engaged a body of auxiliary troops, and declared himself king. Hyrcanus complaining to his mother of this usurpation, she so far commiserated his case, that she caused the wife and sons of Aristobulus to be confined in the castle on the north side of the temple, formerly called Baris, and afterwards Antonia, under the government of Antony, as Sebaste and Agrippias drew their names from Augustus and Agrippa. Alexandra, after a reign of nine years, departed this life, before she could revenge herself upon Aristobulus for endeavouring to depose his brother Hyrcanus.

Alexandra dying, dissensions arise between the brethren, but are at length compromised.

To Hyrcanus the queen left all she possessed, and transmitted the government to him while she was living; but Aristobulus was much his superior in power and magnanimity. The dispute between the two brothers came to a battle near Jericho, where the greater part of Hyrcanus's men went over to Aristobulus, while he with his wretched partizans escaped with much difficulty into Antonia, where they had their security, the wife and sons of Aristobulus being there in custody. However, before matters proceeded to extremities the brothers came to this agreement, that Hyrcanus should yield up the kingdom to Aristobulus, and content himself with such honours and privileges as belonged to the dignity of the king's brother. The reconciliation being interchangeably declared in the temple, they embraced each other, and Aristobulus repaired to the royal palace, while Hyrcanus went to his brother's former residence.

CHAP. V.

ARETAS King of ARABIA enters JUDÆA with a formidable Army, and besieges ARISTOBULUS in JERUSALEM. SCAURUS raises the Siege. The two Brothers prefer their Suit to POMPEY, and plead their Cause before him. ARISTOBULUS, submitting to POMPEY, is made his Prisoner. JERUSALEM besieged, and the Temple taken by Assault. HYRCANUS declared High-Priest.

ARISTOBULUS being suddenly elevated to the royal dignity, was a great mortification to his enemies, and especially to Antipater, with whom he had been long at variance. This Antipater was by extraction an Idumæan, and for birth and estate a man of the first rank in the country. Hyrcanus being now deposed, and arrogantly deprived of his dominion, Antipater advised him to apply to Aretas king of Arabia for assistance towards the recovery of his kingdom; employing his own interest at the same time with Aretas to gain the point by censuring the usurpation of Aristobulus, and applauding the pacific disposition of Hyrcanus. He adduced arguments supported by the honour of contributing to the restoration of a much-injured king, and enforced them, by representing it as becoming the character of a great prince to vindicate the prerogative of royalty. Having thus predisposed Aretas in favour of Hyrcanus, Antipater conveyed him out of the city by night, and brought him with the utmost expedition to Petra, the royal palace of Arabia, where he consigned

Hyrcanus applies to Aretas for assistance in the recovery of his kingdom.

Aretas espouses the part of Hyrcanus.

conſigned him, with plauſible words and ſumptuous preſents, to the care and protection of the king, who promiſed to exert his utmoſt endeavours to reſtore him to the ſovereignty.

Ariſtobulus beſieged in Jeruſalem.

Accordingly he entered Judæa with an army of 50,000 men, horſe and foot, ſo that Ariſtobulus, through inferiority in point of numbers, being incapable of making reſiſtance, was routed at the firſt charge, and forced to take ſanctuary in Jeruſalem. He was there beſieged, and had certainly been taken, if Scaurus, the Roman general, had not ſeaſonably interpoſed, and raiſed the ſiege. Pompey the Great, who was then at war with Tigranes, ſent Scaurus with an army out of Armenia into Syria; but upon his arrival at Damaſcus, he found the place taken by Metullus and Lellius, and their troops drawn off. Scaurus, receiving intelligence of the ſtate of affairs in Judæa, thought it moſt expedient to bend his courſe that way, and had no ſooner reached the borders, than he was met with by two deputies from the brothers, who had each of them inſtructions to implore the aſſiſtance of the Romans for their reſpective maſters. But the three hundred talents preſented by the deputy of Ariſtobulus had much more weight than the pretenſions of his brother Hyrcanus, as appears from an herald being ſent by Scaurus to Hyrcanus and the Arabians, threatening them with the reſentment of Pompey and the Roman ſenate, unleſs they immediately raiſed the ſiege. Aretas, terrified into compliance, withdrew with precipitation out of Judæa into Philadelphia, and Scaurus returned to Damaſcus. Ariſtobulus, not ſatisfied with his eſcape, aſſembled all his forces, and purſued the enemy to a place called Papyron, where he engaged them, and cut off above ſix thouſand of their men, and amongſt the reſt Cephalon, Antipater's brother.

Scaurus, the Roman general, raiſes the ſiege of Jeruſalem.

The two brothers plead their cauſe before Pompey.

All hopes of aſſiſtance from the Arabians being at an end, Hyrcanus and Antipater applied to their very adverſaries; and upon Pompey's entering Syria and coming to Damaſcus, caſt themſelves upon his honour for protection. They uſed the ſame means of preſents and arguments which they had done with Aretas; intreating Pompey to conſider the violent uſurpation of Ariſtobulus, and the right of Hyrcanus, as well with reſpect to ſeniority as character. Ariſtobulus, relying upon his intereſt with Scaurus, arrayed himſelf in royal attire, and preſented his perſon to Pompey with the train and equipage of a king. But finding that his aſſuming royal dignity had no weight with Pompey, and diſdaining a ſervile application, he abruptly took his leave, and returned to Dioſpolis in Egypt.

Pompey vindicates the cauſe of Hyrcanus.

Ariſtobulus, by his arrogant behaviour, gave Pompey great offence, which was a moſt deſirable circumſtance to Hyrcanus and his adherents. He immediately drew out his Roman troops, and ſome Syrian auxiliaries, and marched after him. When he had paſſed Pella and Scythopolis, and came to Corea upon the borders of Judæa in the Mediterranean paſſage, he heard that Ariſtobulus was fled to Alexandrion, a ſtrong hold ſituated on an high mountain, whither he ſent and commanded him to come down to him. Ariſtobulus, naturally proud and ambitious, could not brook this imperious mandate, and therefore determined to run all hazards rather than comply with it. But through the murmuring of the people, and the preſſing inſtance of his friends, to conſider the power of the Romans and the urgency of the caſe, he was at length prevailed upon to come down, and after ſpeaking in defence of his pretenſions, went up again. He afterwards, at the requiſition of his brother, came down a ſecond time, and when they had each of them preferred their reſpective claims to Pompey, returned without the leaſt moleſtation. He was now divided between hope and fear, and alternately diſpoſed to ſubmiſſion and reſiſtance, till, upon mature deliberation, he was reſolved to go up to the caſtle again, leſt he ſhould be tempted to do any thing derogatory to his royal character and dignity.

A ſecond hearing before Pompey.

At this time, Pompey was ſtrongly inclined to take poſſeſſion of the caſtle, but being told that Ariſtobulus had given a poſitive charge to all the governors to attend to no orders but thoſe under his own hand and ſeal, he commanded him to write to them ſeverally, to deliver them up immediately upon the ſight of his letters. Ariſtobulus obeyed the injunction, but went away in diſguſt and indignation to Jeruſalem, meditating a war with Pompey. However, the Romans did not give him time to make preparations to withſtand a ſiege, but haſtened immediately after him, and he was incited to uſe expedition in his progreſs, by the intelligence he received at Jericho of the death of Mithridates. This is the moſt fruitful country of Judæa, bearing a vaſt number of palm-trees, beſides the balſam-tree, the juice of which, upon the inciſion of the bark with a ſharp ſtone, drops down like tears. He ſtaid there that night, and poſted away the next morning for Jeruſalem. Ariſtobulus, alarmed at this expedition, caſt himſelf at Pompey's feet, with ſupplications and tears; he made him promiſes of money, and propoſals of giving up both the city and his own perſon into Pompey's hands. This appeaſed him for the preſent, but Ariſtobulus did not perform the conditions; for when Gabinius was ſent to receive the money, his partizans would not admit him into the city.

Pompey obtains poſſeſſion of the caſtle of Ariſtobulus.

Ariſtobulus ſubmits to Pompey, who keeps him priſoner.

Pompey was irritated at this prevaricating behaviour to ſo great a degree, that he kept Ariſtobulus priſoner, and advanced to the city, took a view of the fortifications, and conſidered upon what quarter to attack it. He obſerved that the walls were ſtrong and impregnable, and the temple ſo invincibly ſure, that if the city itſelf was taken, the work would but be half accompliſhed.

Pompey meditates an attack on Jeruſalem, where a ſedition breaks out between the parties of the brothers.

pliſhed. But while Pompey was deliberating upon the moſt expedient means to purſue, a violent ſedition aroſe in the town, between the parties of Ariſtobulus and Hyrcanus. The former were for putting the matter to the deciſion of an engagement, and reſcuing their king by dint of arms; the other party was for opening the gates, and admitting Pompey into the town without any oppoſition. This was the ſenſe of the majority, from the awe in which they held the Romans. The friends of Ariſtobulus, upon this, retired into the temple, and cut down the bridge of communication betwixt that and the city, determining to maintain it to the laſt. But as the others had received the Romans into the city, and put them into the palace, Pompey ſent Piſo, one of his general officers, with a ſtrong detachment to take poſſeſſion of it. When he perceived the obſtinacy of the Jews in the temple, and that there was no longer any hope of accommodation, he poſted his guards and put all things in order for an attack, Hyrcanus and his party contributing the beſt they could to his aſſiſtance, both in action and counſel.

The beſiegers firſt of all applied themſelves to fill up the ditch and valley upon the north-ſide of the temple, and the ſoldiers were obliged to carry materials for that purpoſe. It was a work of infinite difficulty, both with reſpect to the prodigious depth and the advantage the Jews had of annoying them from their ſuperior ſtation. Nor could the Romans have ſucceeded in their efforts, had not Pompey reminded them of the Jews ſtrict obſervance of their ſeventh day, or ſabbath. This great leader, knowing that the Jews made a conſcience of doing any work upon that day, but what was of abſolute neceſſity, either for the ſupport of life, or the defence of it in caſe of immediate danger, commanded his ſoldiers only to ply their entrenchments on that day, without any other act of hoſtility. When the ground was now levelled, the bulwarks advanced, with ſtrong and large turrets planted upon them, and manned, the Romans, with certain engines they had brought from Tyre, began the battery; the ſoldiers, at the ſame time, beating the defendants out of the towers above, with ſtones from the walls. Pompey could not but admire the fortitude of theſe people, and more eſpecially in this particular, that in the midſt of extremity and danger they never diſcontinued the ceremonies of their religion, but offered up their daily prayers and ſacrifices as regularly as if it had been a time of profound peace. Nor, indeed, did they relax in their attention to divine worſhip, even after the temple was actually taken, and many were ſlain before the altar.

Moderation of Pompey.

After a three months ſiege, and the loſs of only one tower, the temple was taken by aſſault. The firſt that entered the breach was Fauſtus Cornelius, the ſon of Sylla, and after him Furius and Fabius, two centurions, with their cohorts, who beſet the temple, and put to the ſword all that fell in their way. Their were ſeveral prieſts at that time in the very exerciſe of their holy function, who, with the point of the ſword at their breaſts, went on with their oblations and incenſe, without any regard to the ſafety of their lives, out of a veneration they had for the duties of their profeſſion. The greater part of them were ſlain by their own countrymen of the adverſe faction, and an innumerable multitude threw themſelves down precipices; others, in a rage of deſperation, ſet fire to what they could reach about the walls, and then caſt themſelves into the flames. There periſhed in this outrage 12,000 of the Jews; and great numbers of the Romans were wounded, but few of them ſlain.

The temple taken by aſſault, and the prieſts ſlain at the altar.

Many of the Jews ſlaughtered.

Amidſt the preſent calamities, nothing affected the Jewiſh nation ſo much as that their holy place, which had hitherto been ſeen by none, ſhould be expoſed to the view of ſtrangers. Pompey, with a train of attendants, went into the temple, where it was not lawful for any but the high-prieſt to enter, and ſaw what was repoſited therein, the candleſticks, lamps, and tables for incenſe, with other veſſels, all of gold, a maſs of ſpices, with 2000 talents of ſacred treaſure. Yet ſuch was his liberality that he would not ſuffer any thing to be touched that was dedicated to divine worſhip, but commanded the miniſters about the temple, the very next day after he had taken it, to ſuperintend the purification of it, and go on with their ceremonies as before. He alſo declared Hyrcanus high-prieſt, in conſideration of the good offices he had rendered him, both in the ſiege and otherwiſe, by drawing off great numbers of the faction from Ariſtobulus. By theſe means, like a wiſe and good man, he ſecured himſelf the affections of the people. Amongſt the captives was the father-in-law of Ariſtobulus, who was alſo his uncle.

Hyrcanus made high-prieſt by Pompey.

Pompey cauſed the principal authors of the revolt to be beheaded, and conferred upon Fauſtus, and thoſe of his party who had ſignaliſed their bravery, the moſt honourable rewards. He impoſed a tribute upon Judæa, took away from the Jews the cities they had poſſeſſed themſelves of in Cœlo-Syria, and annexing them to the juriſdiction of the then Roman governor, reduced them to their own bounds. He rebuilt Gadara, which they had deſtroyed, to gratify Demetrius, one of his freemen, and a native of the place. With reſpect to the inland cities of Hippion, Scythopolis, Pella, Samaria, Mariſſa, Azotus, Jamnia, and Arethuſa, and the ſea-coaſt towns of Gaza, Joppa, Dora, and that which was formerly called Straton's Tower, and afterwards Ceſarea, by Herod, who beautified it with magnificent buildings; he took them all from the Jews, to reſtore them to their inhabitants, and ſo joined them to the province of Syria.

The chief authors of the revolt beheaded.

Pompey takes many cities from the Jews, and annexes them to the Roman governor's juriſdiction.

After paſſing theſe orders, and ſettling Scaurus in the government of Judæa, and of all the country

try of Egypt to the borders of the Euphrates, with the command of two legions, Pompey haſtened to Rome, by way of Cilicia, carrying Ariſtobulus and his family priſoners with him, that is, two daughters and two ſons, Alexander and Antigonus, the former of whom made his eſcape on his paſſage, but the latter was carried to Rome, together with his ſiſters.

CHAP. VI.

ALEXANDER being ſubdued by ANTIPATER retreats to ALEXANDRION. GABINIUS divides the Province of JUDÆA into five Juriſdictions. The ROMANS vanquiſh ARISTOBULUS; and afterwards ſend him and his Son ANTIGONUS in Chains to ROME. GABINIUS vanquiſhes ALEXANDER. CRASSUS ſucceeds to the Government of SYRIA.

The war between Scaurus and Aretas put an end to for a ſtipulated ſum from the latter.

SCAURUS* led an army into Arabia, and proceeded towards Petra; but his march was greatly impeded by a paſſage through a craggy and moſt difficult track of country. Notwithſtanding his being greatly diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, and having other diſadvantages to encounter, he laid the neighbourhood of Pella in a ſtate of devaſtation. Through the agency of Antipater, he was, however, occaſionally ſupplied with the neceſſaries of life by Hyrcanus. Conſcious that a friendſhip ſubſiſted between Antipater and Aretas, the Arabian king, Scaurus applied to the former, urging him to propoſe terms of accommodation to Aretas. Antipater engaged in the commiſſion, and managed it with ſo much addreſs that Aretas paid three hundred talents to Scaurus, who in conſequence thereof declined a farther proſecution of the war.

Gabinius defeats Alexander, who retires to Alexandrion.

Alexander, the ſon of Ariſtobulus, who had eſcaped from Pompey, having aſſembled a conſiderable number of men, was now committing devaſtations in Judæa, and haraſſing Hyrcanus; he even entertained the hope of being able to ſubdue Jeruſalem, as the walls which Pompey had deſtroyed were not yet rebuilt. Gabinius, an experienced and brave commander, ſucceeded Scaurus, and marched againſt Alexander, who judging it neceſſary to take every poſſible precaution to oppoſe ſo formidable an adverſary, increaſed his troops to ten thouſand foot, and fifteen hundred horſe, and fortified Alexandrion, Hyrcanion, Machærus, and other places near the Arabian mountains. In the interim, Gabinius diſpatched Mark Antony with a body of Antipater's choſen troops; and he was to be joined by a conſiderable number of Jews under the command of Malichus and Pitholaus. Theſe detachments were followed by Gabinius leading the main body of the army. Alexander, finding the enemy was proceeding towards him with a force which he was by no means in a condition to withſtand, judged it prudent to retreat. He was followed by Gabinius into the neighbourhood of Jeruſalem, where a battle took place, in which three thouſand of Alexander's followers were cut off, and a like number was made priſoners. When Gabinius had arrived at the caſtle, he propoſed an indemnity to ſuch deſerters as would return to his army previous to the engagement; but upon their refuſal, he attacked and put many of them to death, and the remainder took refuge in the fort. On every former occaſion, Mark Antony had greatly ſignalized himſelf; but his conduct in this action exceeded every preceding inſtance of his valour. Leaving a ſufficient force to proſecute the ſiege, Gabinius proceeded to take a view of the ſeveral cities and towns of the province: he applied himſelf to the re-eſtabliſhment of good order in thoſe places which had eſcaped deſolation, and to rebuild thoſe that had been deſtroyed. Hence the people of Scythopolis, Samaria, Anthedon, Apollonia, Jamnia, Raphia, Mariſſa, Dora, Gadara, Azotus, and ſeveral other towns, joyfully returned to reſume their former places of reſidence.

Compromiſe between Alexander and Gabinius.

Gabinius now returned, and continued the ſiege with additional vigour. Alexander deſpairing of ſucceſs in oppoſing ſo powerful an enemy, diſpatched embaſſadors to ſupplicate pardon from Gabinius, and offer him poſſeſſion of Machærus, Hyrcanion, and Alexandrion. The propoſals being accepted, Gabinius reduced the latter place intirely to ruins, in compliance with the requeſt of Alexander's mother, who urged the deſtruction of the place, leſt it ſhould prove the cauſe of future hoſtilities. From a motive of tenderneſs and affection to her huſband and children, who were priſoners at Rome, ſhe availed herſelf of every opportunity to ingratiate herſelf into the eſteem of Gabinius.

Gabinius intruſts Hyrcanus with the care of the temple.

Hyrcanus was now conducted to Jeruſalem by Gabinius, who committed the temple to his care, and after appointing ſome of the moſt conſiderable Jews to the offices of civil adminiſtration, he divided the province of Judæa into the five following juriſdictions: Jeruſalem was the firſt; Gadara, the ſecond; Amathus, the third; Jericho, the fourth; and Sepphoris, a city in Galilee, was the fifth. The people were exceedingly happy in the circumſtance of living under an ariſtocratical, inſtead of a monarchial, government.

Ariſtobulus eſcaping from Rome, is afterwards defeated by the Romans, and ſent back thither.

Soon after this time, Ariſtobulus eſcaped from Rome, and was joined by a great number of Jews, ſome being influenced merely by a deſire of changing their ſituation, and others by a principle of fidelity and affection. He made an attempt to repair Alexandrion; but upon receiving information that Gabinius had diſpatched

* See Antiquities, Book XIV. Chap. 6, 10, &c.

an army in purſuit of him, under the command of Siſenna, Antony and Servilius, he retreated to Machærus, where he diſmiſſed the uſeleſs part of his followers, retaining only eight thouſand men, including one thouſand fugitive Jews, whom Pitholaus had brought from Jeruſalem. In a ſhort time, the Roman army arrived, and a general battle took place, in which Ariſtobulus and his adherents fought with aſtoniſhing bravery; but they were, at length, compelled to yield to the ſuperiority of the enemy, with the loſs of five thouſand men: two thouſand gained a hill, and made ſome farther reſiſtance; and Ariſtobulus, with the other thouſand, cut a paſſage through the Roman army, and retired to Machærus, where he arrived towards evening, and found the place in ruins: but he entertained an opinion that the enemy would conſent to a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, which would enable him to reinforce his army, and repair the caſtle. The Romans, however, immediately proceeded to aſſault the place, which was defended with great bravery for two days, when a complete victory was gained over Ariſtobulus, who, with his ſon, Antigonus, that had eſcaped with him from Rome, was made priſoner, put in bonds, and ſent to Gabinius, who ordered them to be conducted to Rome. The father was ſentenced to impriſonment by the ſenate, but the ſon was permitted to return to Judæa, through the mediation of Gabinius, who informed the ſenate by letter, that when the wife of Ariſtobulus reſigned the caſtle to him, he engaged himſelf to intercede in behalf of Antigonus.

Operations of Gabinius and Alexander.

While Gabinius was preparing to commence hoſtilities againſt the Parthians, he learnt that Ptolemy, having retired from the Euphrates, was upon his march towards Egypt; and therefore he declined to purſue his deſign. Gabinius was ſupplied with arms, corn, money, and other neceſſaries for war, by Hyrcanus and Antipater; and they prevailed upon the Jews of Peluſium, who, in a manner, guarded the entrance into Egypt, not to intercept the progreſs of Gabinius to that country. The departure of Gabinius proved greatly alarming to the inhabitants of different parts of Syria; and at the ſame time an inſurrection happened among the Jews. Alexander, the ſon of Ariſtobulus, having collected a very conſiderable body of followers, made a reſolution to put every Roman who ſhould fall into his power to immediate death. Being ſenſible of his danger, and that the ſedition increaſed, Gabinius employed his intereſt with Antipater to effect an accommodation. But Alexander being naturally diſpoſed to martial exploits, and having an army of thirty thouſand men, rejected the propoſals. The armies joined battle in the neighbourhood of the mountain of Itabyr. The

Gabinius vanquiſhes Alexander.

Romans obtained a complete victory, and left ten thouſand of the enemy ſlain in the field. Alexander and his remaining troops eſcaped. After this victory, Gabinius, in compliance with the advice of Antipater, marched to Jeruſalem, in order to introduce a republican government. He afterwards led his forces againſt the Nabathæans, whom he engaged, and ſubdued: and he diſmiſſed two Parthian deſerters, named Mithridates and Orſanes, circulating a report that they had effected an eſcape.

Craſſus made governor of Syria.

The government of Syria devolved from Gabinius to Craſſus, who, in order to defray the expences of the Parthian war, deſpoiled the temple of the two thouſand talents which Pompey had generouſly declined to ſeize, and of all the gold contained in the building; and he then paſſed the Euphrates. The particulars of his defeat and death will appear with more propriety hereafter.

He is ſucceeded by Caſſius, who comes into Judæa.

Caſſius ſucceeded Craſſus in the government of Syria, and intercepted the Parthians, who were preparing to make an incurſion into that country. He led an army into Judæa; ſubdued Tarichæa, and took with him from the conquered town near three thouſand Jewiſh captives; and among them was Pitholaus, whom Antipater prevailed upon him to put to death for having eſpouſed the cauſe of Ariſtobulus. Cypris, or Cypron, the wife of Antipater, was an illuſtrious Arabian: ſhe bore to him the four following ſons: Phaſael, king Herod, Joſeph, and Pheroras; and a daughter, called Salome. The liberal ſentiments and wiſe conduct of Antipater, obtained him an high reputation among the moſt eminent characters of his age, and the particular friendſhip of the Arabian king, to whom he committed the care of his children, when he engaged in the war againſt Ariſtobulus. Having concluded a truce with Alexander, Caſſius marched in order to occupy his former ſtation near the Euphrates, and repulſe the Parthians, in caſe of their attempting to make an incurſion.

CHAP. VII.

CÆSAR reſtores ARISTOBULUS to Freedom; ſoon after which he is poiſoned by the Friends of POMPEY. The Death of ALEXANDER. ANTIPATER joins MITHRIDATES in beſieging PELUSIUM. The Poſſeſſion of the Pontificate confirmed to HYRCANUS.

Cæſar ſets Ariſtobulus at liberty, who is ſoon after poiſoned by the friends of Pompey.

*POMPEY and the ſenate having departed from Rome, and in a conſternation paſſed the Ionian ſea, Cæſar was left to the abſolute government of the place: he immediately reſtored Ariſtobulus to freedom, and ſent him into Syria, attended by two companies of ſoldiers; firmly be-

*As ſeveral of the tranſactions related in this part of the Jewiſh hiſtory are to be likewiſe met with in the XIVth and ſome of the following books of the ANTIQUITIES, the reader is requeſted to refer for them to that part of the work.

lieving

lieving that the people would readily ſurrender to him. But this was too flattering an expectation; for Ariſtobulus fell a ſacrifice to poiſon, which was adminiſtered to him by the friends of Pompey. His body was embalmed, but remained ſome time unburied: Antony, however, cauſed his remains to be conveyed to Judæa, and to be depoſited in the royal ſepulchre. The fate of Alexander was not leſs deplorable than that of his father. Pompey, having ſentenced Alexander to death for ſeditious practices againſt the Romans, tranſmitted orders to Scipio to behead the youth at Antioch.

Marriage of Philippion with Alexandra.

Ptolemy, the ſon of Mennæus, and the prince of Chalcis, which is ſituated on Mount Libanus, diſpatched his ſon Philippion to Aſkalon, commiſſioning him to requeſt that the widow of Ariſtobulus would ſend by him Antigonus and his ſiſters. Philippion became enamoured with, and eſpouſed Alexandra, the younger ſiſter. This conduct of Philippion greatly incenſed his father, who therefore cauſed him to be put to death; and he ſoon afterwards married his widow. The tenderneſs of Ptolemy towards Antigonus and his ſiſters was conſiderably increaſed by this alliance.

Mithridates, aſſiſted by Antipater, takes Peluſium.

Upon the deceaſe of Pompey, Antipater ſought to ingratiate himſelf into the eſteem of Cæſar. Mithridates, a Pergamenian, who had meditated an expedition in Egypt, finding his progreſs impeded by means of his ſhips being denied a paſſage at Peluſium, remained with his army at Aſkalon; and, though a ſtranger, he had the addreſs to gain over the Arabians to his ſide, and to prevail upon about three thouſand Jews to take up arms and join his troops. He attached to his intereſt Ptolemy of Libanus, another perſonage named Ptolemy, Jamblichus, and many other Syrians of great conſideration; and the example of theſe diſtinguiſhed people was followed by great numbers of their countrymen. The power of Mithridates being conſiderably increaſed by the aſſiſtance he had received from Antipater and from other quarters, he marched againſt Peluſium; and being oppoſed by the inhabitants, he beſieged the city. In this action, Antipater acquired additional reputation; for a breach being made by the troops under his command, he firſt entered the town, and was followed by his people.

The people of Memphis deliver up the city to Mithridates, who, being in imminent danger, is reſcued by Antipater.

After the reduction of Peluſium, the Jews inhabiting that province of Egypt, called Onias, reſolved to oppoſe Mithridates: but Antipater prevailed upon them to decline their intentions, and even to furniſh proviſions for the army. The example of the people of Onias was followed by thoſe of Memphis, who voluntarily ſurrendered to Mithridates. Having marched, without interruption, to Delta, Mithridates and Antipater encountered a body of Egyptians at a place called the camp of the Jews. Mithridates commanded the right wing of the army, and Antipater the left. The former being in the moſt imminent danger of a defeat, Antipater having routed that part of the enemy's army which he had engaged, haſtened along the bank of the river to the reſcue of his friend, many of whoſe purſuers he put to death, and chaced the reſt to their camp, which he rifled of a conſiderable booty. In this exploit, Antipater loſt only eighty men; but eight hundred of Mithridates's party were ſlain; and it was beyond all expectation that he himſelf eſcaped. Mithridates tranſmitted an account to the emperor, gratefully acknowledging the very important ſervices rendered him by Antipater; and Cæſar expreſſed his deep ſenſe of obligation to the victorious hero, who was thereby more zealouſly attached to his intereſt, and the marks of the wounds he had received bore an honourable teſtimony of his willingneſs to hazard his life in the ſervice of ſo illuſtrious a maſter. The war in Egypt being concluded, Cæſar returned into Syria, and he made Antipater a free citizen of Rome, allowing him all the privileges annexed to that character, and conferring upon him other ſignal honours; and as a farther inſtance of the ſincerity of his eſteem, he confirmed Hyrcanus, the friend of Antipater, in the pontifical dignity.

He is greatly honoured by Cæſar.

CHAP. VIII.

CÆSAR creates HYRCANUS High-Prieſt, and promotes ANTIPATER to the Government of JUDÆA. The Command of the Troops in SYRIA and SAMARIA given to HEROD. CÆCILIUS BASSUS cauſes SEXTUS CÆSAR to be murdered. The Government of SEXTUS devolves on MARCUS.

Pompey's friends accuſed of being authors of the death of Ariſtobulus.

ANTIGONUS, the ſon of the deceaſed Ariſtobulus, appealed to Cæſar, repreſenting that his father had been poiſoned by the contrivance of the friends of Pompey, in a ſtyle of the moſt bitter invective, accuſing Hyrcanus and Antipater as the cauſe of himſelf and his brethren being cruelly driven from their native country; and charging them with having oppreſſed the public for the ſake of indulging their private paſſions and defires. He aſſerted that the aſſiſtance they had rendered Cæſar proceeded from fear rather than reſpect, and a proper ſenſe of their duty, and was only meant to make ſome compenſation for their former attachment to Pompey. To obviate the intended effect of theſe reproaches, Antipater expoſed his wounds, as the beſt teſtimony of loyalty to Cæſar. "It is a matter of aſtoniſhment (ſaid Antipater) that this man, the ſon of a declared enemy to the ſtate of Rome, and inheriting the rebellious principles of his father, ſhould have the effrontery thus to accuſe the moſt zealous of Cæſar's ſubjects, and to arrogate a merit

to

to himſelf, when his conduct has rendered him deſerving of death."

Hyrcanus appointed by Cæſar to the pontificate.

Cæſar, having heard them both, immediately conferred the pontificate upon Hyrcanus, deeming him in every reſpect qualified to aſſume that dignity: and at the ſame time he deſired Antipater to mention any commiſſion he wiſhed to enjoy, and it ſhould be granted. Antipater ſubmitted the matter intirely to the pleaſure of Cæſar; who appointed him to the government of Judæa, and, as a farther inſtance of his favour, granted him permiſſion to repair the walls, which had been deſtroyed by Pompey. Cæſar ordered theſe decrees to be engraven on braſs and placed in the capitol, in teſtimony of the ſignal ſervices of Antipater, and of the honourable recompenſe he obtained.

Antipater repairs the walls of Jeruſalem.

Having accompanied Cæſar to the frontiers of Syria, Antipater returned to Judæa, and immediately undertook a general reparation of the walls of Jeruſalem: and he viſited the ſeveral parts of the province, in order, by threats and perſuaſions, to eſtabliſh the public tranquillity. He informed the people, that if they obſerved a due obedience to Hyrcanus, they ſhould enjoy plenty and happineſs; but that if they ſought to gratify their private intereſts at the expence of the public, he would himſelf prove a rigid governor, and they would find in the perſon of Hyrcanus, inſtead of a gracious and mild prince, a cruel and unrelenting tyrant.

Though Antipater, for political reaſons, exacted great deference to Hyrcanus, he was conſcious of his incapacity to diſcharge the duties of his office, and determined to take every neceſſary precaution againſt the probable ill conſequences thereof. He

He beſtows preferments on his two ſons.

advanced Phaſael, his eldeſt ſon, who was captain of the guards, to the government of Jeruſalem, and the whole of that province: and to the government of Galilee he appointed Herod, his ſecond ſon; who, though at an early period of life, diſcovered himſelf to be equal to great undertakings. Herod made priſoner of Hezekias, the leader of a conſiderable band of robbers, who had committed great depredations in Syria, and cauſed him and many of his followers to be put to death. This enterpriſe obtained Herod a very diſtinguiſhed ſhare of reputation; and the Syrians in general celebrated him as the man to whom they were indebted for the ſecure and happy enjoyment of their lives, liberties, and poſſeſſions. The heroic exploit of Herod made him known to Sextus Cæſar, couſin to Cæſar the Great, who at that time held the government of Syria; and the fame of his atchievement inſpired Phaſael with the generous idea of emulating the conduct of his

They obtain the eſteem of the people.

brother. Phaſael was ſo moderate in the exerciſe of power over the people of Jeruſalem, and ſo ſtrictly obſervant of the principles of juſtice, that he gained univerſal approbation. The glory of the ſons greatly increaſed that of the father, who experienced as high a degree of veneration as he could have done had he actually been the ſovereign of the Jews; and this wiſe adminiſtrator, ſo far from being tranſported beyond the bounds of moderation by his great ſucceſs, ſtill preſerved his fidelity and reſpect towards Hyrcanus.

Effects of the envy of Hyrcanus againſt the ſons of Antipater.

That exalted characters are never ſecure from the malignant ſhafts of envy will be found exemplified in the following inſtance. Hyrcanus had long entertained a ſecret enmity againſt the ſons of Antipater, on account of their great and well-deſerved reputation; and his prejudice was increaſed by the court-paraſites, to whom ſuperior virtue is ever an object of deteſtation. They inſinuated to him that the brothers acted as ſovereigns rather than as ſubjects; declaring that Herod had committed a daring violation againſt the Jewiſh law, by putting ſeveral perſons to death without the authority of Hyrcanus; and urging that he ought to be rendered amenable to juſtice for the iniquities he had committed. Theſe ſuggeſtions ſo powerfully operated upon Hyrcanus, that he ordered Herod to

Herod cited to take his trial.

be ſummoned to appear before the council. By the advice of his father, Herod ſecured his garriſons in Galilee, and proceeded to obey the mandate; and unwilling to give offence to Hyrcanus, he was attended only by ſuch a company of ſoldiers as he deemed neceſſary for his perſonal ſafety. Sextus Cæſar having conceived a great eſteem for Herod, was much concerned, leſt, when in the power of his enemies, ſome fatal event might happen to him; and he therefore applied to Hyrcanus, requeſting that he would diſmiſs the complaint exhibited againſt the youth; and this deſire was readily granted. Herod did not conſider himſelf to be in a ſtate of perfect ſecurity, conceiving that Hyrcanus had done a violence to his inclination in acquitting him: he therefore determined not to appear if he ſhould be a ſecond time ſummoned, and in this diſpoſition repaired to Sextus, who then reſided at Damaſcus. The enemies of Herod endeavoured to revive the enmity of Hyrcanus, by repreſenting that the youth had departed in anger, and had reſolved upon ſome deſperate means of revenge. Hyrcanus was greatly embarraſſed at the idea of having ſo formidable an enemy; but upon receiving

He is made general of Sextus's troops in Syria.

information that Sextus had appointed Herod to the command of his troops in Syria and Samaria, his terror increaſed to ſo high a degree that he was continually tortured by the imagination that his adverſary was leading an army to depoſe him. In this conjecture he was not deceived; for, violently enraged at having been treated as a criminal, Herod collected an army, and proceeded towards Jeruſalem in a reſolution to deprive Hyrcanus of the government; and this enterpriſe he would indiſputably have effected, had he not yielded to the diſſuaſions of his father and brother. They urged him to "offer no violence to the king, to whoſe favour and countenance he was indebted for the dignified ſtation he enjoyed. They ſaid, his indignation at being

being accuſed, ſhould, in a great meaſure, be appeaſed by the circumſtance of his acquittal; that if he prided himſelf in his power, he ſhould conſider that the meaſure he was about to purſue was wholly unprofitable; that the protection of the Almighty could not be expected by the man who had revolted againſt his legal ſovereign; that the prince he meant to oppoſe was his ſincere friend and generous benefactor, and one who had in no inſtance wronged him, except when irritated by the injurious ſuggeſtions of his enemies." Hereupon Herod repreſſed his indignation, and waved the deſign of proceeding to hoſtilities. A civil war between the Romans broke out at this period in the neighbourhood of Apania; during which Cæcilius Baſſus, with a view to gratify Pompey, treacherouſly cauſed Sextus Cæſar to be put to death, and then aſſumed the command of his troops. In revenge for the murder of Sextus, the party attached to Julius Cæſar oppoſed Baſſus with their utmoſt power: and from a veneration towards the ſurviving Cæſar, and the memory of the deceaſed, Antipater diſpatched conſiderable ſuccours to the avengers of the murderers of Sextus, under the command of his ſons. Marcus was commanded to depart from Italy, in order to ſucceed to the government of Sextus.

Sextus Cæſar treacherouſly ſlain, and ſucceeded by Marcus.

CHAP. IX.

JULIUS CÆSAR murdered in the Capitol. The Oppreſſion of CASSIUS. The Treachery of MALICHUS. CÆSAR and ANTONY in a State of Hoſtility with BRUTUS and CASSIUS. HEROD promoted to the Government of SYRIA. MALICHUS cauſes ANTIPATER to be poiſoned. HEROD revenges the Death of his Father.

Murder of Cæſar, and the horrible factions that enſue.

THE civil diſſenſions among the Romans were followed by a ſtill more terrible war. In the ſeventh month of the third year of his reign, Caſſius and Brutus murdered Cæſar in the capitol; and his death was followed by the moſt ſhocking contentions and diſorders among the ſubjects of the Roman empire. The people were divided into factions; and, regardleſs of the public welfare, they acted according to their reſpective intereſts and paſſions. Caſſius went into Syria, and took the command of the troops employed in beſieging Apamia: having attached Marcus and Baſſus, and ſome malecontented cohorts to his intereſt, he raiſed the ſiege, and then impoſed moſt enormous taxes upon the cities: he alſo ſubjected the Jews to a contribution of ſeven hundred talents. Antipater appointed his ſons and his particular friends to provide for the tax upon the Jews; and the preſſing exigency of public affairs induced him to join Malichus, his profeſſed enemy, in the commiſſion. The firſt ſum, amounting to an hundred talents, was collected by Herod in Galilee, and his expedition in the buſineſs obtained him great favour with Caſſius; who was ſo exaſperated by the delay of the other agents, that he entirely deſtroyed Gophna, Thamna, and two other cities of equal conſideration: and he formed a deſign of puniſhing the neglect of Malichus by putting him to death: but his rage was appeaſed by Antipater, who preſented him with an hundred talents.

Malichus plots againſt Antipater.

Notwithſtanding Malichus had repeatedly acknowledged himſelf indebted to Antipater for the preſervation of his life; no ſooner had Caſſius departed, than he contrived meaſures for the deſtruction of his generous benefactor, whom he conſidered as the only obſtacle to his ambitious views. Antipater, knowing him to be a man of an artful and diſingenuous temper, entertained a ſuſpicion of his deſigns, and therefore paſſed the Jordan, and aſſembled a body of troops, that he might oppoſe his meaſures. Perceiving that Antipater ſuſpected his deſigns, Malichus employed every plauſible means for ingratiating himſelf into the eſteem of Phaſael and Herod, the former of whom was governor of Jeruſalem, and the latter captain of the guards. He had the addreſs to perſuade them that he had never entertained even the moſt diſtant thought of injuring their father, who they prevailed upon to conſent to a reconciliation; they alſo negotiated a compromiſe with Marcus (or Mercus) governor of Syria, who had reſolved to put Malichus to death on account of his factious diſpoſition. Cæſar and Antony being now at war with Brutus and Caſſius, and the latter as well as Marcus being ſenſible of the great qualities of Herod, they nominated him to the government of Syria, and appointed him a ſtrong body-guard of horſe and foot; promiſing that upon the concluſion of the war they would promote him to the ſovereignty of the Jews. The merit of Herod, however, proved the cauſe of his father's death: for Malichus, in order to free himſelf from the dangers by which he ſuppoſed himſelf to be ſurrounded, bribed the butler of Hyrcanus to mix a poiſon with Antipater's drink. Hyrcanus was advanced to the throne through the means of Antipater, who was a man of conſummate wiſdom, and undaunted reſolution. The multitude were exaſperated to the higheſt degree of extravagance againſt Malichus, ſuſpecting him to have procured the death of the man to whom he was under innumerable obligations: but they were ſomewhat appeaſed upon his making the moſt ſolemn declaration of being perfectly innocent of the execrable crime alledged againſt him. Malichus aſſembled troops, and put himſelf into a condition of making a defence, apprehending that Phaſael and Herod would ſeek revenge for the death of their father. Herod was deſirous of wreaking inſtant vengeance upon the abominable traitor: but his brother diſſuading him from that meaſure, from an unwillingneſs to diſturb the public peace, they permitted him to make a defence, and aſſumed the appearance of being perfectly ſatisfied of his innocence. After this, they pro-

He cauſes him to be poiſoned.

ceeded to the interment of their father, whose funeral solemnities were conducted with great magnificence.

Mutual jealousy and dissimulation between Malichus and Herod.

Herod now went to Samaria in order to quell the disturbances which prevailed in that country: but on all solemn days he continued to repair to Jerusalem, being attended by his guards. Malichus, being under great apprehension from Herod, prevailed upon Hyrcanus to expostulate with him on the impropriety of being attended by strangers, by whom the holy religion was profaned and the people interrupted in their devotional exercises. Herod treated the matter complained of by Hyrcanus with contempt, and by night gained admission to the city. Malichus went to him, pretending to be excessively afflicted at the fate of Antipater; and Herod, dissembling his rage, appeared to believe him sincere. Herod wrote to Cassius, demanding justice upon the murderer of his father; and as Cassius already entertained an enmity against Malichus, he readily consented that Herod should seek revenge, besides which he dispatched private orders to the commanders of his troops, authorising them to grant such assistance as he should require.

They plot against each other.

Having subdued Laodicea, the principal people of the country came in great numbers to compliment and make presents to Herod; who considered this as a favourable opportunity for gratifying his desire of revenge. Malichus suspecting his design, formed a plan for getting his son from Tyre, where he then resided in quality of a hostage, and retreating with him into Judæa: but reflecting on the desperate situation of his affairs, and the little probability of succeeding in the attempt, he at length suggested a more daring enterprise. He determined to take advantage of Cassius being engaged in the war against Antony, and to spirit up the whole Jewish nation to an insurrection against the Romans; and he imagined that, if he could effect this point, to depose Hyrcanus, and obtain possession of his government, would be attended with but little difficulty. Herod, however, conceiving that some important design was meditating against him, invited Hyrcanus and Malichus to supper: he dispatched a domestic under the pretence of making the necessary preparations for the entertainment, having previously instructed him to solicit the assistance of the officers of the Roman troops. In obedience to their directions from Cassius, the Roman commanders marched towards the sea side of the city, where they surrounded Malichus, and put him to death. This event caused Hyrcanus to faint; but after much difficulty he was recovered; he then inquired, by whom Malichus had been slain; and one of the officers replied, that he had been put to death by the order of Cassius. "Then (said Hyrcanus) I acknowledge Cassius to be the preserver of my life and kingdom; for the destruction of both the traitor had long meditated." Whether he spoke his real sentiments, or from an impulse of fear, cannot be determined.

Malichus slain by the Roman officers, at the instance of Herod.

CHAP. X.

In Revenge for the Death of MALICHUS, FELIX declares War against the Brothers. MARION, King of the TYRIANS, and ANTIGONUS, march to oppose HEROD. Accusations against the Brothers. ANTONY appoints PHASAEL and HEROD Tetrarchs of JUDÆA.

A sedition breaks out at Jerusalem.

AFTER the departure of Cassius from Syria, fresh troubles took place in Jerusalem. In revenge for the death of Malichus, Felix commenced hostilities against Phasael and Herod. Herod was at that time at Damascus with Fabius, the governor; and an indisposition rendered him incapable of leading his troops to join his brother. Phasael, however, was in no want of reinforcements; for, with his own forces, he subdued the enemy. He reproached Hyrcanus in the most spirited terms for his ingratitude in espousing the cause of Felix, and giving the brother of Malichus possession of Massada, the strongest fort in the country, besides several other castles. Upon the recovery of Herod, he marched against the enemy, retook the places that had been conquered, and humbled Hyrcanus upon his knees; but sought no further revenge for his treacherous behaviour.

Herod humbles Hyrcanus, and drives Marion out of Galilee.

He recovered three castles that had been taken by Marion, king of the Tyrians, and drove that monarch out of Galilee. He shewed great lenity to the Tyrians whom he made prisoners, by sparing their lives, and many of them he gratified with presents; and by these means he made them friends to his cause. Marion, like the other persons promoted by Cassius, exerted an unbounded oppression in Syria. He marched against Herod, taking with him, on account of their being enemies to his adversary, Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, and Fabius, whom Antigonus had bribed to engage in his service: they were supplied with provisions and other necessaries by Ptolemy, father-in-law to Antigonus.

Herod overcomes Antigonus and his allies, and is well received at Jerusalem.

The armies engaged upon the borders of Judæa; and, having defeated the enemy, Herod returned in triumph to Jerusalem, where he was received with the greatest acclamations of joy; and those persons who had been enemies to him, on account of his relationship to Hyrcanus, now sought to cultivate his friendship with the greatest assiduity. Herod had been married to a woman of noble birth of his own country, named Doris, who bore to him Antipater; he afterwards espoused Mariamne, daughter of Alexander, who was son of Aristobulus and Alexandra, the daughter of Hyrcanus; and hence the relation of Herod to the king.

After

Herod and Phaſael are accuſed before Antony, who diſmiſſes the complainants without a hearing.

After the deceaſe of Caſſius at the battle of Philippi, Cæſar repaired into Italy, and Antony into Aſia; and embaſſadors from divers places, and ſeveral of the principal people among the Jews, came to the latter at Bithynia, and exhibited violent complaints againſt the brothers, whom they accuſed of having uſurped, and arbitrarily exerciſed, the ſovereign authority, leaving Hyrcanus only the name of king. To obviate the effect of theſe accuſations, Herod preſented Antony with a very conſiderable ſum of money, which had ſo powerful an effect that no regard was paid to the complainants. About the time when his amour commenced with Cleopatra, an hundred Jews, diſtinguiſhed by their rank and abilities, repaired in a body to Antony, who was then at Daphnis in the ſuburbs of Antioch, in order to repeat the charges againſt the brothers; and the moſt eloquent ſpeakers among them were appointed to urge the complaints. The defence was undertaken by Meſſala and Hyrcanus, the latter being induced to plead on account of his relationſhip to the parties accuſed. Having heard the cauſe, Antony demanded of Hyrcanus, whom he conſidered as the moſt perfectly qualified for public adminiſtration: and he replied, that he knew no perſons ſo capable of government as Phaſael and Herod. This declaration proved highly ſatisfactory to Antony, who ſtill held in grateful recollection the friendly reception and liberal entertainment he had experienced from Antipater, whoſe ſons he now conſtituted tetrarchs of Judæa, inveſting them with the full powers of adminiſtration.

They are acquitted on a ſecond accuſation, and made tetrarch of Judæa.

The deciſion in favour of the brothers occaſioned the deputies to expreſs great diſſatisfaction, which proving highly offenſive to Antony, he ordered fifteen of them to priſon; and they were in imminent danger of being put to death. He treated their companions with great ſeverity, and then ſuffered them to depart. Hereupon the mal-contents of Jeruſalem were exaſperated to the laſt degree; and they now diſpatched a thouſand deputies to Antony, who was then at Tyre, making preparations to march to Jeruſalem. Theſe people were ſo outrageous, that Antony commanded the magiſtrates of the city to diſperſe them, and put ſuch as attempted reſiſtance to inſtant death; and in every reſpect to maintain the authority of the tetrarchs he had eſtabliſhed. Herod and Hyrcanus went to the deputies while they were walking before the port, and in a friendly manner expoſtulated with them on the dangerous tendency of their conduct, and exhorted them to moderation, leſt the ruin of themſelves and their whole nation ſhould enſue. In proportion to the lenity ſhewn them, their inſolence increaſed; and Antony being under the neceſſity of reducing them to order by the force of arms, many were ſlain. Hyrcanus ordered the neceſſary care to be taken of the wounded, and the dead to be interred: but this goodneſs had no effect upon thoſe who eſcaped; for they continued their outrageous proceedings till Antony was provoked to pronounce the ſentence of death upon all his priſoners.

Violent proceedings of the mal-contents of Jeruſalem, all of whom are put to death by Antony.

CHAP. XI.

A Treaty for dethroning HYRCANUS, and eſtabliſhing ANTIGONUS in the Regency. Perfidy of PACORUS and BARZAPHARNES. HEROD eſcapes to MASSADA; and after vanquiſhing the Enemy, proceeds to PETRA. The PARTHIANS invade JUDÆA. PHASAEL and HYRCANUS ſurrendered to ANTIGONUS, who tears HYRCANUS's Ears with his Teeth. CLEOPATRA gives HEROD an honourable and magnificent Reception at ALEXANDRA. HEROD goes to ROME, and is declared King of the JEWS.

Lyſanias attempts to depoſe Hyrcanus, and ſet up Antigonus.

ABOUT two years after this, when Syria was under the government of one of the principal of the Parthian nobility, named Barzapharnes, jointly with Pacorus, the king's ſon, Lyſanias, who ſucceeded his father Ptolemy, the ſon of Mennæus, engaged to deliver to them five hundred women, and pay them a thouſand talents, in conſideration of their depoſing Hyrcanus and advancing Antigonus to the throne. They readily accepted the propoſal; and Pacorus directed his march by the way of the ſea-coaſt, while Barzapharnes proceeded through the inland country. The people of Ptolemais and Sidon admitted Pacorus into their cities, but the Tyrians reſolutely denied him reception. He ſent before him a troop of cavalry, commanded by the king's butler, who, as well as the prince, was named Pacorus; and the buſineſs of this officer was to reconnoitre the country, obſerve the operations of the enemy, and, if occaſion ſhould require it, to reinforce Antigonus.

The Carmelite Jews join Antigonus.

The Jews inhabiting mount Carmel voluntarily declared themſelves diſpoſed to aſſiſt Antigonus; and he commanded them to gain poſſeſſion of that part of the country called Dryma. They proceeded to an engagement, and put the enemy to flight; aafter which, upon their forces being conſiderably increaſed, they marched to Jeruſalem, where they were courageouſly oppoſed by Hyrcanus and Phaſael, who, after an obſtinate battle in the market-place, obliged them to retreat into the temple. Hereupon, Herod ſtationed a guard of ſixty men in the adjacent buildings: but the populace, from their implacable enmity to the brothers, ſet fire to the houſes. This event ſo greatly exaſperated Herod, that he made a ſudden and furious attack upon the enemy, great numbers of whom he put to the ſword; and not a day elapſed without a ſkirmiſh and ſlaughter. The time for celebrating the feſtival now approaching, ſuch multitudes aſſembled from all parts of the country, that all quarters

ters of the city, and even the avenues of the temple, were crouded with people, moſt of whom were provided with weapons of defence. Phaſael undertook to defend the walls, while Herod, with but a ſmall number of troops, guarded the palace. Herod attacked the people in the ſuburbs by ſurpriſe, and purſued the aſſault with ſo much vigour, that many were ſlain, and the reſt put to flight, ſome taking refuge in the city, ſome in the temple, and others behind an adjacent rampart.

He propoſes a reconciliation.

Matters being arrived to this extremity, Antigonus offered terms for a reconciliation, and that Pacorus, the king's officer already mentioned, ſhould be conſtituted umpire. Phaſael accepted the propoſition, and admitted Pacorus, with a troop of five hundred cavalry, into the city. The treacherous Parthian, concealing his deſign of rendering ſervice to Antigonus, under the pretext of ſuppreſſing the inſurrection, prevailed upon Phaſael to diſpatch an embaſſy to Barzapharnes, reſpecting the re-eſtabliſhment of the public peace. Herod was wholly averſe to this meaſure; and he repeatedly exhorted his brother againſt negociating with, or repoſing confidence in, the barbarians, whoſe diſpoſitions were treacherous by nature; and he urged his brother to put Pacorus to death, inſtead of ſuffering himſelf to be made the dupe to the ſcheme of deſtruction which the inſinuating traitor was preparing. To avoid the ſuſpicion of Phaſael, and give an appearance of plauſibility to his deſign, Pacorus, with Hyrcanus, followed Phaſael out of the city, where Herod was left with ſome of the people called freemen by the barbarians.

Perfidious conduct of Pacorus and Barzapharnes againſt Hyrcanus and Phaſael.

Upon their arrival in Galilee, they found a diviſion prevailing among the people, who had taken up arms: but the governors, however, gave them the meeting: by flattery and preſents, Barzapharnes ha[illegible]ne addreſs to diſguiſe his treachery; but he had ſtationed a party of troops to ſurpriſe them on the road they were to purſue after parting with him. They were conducted to a place called Ecdipon, ſituated near the ſea, where they were informed that the Parthians had engaged to betray them, in conſequence of Antigonus having promiſed a gratuity of a thouſand talents, ſeveral women belonging to theſe unfortunate people, and others, amounting in the whole to five hundred; and that the treacherous deſign would not have been ſo long deferred, but from an apprehenſion that it would be intirely fruſtrated if they attempted to put it in practice previous to the arrival of Herod at Jeruſalem. The truth of this relation was proved by the appearance of the guards.

Plan of the treacherous contrivance diſcloſed to Ophelius, who, with Hyrcanus, are

A Syrian, named Saramalla, the moſt wealthy man of his country, having related the whole ſcheme of treachery to Ophelius, he communicated the particulars to Phaſael, urging him to provide for his own ſafety; but refuſing, on any

conſideration, to deſert Hyrcanus, he ſought Barzapharnes, whom he violently upbraided with treachery, ſaying it was in his power to give a more conſiderable ſum for his life than Antigonus had offered for the kingdom. Hereupon, Barzapharnes denied the guilt imputed to him with ſhocking imprecations; and then went in ſearch of Pacorus. Upon the departure of Barzapharnes, Phaſael and Hyrcanus were taken into cuſtody by the Parthian guards.

ſeized by the Parthians.

According to the directions of Barzapharnes, Pacorus endeavoured to intice Herod out of the town, and make him priſoner; but Herod being aware of the treachery of the barbarians, fruſtrated the deſign. He had received information that his brother was taken into cuſtody, and imagined that he had written an account of what had befallen him, but that the letters had been intercepted. Mariamne, daughter of Hyrcanus, eſteemed one of the wiſeſt women of her time, exhorted him againſt expoſing himſelf to the evidently treacherous deſigns of the barbarians. Pacorus adviſed him to go forth, ſaying that on the way he would meet his letters, by which he would be convinced that his brother enjoyed his liberty, and that he had not experienced a breach of faith. The ſeveral ſtratagems that Pacorus had put into practice having failed of ſucceſs, he employed himſelf in deviſing other means for getting Herod into his power; but, in the interim, wholly unſuſpected by the enemy, Herod, with ſome of his neareſt relations, eſcaped by night, and directed their courſe towards Idumæa. Upon gaining intelligence of his eſcape, the Parthians purſued him; and having ſent forward his mother, brother, and Mariamne, to whom he was betrothed, and Mariamne's younger brother, Herod made preparations for oppoſing the enemy. Several engagements enſued, in which the Parthians were vanquiſhed; and Herod afterwards retired to the caſtle of Maſſada. He was now more haraſſed and annoyed by the Jews than he had been before by the Parthians: they attacked him at the diſtance of about ſixty furlongs from Jeruſalem, and an engagement took place, and after the enemy had ſuſtained a great ſlaughter, victory decided in favour of Herod; who, to immortalize the honour of the enterprize, conſtructed a magnificent palace, and a caſtle of great ſtrength on the ſpot, and, from his own name, he called the place Herodion.

Herod, by his caution, fruſtrates the deſigns of his enemies.

He firſt defeats the Parthians, and afterwards the Jews.

When Herod was at Threſſa in Idumæa, he was adviſed by his brother Joſeph to diſmiſs a part of his followers, whom he judged to be too numerous to be entertained in the caſtle of Maſſada, computing them to have increaſed to upwards of three thouſand. Herod diſpoſed of his relations and the moſt valuable of his followers in the caſtle, which he furniſhed with ſuch proviſions as he deemed would be neceſſary in caſe of a ſiege; he appointed eight hundred men as a guard to the women;

and

and leſſened the number of his followers by diſmiſſing to Idumæa ſuch as appeared likely to prove of the leaſt ſervice. He now proceeded towards a city in Arabia called Petra.

Great devaſtations and ravages committed in Judæa by the Parthians.

The Parthians at Jeruſalem forcibly entered the habitations of thoſe who were abſent, and made booty of all the property they could find; they even ſeized the treaſure of the royal palace: but they entirely ſpared that of Hyrcanus, which did not amount to three thouſand talents. The ſpoil obtained by the barbarians was not ſo conſiderable as they expected; for Herod, being ſenſible of their rapacious diſpoſition, had the precaution to remove his moſt valuable treaſure to Idumæa; and this example was followed by his companions. After the plunder of the town, the Parthians proceeded to an outrageous and bloody war in the adjacent countries. They laid the city of Mariſſa in ruins; declared Antigonus king, and ſurrendered Phaſael and Hyrcanus in bonds. Antigonus tore off the ears of Hyrcanus, in order to diſqualify him from aſſuming the high-prieſthood; no blemiſhed or maimed perſon being deemed eligible to the pontifical dignity.

Cruelty of Antigonus.

Phaſael eſcaped the vengeance of Hyrcanus; for though his hands were confined, he found means to deprive himſelf of life, which he effected by daſhing his head againſt a ſtone; and by this reſolute act he proved that he was not of the degenerate ſpirit that Hyrcanus poſſeſſed, but worthy to be called the brother of Herod. A report is circulated of Phaſael that he repented having offered violence to himſelf, and that Antigonus ſent to him a phyſician, who adminiſtered poiſon to his wounds. It is alſo related, that previous to his deceaſe he was informed by a woman that his brother had eſcaped, whereupon he declared that he ſhould die happy, ſince he ſhould leave a friend who would revenge his injuries.

Phaſael diſpatches himſelf.

Hyrcanus ſent in chains to Parthia. Herod's ſolicitude to redeem Phaſael, ſuppoſing him to be living.

The Parthians were highly incenſed againſt Antigonus, on account of his incapacity to deliver the five hundred women, agreeable to the ſtipulation: the matter, however, was ſettled at Jeruſalem, and Hyrcanus was ſent in bonds to Parthia. Herod being ignorant of the death of his brother, judged that a ſum of money was the only means by which he could redeem him from the power of the avaricious barbarians; and, therefore, he determined upon a journey, in order to ſolicit pecuniary aſſiſtance from Malichus, the king of Arabia, reſting his expectations of ſucceſs on the ancient friendſhip that had ſubſiſted between the Arabian and Antipater, his father, and propoſing to reſign the ſon of Phaſael, aged only ſeven years, as a ſecurity: and the Tyrians joined in the requeſt of Herod. But the unhappy fate of Phaſael diſappointed the laudable and generous intention of his brother; who conſidered his ſituation among the Parthians to be very precarious, ſince Malichus had commanded him to evacuate his dominions, on the pretext that the Parthians, by the agency of their embaſſadors, had inſiſted on his being expelled the country: but the real cauſe of his ingratitude was a naturally illiberal and contracted mind, which would not permit him to acknowledge and acquit to the ſon the obligations he had incurred to the father. The people moſt eſteemed by Malichus were of abandoned diſpoſitions; and to their advice he paid the greateſt deference.

Finding that thoſe very circumſtances which he expected would procure him the friendſhip of the Arabians had made them his enemies, he ſent by the meſſengers a ſevere reply, and marched towards Egypt. In the evening, he joined a number of his people at a caſtle where he had left them on his journey, and on the following day he arrived at Rinocolura, where he received information of his brother's death, which proved exceedingly diſtreſſing. After paying a tribute of grief to the memory of his tenderly eſteemed brother and friend, he continued his march.

Is diſtreſſed, on hearing of his brother's death.

Malichus being now touched with remorſe for his barbarity, diſpatched meſſengers to ſolicit the return of Herod: but as he had by this time reached Peluſium, the Arabian was ſenſible of his ingratitude too late to repair the injury. He was refuſed the liberty of taking ſhipping at Peluſium; but, upon an application to the magiſtrates, they granted him permiſſion of taking what courſe he approved; and he ſailed for Alexandria. Cleopatra was at this time preparing for an important enterpriſe; and therefore, with a view to induce him to accept a military command, ſhe gave him a moſt honourable and magnificent reception upon his entrance into the city. Herod, however, was ſo deſirous of proceeding to Rome, that the earneſt intreaties of the queen, the extremity of the ſeaſon, and the danger of the ſeas, were not ſufficient to change his purpoſe. He embarked, and directed his courſe by the way of Pamphylia. During the voyage, it was judged neceſſary, for the preſervation of the veſſel, to caſt the cargo into the ſea: however, after encountering great difficulties, Herod landed at Rhodes, where he found public affairs in a very embarraſſed ſtate, on account of the war then prevailing with Caſſius. He was received in a generous manner by two friends, named Saphinias and Ptolemy; and though he was diſtreſſed for money, he procured a ſtrong veſſel to convey him to Brunduſium, whence he proceeded to Rome. Upon his arrival at Rome, he repaired to Antony, hoping aſſiſtance from him on account of the friendly manner in which he had lived with Antipater: he related to him an account of his friends and relations being beſieged in the caſtle of Maſſada, with the whole of the adventures of himſelf and his family; ſaying that he had undertaken a dangerous voyage in

Herod honourably entertained by Cleopatra.

Generoſity of Antony and Auguſtus to Herod.

the extremity of winter for the purpoſe of paying his reſpects to, and ſupplicating the countenance of, the ancient friend of his father. A regard to the memory of Antipater, and a conſciouſneſs of Herod's worthineſs, determined Antony, who had formerly conſtituted him tetrarch, now to relieve his great afflictions by promoting him to the ſovereignty of the Jews; and to this reſolution he was, in ſome degree, influenced by the averſion he entertained againſt Antigonus, whom he conſidered as a man of a violent and ſeditious temper, and one diſaffected to the ſtate of Rome. Notwithſtanding the generoſity of Antony, Auguſtus proved a ſtill more active patron to Herod: in all converſation, he dwelt with peculiar pleaſure on the exploits and great ſervices of Antipater in Egypt, the friendſhip that had ſubſiſted between him and Cæſar, and the courage, integrity, and amiable diſpoſition of Herod.

He is made king of the Jews by the Roman ſenate.

A ſenate being aſſembled, at which Herod was preſent, Meſſala, and after him, Stratinus, expatiated on the great qualities of Antipater, commending his ſteady adherence to the intereſts of the Romans; and they repreſented Antigonus as a profeſſed enemy to the ſtate of Rome, in contempt of which he had even conſented to accept the crown from the Parthians. Theſe diſcourſes greatly irritated the ſenate againſt Antigonus; and Antony declared that, on account of the war with the Parthians, it would be highly advantageous to appoint Herod king of the Jews. He was, by an unanimous voice, promoted to the ſovereignty. Upon the riſing of the ſenate, the conſuls, and other magiſtrates, firſt departed to give orders reſpecting ſacrifices, and depoſit the decrees of the ſenate in the capitol. Herod went forth, being attended by Cæſar on one ſide of him, and by Antony on the other. He concluded the firſt day of his reign at a ſuperb entertainment provided by Antony.

CHAP. XII.

MASSADA beſieged by ANTIGONUS. JOPPA ſubdued, and MASSADA relieved by HEROD. He quells a dangerous Inſurrection. He takes Poſſeſſion of SEPPHORIS, conquers and plunders JERICHO; diſperſes the Robbers, and then returns to SAMARIA. A terrible Maſſacre of the JEWS by MACHÆRUS. SAMOSATA ſurrendered to ANTONY.

Maſſada beſieged by Antigonus.

DURING the above tranſactions at Rome, Antigonus laid ſiege to the caſtle of Maſſada, where the people had a ſufficient ſupply of all neceſſaries, excepting water, the want of which put them to ſuch extremity, that Joſeph, the brother of Herod, conceived a deſign of privately retreating from the caſtle by night, in company with two hundred of his moſt particular friends, in order to requeſt the aſſiſtance of Malichus, who, he had learnt, repented of his injurious treatment to Herod. When he was on the point of deſerting the caſtle, abundance of rain deſcended, and repleniſhed the reſervoirs, ciſterns, and other veſſels, and rendered his removal no longer neceſſary. Upon being thus ſeaſonably relieved, the troops proceeded to make frequent ſallies upon the beſiegers, whom they ſometimes openly oppoſed by day, and at other times ſurpriſed under favour of the night. In theſe actions, they put a great number of the enemy to death; but they did not always eſcape without conſiderable injury to themſelves.

Ventidius, the Roman general, ſeizes on the treaſure of Antigonus in Judæa.

In the interim, a Roman general, named Ventidius, being diſpatched to chace the Parthians out of Syria, entered Judæa, under pretence of affording relief to Maſſada; but his real motive was to make booty of the treaſure of Antigonus. After having conſiderably enriched himſelf, he departed from Jeruſalem, in order to quell the tumults raiſed in ſeveral cities by the Parthians, leaving Silo with a ſmall party of troops for the purpoſe of concealing his deception, for he was apprehenſive, that by withdrawing the whole army, he ſhould incur the charge of having been influenced by motives of avarice. Upon the departure of Ventidius, Antigonus entertained hopes that he ſhould ſtill receive ſuccour from the Parthians; and he bribed Silo not to oppoſe his meaſures.

Herod, having now repaired from Rome to Ptolemais, collected a formidable army, compoſed of people of his own country, and ſtrangers. At the inſtance of Antony, Dellius prevailed upon Ventidius and Silo to join Herod; and thus reinforced, he marched into Galilee, to oppoſe Antigonus. During his march, he was daily joined by great numbers of people, and almoſt the whole number of inhabitants attached themſelves to his party. The firſt enterpriſe he reſolved to attempt was, to relieve his relations and friends, who were beſieged in Maſſada: but previous to this, he deemed it neceſſary to reduce Joppa, as he could not ſafely march towards Jeruſalem while the force of that city remained behind him. Silo at this time availed himſelf of an opportunity of abandoning Herod, and being purſued by the Jews of Antigonus's party, Herod, at the head of a ſmall number of troops, engaged and vanquiſhed them; and after a faint reſiſtance, brought Silo away.

Herod, after reducing Joppa, relieves his friends in Maſſada.

Having ſubdued Joppa, Herod haſtened to the relief of Maſſada, and his army was ſtrengthened by the people of the country; ſome joining him from a regard to the memory of his father, ſome on his own account, others from the obligations they owed jointly to the father and ſon, and a ſtill greater number from the expectation of advancing their fame and fortune. Antigonus ſtationed ambuſhes, and

and purſued other meaſures, though with little ſucceſs, to intercept the march of Herod, who was now at the head of a very formidable army. The ſiege of Maſſada was, at length, raiſed without much difficulty to Herod, who, after relieving his friends, and getting his effects from the caſtle, proceeded towards Jeruſalem, where many of Silo's followers, and of the inhabitants of that great city, ſubmitted to his authority.

He lays ſiege to Jeruſalem, and proclaims an amnesty.

Herod encamped his troops on the weſt ſide of the town, and the enemy made frequent ſallies againſt him, and greatly annoyed his troops with their darts and arrows. He cauſed a herald to make a proclamation round the walls of the city, ſetting forth that he had no view in the preſent expedition but the ſecurity of the city, and the general welfare of the people; and propoſing an act of amneſty to his enemies of every denomination whatever. Antigonus adopted every probable means for preventing the declaration of the herald from being heard by the multitude: at length, he gave orders for battle, and the ſoldiers ſtationed in the towers diſcharged immenſe numbers of lances and darts, and repulſed the aſſailants.

Craft and treachery of Silo.

The corruption of Silo now became indiſputably evident: the ſoldiers loudly complained of wanting proviſions and money; that the country had been ravaged by Antigonus; and that they were deſtitute of winter quarters. Public affairs bore ſo threatening an aſpect, that Herod judged it prudent to apply to Silo's officers, and to the common ſoldiers, with a view to prevent a revolt. He repreſented to them that he had received his commiſſion from Cæſar, Antony, and the ſenate; and requeſted that they would patiently wait one day, on which condition all their demands ſhould be ſatisfied. He gave orders for ſupplies of proviſions, which were immediately ſent to the people in great abundance; and Silo was, therefore, left without farther cauſe of complaint. Herod, in order to guard againſt a ſcarcity in future, wrote for cattle, corn, oil, wine, and other neceſſaries, to be conveyed from Samaria, which was then under his protection. Antigonus diſperſed troops in ambuſhes among the paſſes of the mountains, in order to intercept the conveyance of proviſions to Herod's army.

Herod takes Jericho, and places a garriſon in it.

In the interim, Herod, with five companies of Romans, five of Jews, and a ſmall party of horſe, proceeded towards Jericho. He found the city intirely abandoned, and that five hundred of the inhabitants, with their wives and families, had ſought refuge among the mountains; and theſe people he took, but afterwards ſet them free. After ſtationing a garriſon in the town, and appointing the Roman troops to winter quarters in Idumæa, Galilee, and Samaria, Herod returned. Antigonus, by means of preſents, prevailed upon Silo to permit a part of his army to be quartered in Lydda, imagining that he ſhould thereby obtain the favour of Antony.

The Romans were now happy in the enjoyment of a ſtate of perfect tranquillity, and an abundance of all the neceſſaries of life. But Herod, naturally averſe to a ſtate of inactivity, diſpatched an army, compoſed of four hundred cavalry, and two thouſand infantry, under the command of his brother Joſeph, for the purpoſe of fortifying Idumæa againſt any future attempt of Antigonus; and, after accompanying his mother and other relations, whom he had reſcued from the caſtle of Maſſada, to Samaria, he left them there in a ſtate of ſecurity, and proceeded to aſſault the garriſons that Antigonus poſſeſſed in the province of Galilee. He arrived at Sepphoris, during a great fall of ſnow, and the place being immediately abandoned by the garriſon, he took poſſeſſion of it, and finding proviſions exceedingly plentiful, he remained there three months, during which ſpace he greatly refreſhed his troops after the fatigues of the winter. He now determined to exterminate the numerous banditti who took refuge in the caverns, and by frequent incurſions committed greater devaſtation than the country would have ſuſtained from an open war. He diſpatched a body of horſe and three companies of foot to Arbela, to which place, at the end of forty days, Herod went in perſon at the head of the remaining part of his army. The robbers collected themſelves into a body, and repoſing great confidence in the military qualifications of their chief, with undaunted reſolution prepared for an engagement. The right wing of the banditti put the left wing of Herod's army to the rout: but at a ſeaſonable moment he wheeled to the relief of the troops who were in danger of a defeat, and the enemy were not able to withſtand his ſuperior power; he purſued them to the Jordan, and in their flight put great numbers to death; the reſt eſcaped by croſſing the river. Thus was Galilee delivered from the robbers; but as ſome few of the fraternity ſtill remained concealed in the caves, Herod did not quit the country immediately.

He poſſeſſes himſelf of Sepphoris, diſperſes the robbers, and returns to Samaria.

Liberality of Herod to his troops.

That his ſoldiers might enjoy the firſt fruits of their ſervices, he ordered one hundred and fifty drachmas to be given to each private man, and proportionate rewards to the officers; and he then ordered his troops into winter quarters. He commiſſioned Pheroras, his youngeſt brother, to furniſh proviſions, and to incloſe Alexandrion with a wall: and his commands were obeyed with punctuality.

Herod goes in ſearch of the robbers; many of whom he extirpates by an extraordinary method, and others refuſe mercy.

Ventidius ſent advices to Herod and Silo, ſignifying, that when the affairs of Judæa ſhould no longer require their preſence, they ſhould join Antony, who was then at Athens, in the war againſt the Parthians. Though Herod could have retained Silo, he permitted him to depart; determining himſelf not to leave the province till he had cleared it of the robbers who ſtill were concealed in the rocks. The caverns were ſituated

ated among the crags of the moſt horrible precipices, and were only to be entered by the moſt intricate windings. The hiding-places appearing to be inacceſſible, it was not without difficulty that the king reſolved upon the means of executing his deſign. At length he adopted the following expedient: he cauſed ſtrong caſes or cheſts of wood to be formed, and a number of ſoldiers therein to be lowered from the top of the mountain to the entrances of the caverns where the robbers were ſheltered: from theſe cheſts the ſoldiers, by means of their weapons and fire, put the thieves to death. Herod being deſirous that ſome of the robbers ſhould be ſaved, ordered a herald to make proclamation that the lives of thoſe who ſurrendered ſhould be preſerved: but they all rejected the offer, and even thoſe who were made priſoners, preferring death to the loſs of liberty, put an end to their lives. The wife and ſeven ſons of an aged man earneſtly intreated his permiſſion to ſurrender themſelves to the enemy. Hereupon he poſted himſelf at the entrance of the cave, and, ordering them to follow each other out, as they appeared, he put them to death. From an eminence, Herod beheld this ſhocking ſcene, and being greatly affected, he endeavoured by ſigns and entreaties to divert the man from his purpoſe, but without effect; after he had ſlain his ſons, he ſubjected his wife to the ſame fate, caſting the bodies down the rock: he then upbraided Herod as being a man of an abject mind, and put a period to his exiſtence.

Deſperate reſolution of an aged robber.

Having driven the robbers from their retreat, Herod left a number of troops, under the command of Ptolemy, to prevent a revolt, and returned to Samaria. With an army of three thouſand foot, armed with bucklers, and ſix hundred horſe, Herod now marched againſt Antigonus. The inſurgents of Galilee, taking advantage of Herod's abſence, attacked Ptolemy by ſurpriſe, and put him to death; after which they committed great devaſtation in the country, and fled to the marſhy grounds and other places for ſhelter. Upon gaining intelligence of theſe events, Herod marched againſt the rioters, put great numbers of them to the ſword, relieved the caſtles which they had blocked up, and levied a fine of an hundred talents upon the cities.

A mutiny in Galilee, where Ptolemy is ſurpriſed, and ſlain by the inſurgents, who are ſuppreſſed by Herod.

The Parthians being vanquiſhed in a great battle, wherein Pacorus was ſlain, Antony commanded Ventidius to ſend a reinforcement to Herod of two legions and a thouſand horſe, under the command of Machæras. Antigonus wrote to Machæras an account of the indignities he had received from Herod, offering a large ſum of money on condition of ſupporting him in the war: but in conſideration of his being recommended to the oppoſite party, whom he judged would prove the more liberal benefactor, Machæras declined the propoſal; and contrary to the advice of Herod, he determined to aſſume the appearance of friendſhip, and under the pretext of negotiating the propoſed treaty, to reconnoitre the ſtate and diſpoſition of Antigonus's army. But Antigonus ſuſpecting his deſign, refuſed him admittance to the city, and annoyed him with darts and arrows. Machæras was ſo diſconcerted by this repulſe, that he retreated to Emmaus, and in the violence of his rage put to death all the Jews he met with, regardleſs of their being either friends or enemies.

Ventidius ſends a reinforcement to Herod, under the command of Machæras.

Theſe barbarous outrages ſo exaſperated Herod, that he determined to execute vengeance upon Machæras, and treat him as a profeſſed enemy: but upon reflection he deemed it moſt expedient to ſubmit his complaint to Antony. Upon the departure of Herod, being conſcious of the enormity of his offence, Machæras haſtened after him, and by means of ſubmiſſions and the moſt earneſt intreaties effected a reconciliation. Herod, however, ſtill held his reſolution of going to Antony; and learning that he was then with a powerful army engaged in the ſiege of Samoſata, a city of conſiderable ſtrength, ſituated upon the Euphrates, he was induced to proceed with the greater expedition; for he conſidered this as a favourable opportunity of acquiring the friendſhip of Antony by a ſeaſonable diſplay of his fidelity and reſolution. The reduction of the place was accelerated by the arrival of Herod, who committed a great ſlaughter upon the barbarians; and a conſiderable portion of the ſpoil became his property. This inſtance of Herod's attachment and intrepidity ſerved greatly to increaſe the eſteem that Antony entertained towards him; and it acquired him great honour, and inſpired the hope that he ſhould be able firmly to eſtabliſh himſelf in his government.

Machæras having maſſacred great numbers of Jews, Herod meditates revenge, and applies to Antony.

Samoſata ſurrendered to Antony.

CHAP. XIII.

The Death of JOSEPH. ANTONY appoints SOSIUS Governor of SYRIA. HEROD has a forebodıng Dream; and is three Times miraculouſly delivered from the moſt imminent Danger. JERUSALEM ſubdued by Aſſault. ANTIGONUS ſent bound to ANTONY, and condemned to loſe his Head. CLEOPATRA's Avarice.

DURING the above occurrences, an unhappy change took place in the affairs of Judæa, which country Herod had left under the government of his brother Joſeph, with a ſtrict injunction againſt attempting any enterpriſe againſt Antigonus; for on account of the former conduct of Machæras, he entertained doubts of his fidelity, and was unwilling to afford him an opportunity of betraying Joſeph. When his brother had departed, however, Joſeph, regardleſs of the orders he had received, marched his own troops, and five companies of horſe, provided by Machæras, towards Jericho, in order to carry

Joſeph, brother of Herod, ſlain in a ſkirmiſh by Pappus.

carry away the corn, which had then arrived to perfection. He encamped on the mountains, where he was attacked by the enemy, who, having greatly the advantage in point of ſituation, cut off the five companies of Roman cavalry, who had been lately raiſed in Syria, there being among them no veteran troops to make amends for their deficiency in point of diſcipline, ſkill, and experience. In this action Joſeph was ſlain by Pappus; he was eſteemed a man of great courage, and other military qualifications.

Antigonus treats Joſeph's remains with great indignity.

Not ſatisfied with victory, the brutality of Antigonus's diſpoſition urged him to inſult the body with blows, and to ſever the head of the deceaſed Joſeph, notwithſtanding Pheroras offered fifty talents in conſideration of the body of his brother being ſuffered to remain entire. The ſucceſs of Antigonus produced a great change in the affairs of Galilee: the adherents of Antigonus drowned the moſt conſiderable people among the Herodians in the lake: and in Idumæa there was alſo a conſiderable revolution; in that country Machæras rebuilt the walls and fortified the caſtle of Gath.

Herod was wholly ignorant of theſe events for ſome time. Upon the reduction of Samoſata, Antony appointed Soſius to the government of Syria, commanding him to ſupport Herod in the war againſt Antigonus, and then directed his courſe towards Egypt. Having diſpatched two companies to join Herod in Judæa, he followed with the reſt of his troops. Herod being at a place called Daphne, in the ſuburbs of Antioch, he had a dream, which he underſtood to forebode the death of his brother: being affected by the viſion, he leaped from his bed, and at that inſtant meſſengers entered his chamber, with news of the unhappy fate of Joſeph. When the violence of his grief had in ſome meaſure ſubſided, he proceeded with incredible expedition to ſeek revenge upon the enemy. Attended by one Roman cohort, he arrived at mount Libanus, and thence taking eight hundred of the inhabitants, departed in the night, directing his march towards Galilee. He came up with the enemy, put them to flight, and obliged them to retire into a caſtle which they had quitted on the preceding day. He beſieged the place, but was, at length, under the neceſſity, on account of the approach of winter, of ſheltering his forces in an adjacent village. In a few days Herod's army was reinforced by another company from Antony; and the arrival of theſe troops threw the garriſon into ſo great a conſternation, that, under favour of the night, they eſcaped from the caſtle.

Herod's foreboding dream.

His miraculous preſervation from death.

Burning with impatience to avenge the death of Joſeph, Herod now proceeded with all poſſible expedition towards Jericho, where he was ſo miraculouſly preſerved from impending deſtruction, that he muſt appear to have been an object of the peculiar care of Providence. He had given a ſupper to a number of perſons of diſtinction, and the company had no ſooner departed, and Herod retired, than the roof of the eating-room fell in. Conſidering this wonderful and auſpicious eſcape as a cautionary preſage, he marched away at an early hour in the morning. About ſix thouſand of the enemy deſcended from the mountains, and engaged in a ſkirmiſh with his van-guard; but dreading a cloſe encounter with the Romans, they ventured only to aſſail them at a diſtance with ſtones and arrows, by which many were wounded, and as Herod himſelf was paſſing he received a hurt in his ſide by a random dart.

Antigonus being ambitious of the reputation of having a more numerous and courageous army than Herod, diſpatched a body of troops, under the command of a man named Pappus, who was his intimate friend, in order to ſubdue Machæras. In the interim, Herod conquered five towns, committed great devaſtation in the enemy's country, and put two thouſand of the inhabitants to death; after which he returned to his army, which was encamped adjacent to the village of Cana. He was daily joined by great numbers of Jews from Jericho and other parts; many being influenced by a reſpect to Herod, others by an averſion to Antigonus, and ſome merely by the love of change. Herod was exceedingly anxious to proceed to battle; and the adverſe army marched againſt him with great reſolution; and ſuch as were not oppoſed to the troops under the conduct of Herod, made a bold reſiſtance; but where-ever he engaged, the enemy were made fatally ſenſible of his great ſuperiority, to ſuch extraordinary activity and courage was he animated by the thirſt of vengeance for the death of his brother. Where Herod obſerved the enemy in a body, he broke in upon them with ſurpriſing fury, threw them into diſorder, and conſtantly put them to the rout. Pappus's army was thrown into the moſt extreme confuſion; great numbers ſought refuge in the town they had before quitted, where being purſued by Herod, the buildings were inſtantly filled, and roofs of them covered by the fugitives: the houſes were deſtroyed, and thoſe who eſcaped meeting their fate under the ruins were put to death by the ſword. The ſlaughter was ſo great, that it was with much difficulty the victors were able to march over the heaps of dead bodies that covered all the ſtreets and avenues of the place. On this occaſion, the people of the country experienced feelings terrible beyond all powers of deſcription. Elated by this ſucceſs, Herod would have led his victorious troops immediately to Jeruſalem, had not that expedition been rendered impracticable by the rigour of the winter ſeaſon; which was the only obſtacle to his obtaining a complete conqueſt, and effectually ruining Antigonus, who was at that time actually making preparations for abandoning the capital of the kingdom.

Herod defeats the army of Pappus with great ſlaughter.

In the evening Herod diſmiſſed his people in order to recruit their ſtrength and ſpirits after the fatigue of the battle; and the king retired to refreſh himſelf by bathing, attended only by one domeſtic. In his way to the

Eſcapes an imminent danger.

bath he was met by three ſoldiers following each other, with drawn ſwords in their hands, who, upon perceiving the king, fled in the utmoſt conſternation from the houſe where they had taken ſhelter. Happily the king was not moleſted by theſe people, whoſe whole attention was engroſſed upon preſerving their own lives, which they effected, there being no perſons near to prevent their eſcape. On the following day Herod cauſed the head of Pappus, Antigonus's general, by whom Joſeph had been ſlain, to be ſtruck off; and he ſent the head to Pheroras, with a view to afford him ſome degree of conſolation for the common loſs they had ſuſtained in the death of their brother.

He commands Pappus to be beheaded, in revenge for the death of Joſeph.

Herod inveſts Jeruſalem.

Upon the return of ſpring, Herod marched to Jeruſalem, and deemed it expedient to aſſault the place in that quarter where Ptolemy had formerly made a ſucceſsful attempt. This ſiege was commenced in the third year after he had been proclaimed king at Rome. He aſſigned the officers their reſpective ſtations and duties; nominated each man to a poſt in the ſuburbs; ordered three ramparts to be raiſed, and towers to be erected thereon. Having given the neceſſary commiſſions to perſons in whoſe diligence and integrity he could ſafely confide, Herod repaired to Samaria, in order to engage in a matrimonial alliance with Mariamne, daughter of Ariſtobulus, the ſon of Alexander, to whom he had been ſome time contracted; and on this occaſion he evinced the contempt he entertained for his enemies by proſecuting the ſiege and a matrimonial negotiation at the ſame time, thereby intimating, that they were not ſufficiently formidable to cauſe him to protract the celebration of his nuptials.

His marriage with Mariamne.

After his marriage, Herod returned to Jeruſalem with conſiderable reinforcements; and he was joined by a body of Roman horſe and foot, under the command of Soſius, who had directed the greateſt part of his forces to march through the midland country, while, with the remainder, he took his courſe by the way of Phœnicia. The army, upon a general muſter, was found to amount to eleven regiments, and ſix thouſand horſe; excluſive of a conſiderable body of Syrian auxiliaries. The aſſault was made upon the northern quarter of the place. Herod founded his right upon the decree of the Roman ſenate, by which he had been conſtituted king; and Soſius urged that he was authoriſed by the commiſſion of Antony to ſupport Herod in the war.

Diſtreſs of the Jews, and their gallant defence of the city.

The utmoſt conſternation prevailed among the Jews in the city: great numbers of them aſſembled about the temple, lamented their unhappy fate, and, in a ſtyle of enthuſiaſm, ſpoke of matters which they ſuppoſed to predict future calamities; they who poſſeſſed more courage paraded the town and places adjacent, ſeizing all the articles which were proper for the ſupport of the people, horſes, and other cattle. In the mean time the ſoldiers were buſily employed in counteracting the operations of the aſſailants. Herod ſtationed ambuſhes to ſurpriſe the people who were ravaging the country, and cauſed proviſions to be brought from diſtant parts for the ſervice of his army. The Jews encountered every danger with the greateſt alacrity, and, fearleſs of death, ſuſtained a moſt reſolute defence: but it muſt be acknowledged that they were ſurpaſſed by the Romans in point of military ſkill and addreſs. By mining, in which they greatly excelled, and by ſurpriſes, they frequently put the aſſailants to diſadvantage when it was leaſt expected: when their fortifications had ſuffered any injury, they made the neceſſary reparations with ſurpriſing diligence; and, in ſhort, with undaunted reſolution they oppoſed fatigue, danger, and difficulty, firmly perſiſting in their determination to defend themſelves in the laſt extremity. After Herod's immenſe army had continued the ſiege for the ſpace of nine months, a breach was made, and a ſelect party of his moſt reſolute troops, ſeconded by ſome of Soſius's centurions, mounted the wall, and effected an entrance into the city. They immediately ſurrounded the temple: and in the mean time the reſt of the army arrived, and a general maſſacre enſued: no reſpect was paid to either ſex or age, nor were even the lives of thoſe ſpared who ſought refuge in the temple: the buildings and ſtreets were encumbered with mangled carcaſſes. Herod enjoined his people, on their allegiance, to with-hold their rage: but they were ſo irritated by the hardſhips they had ſuſtained during the ſiege, that, abandoning every ſentiment of humanity, they ſtill continued the ſlaughter; and death triumphed in his moſt horrid forms.

Herod makes a breach, enters the city, and makes a horrid ſlaughter of the inhabitants.

The conduct of Antigonus was unworthy his exalted ſtation: he deſcended from the tower called Baris, and meanly caſt himſelf at the feet of Soſius, who, while he remained in the diſgraceful poſture, upbraided him by ſaying that, inſtead of Antigonus, he ſhould in future be called Antigona; notwithſtanding the effeminacy of his behaviour, however, he was not treated as a woman, but put in chains and retained a priſoner.

Puſillanimity of Antigonus, who is put in chains.

Though Herod had gained a complete victory over his enemies, he had ſtill great difficulties to encounter; for, from a curioſity to ſee the things dedicated to God, the foreign auxiliaries violently crouded into the temple; and as intreaties and menaces proved ineffectual, he was under the neceſſity of uſing force to repreſs their inſolence; for he deemed it neceſſary to diſappoint their deſigns, ſince if conqueſt was to prove the cauſe of the ſacred privacies being expoſed to common view, it would be a more unhappy event than a defeat.

Herod prevents the profanation of ſacred things;

Herod being reſolved that the city ſhould not be plundered, informed Soſius that, if the treaſure was ſeized and the town depopulated, he ſhould be the ſovereign of a deſert; and that he would not purchaſe the government

and alſo the plundering of the city.

ment of the univerſe at the expence of ſacrificing the lives of his ſubjects. Soſius replied, that after what the troops had undergone, they would naturally expect ſome part of the pillage. Herod admitted the force of Soſius's plea, and declared that every man ſhould be duly recompenſed out of his own private fortune. According to his promiſe, the king rewarded the private ſoldiers, and the officers, in proportion to their reſpective ſtations and deſerts; and he preſented Soſius with gifts worthy the regal character: in ſhort, the liberality and munificence which he diſplayed on this occaſion afforded univerſal ſatisfaction. Having dedicated a crown of gold to the Almighty, the Roman general departed from Jeruſalem, taking with him Antigonus in bonds, in order to deliver him up to Antony. Even to his laſt moment Antigonus flattered himſelf with the hopes of preſerving his life: but his expectations were diſappointed, for he was ſentenced to the loſs of his head.

Antigonus carried bound to Antony, and beheaded.

The conqueſt of Jeruſalem having eſtabliſhed Herod in the ſovereignty of Judæa, he diſtinguiſhed thoſe who had eſpouſed his intereſts from the friends of Antigonus; he treated the former with great honour and reſpect, and cauſed great numbers of the others to be put to death. Being deficient in ready money, he ſent articles of value to Antony and other particular friends: but he was not able by theſe means to eſtabliſh himſelf in a ſtate of ſecurity; for Antony had conceived ſo violent a paſſion for Cleopatra, that he had not power to deny her moſt unreaſonable requeſts. This ambitious princeſs had exerciſed her cruelty ſo extenſively among her kindred, that not one now remained; and her unbounded avarice prompted her to direct her vengeance againſt ſtrangers. As the means of poſſeſſing herſelf of their wealth, ſhe calumniated the moſt reſpectable people, and prevailed upon Antony to put them to death: to gratify her extravagant views, ſhe meditated the deſtruction of the Jews and Arabians, and proceeded ſo far as to ſolicit Antony to deſtroy Herod and Malichus, the kings of thoſe people. Antony pretended that he would comply: but to take away the lives of two virtuous princes, of whoſe conduct he had not the leaſt cauſe of complaint, appeared to be an act of ſo heinous a nature, that he could not reflect on it without horror: but he ſo far yielded to her interceſſion as to diſcontinue his friendſhip, and to deprive them of a conſiderable part of their territories, particularly the lands of Jericho, highly celebrated for the production of palm-trees and balſam, and, excepting Tyre and Sidon, all the cities upon the river Eleutherus, which he preſented to Cleopatra; who, when he engaged in an expedition againſt the Parthians, accompanied him as far as the Euphrates, whence, by the way of Apamia and Damaſcus, ſhe repaired into Judæa.

Herod liberally rewards his friends, and puniſhes his enemies.

Inſatiable cruelty and avarice of Cleopatra.

Antony declines granting her illiberal requeſt.

Though Herod had already parted with conſiderable ſums, her avarice was ſtill unſatisfied, and ſhe exacted from him an annual income of two hundred talents iſſuing out of the revenue of Judæa; and treating her with great deference and reſpect, he conducted her to Peluſium. In a ſhort time Antony returned from the Parthian war, bringing with him Artabazes, otherwiſe called Artabaſdes, the ſon of Tigranes; and this priſoner, with the whole booty he had obtained, he preſented to Cleopatra.

CHAP. XIV.

Artful and treacherous Diſpoſition of CLEOPATRA. HEROD defeats the SYRIANS: but is afterwards routed by the ARABIANS. A deſtructive Earthquake in JUDÆA. Several JEWISH Embaſſadors put to Death. HEROD encounters and ſubdues the ARABIANS, who elect him their Protector.

HEROD having recovered Hyrcania, or Hyrcanion, from the ſiſter of Antigonus, and his kingdom being in a ſtate of perfect tranquillity, he reſolved to join Antony in proſecuting the war declared between him and Auguſtus. But Cleopatra, who, from the deſire of obtaining their poſſeſſions, entertained an implacable enmity againſt all kings, fruſtrated the intention of Herod, whoſe generous conduct ſhe apprehended might increaſe his intereſt with Antony. She prevailed upon Antony to engage Herod in the Parthian war, flattering herſelf that if he proved victorious, ſhe ſhould gain the ſovereignty of Arabia, and that of Judæa, if he was vanquiſhed.

Cleopatra diverts Herod from aſſiſting Antony.

The queen, however, was the involuntary cauſe of great advantage to Herod; who having collected a very formidable troop of horſe, they, by the command of their king, marched againſt and aſſaulted the Syrians in the neighbourhood of Dioſpolis, and, after they had made a brave reſiſtance, completely vanquiſhed them. In conſequence of this defeat, an immenſe Arabian army was encamped at Canatha, in Cœlo-Syria, in order to wait the arrival of Herod; who, upon obſerving their great ſtrength, deemed a more than uſual precaution to be neceſſary; and therefore he commanded his camp to be incloſed by a wall. Their late victory had animated Herod's troops to ſuch impatience for battle, that they could not be perſuaded to reſtrain their impetuoſity during the time that would have been occupied in erecting the wall. The armies joined battle, and on the firſt aſſault the Arabians were put to flight: but an officer in Cleopatra's ſervice, named Athenion, who had been long an inveterate enemy to Herod, leading a body of Canathenes to the relief of the fugitives, they reſumed their courage, and returned to the charge, routed the Herodians, purſued them through woods and other places of difficult

Herod defeats the Syrian forces.

Herod is routed by the Arabians.

difficult paſſage, and put great numbers of them to death. Some of Herod's people eſcaped to a neighbouring village, called Ormiza, where they were ſurrounded by the enemy, who alſo took poſſeſſion of the camp, and made priſoners of the men therein. In a ſhort time, Herod arrived with reinforcements, but the injury being already ſuſtained, his preſence was of no avail. The diſobedience of Herod's troops was the only cauſe of their defeat; for had not they precipitately urged to an engagement, Athenion would have had no opportunity of relieving the Arabians. Herod made repeated incurſions and ſurpriſes upon the Arabians, and by many ſmall victories gained ample compenſation for the capital defeat his army had ſuſtained.

Account of a tremendous earthquake in Judæa.

At the beginning of ſpring, in the ſeventh year of Herod's reign, during the height of the war at Actium, his ſucceſſes were interrupted by a moſt dreadful earthquake, which ſwallowed up thirty thouſand people, and cattle innumerable: the army, that was then encamped in the field, eſcaped this judicial calamity, which, though ſufficiently terrible in itſelf, was magnified by report; and the Arabians, imagining Judæa to be utterly ruined, cheriſhed the flattering idea that no difficulty would attend poſſeſſing themſelves of a province, which had not a ſufficient number of inhabitants to ſuſtain a defence; and after having put to death the embaſſadors who had been ſent to them from the Jews, they advanced into Judæa, in the full confidence of gaining poſſeſſion of that country. The Jews, whoſe ſpirits were greatly depreſſed by their late calamities, were thrown into the moſt terrible conſternation by the appearance of the Arabians: and with a view to revive their fortitude and courage, Herod addreſſed his people in a very animating ſpeech.

Herod, after ſacrificing, prepares to attack the enemy.

Herod obſerving that his exhortations had raiſed the ſpirits of his people, immediately performed ſacrifice, and, croſſing the river Jordan, encamped his army at Philadelphia, at no great diſtance from the enemy. Between the armies was a caſtle, of which the contending parties were equally deſirous to gain poſſeſſion. A party of the Arabians attempted to gain the caſtle; but, without much difficulty, they were repulſed by the Herodians, who afterwards took poſſeſſion of the hill. Herod daily arranged his men in order of battle, and took every poſſible method to provoke the enemy to an engagement. In point of numbers, the Arabians had the ſuperiority, but the Jews were by far the moſt intrepid people. A general conſternation prevailed in the Arabian army, and Altemus, the general, was particularly alarmed. Being unable to draw them out, Herod attacked the enemy in their intrenchments, and threw them into the moſt extreme diſorder. During the battle, the ſlaughter was not great; but Herod proving victorious, great numbers of the enemy were ſlain in the purſuit, and others being trampled to death by their own people, the loſs of men amounted to five thouſand, and the reſt were driven into the camp, where they were ſoon ſurrounded and beſieged by Herod. Being in great diſtreſs, from a want of water, they ſent embaſſadors to offer Herod fifty talents, on condition of his putting a period to the war: but he treated the embaſſadors with the utmoſt contempt, not condeſcending to hear the terms they were commiſſioned to propoſe. Their thirſt, at length, became ſo intolerable, that in the ſpace of five days four thouſand of them ſurrendered to the Jews, and they were put into bonds; and on the ſixth day, in the extremity of deſpair, the reſt urged the Jews to an encounter, in which ſeven thouſand of the Arabians were ſlain. Thus was Herod's revenge gratified; and his adverſaries were ſo effectually humbled, that they ſupplicated him thenceforth to become their protector.

Herod brings the Arabians to an action, utterly defeats them, but rejects their terms of ſubmiſſion.

They ſue for his protection.

CHAP. XV.

AUGUSTUS ſplendidly entertained by HEROD, who is confirmed by him in his Government, which is conſiderably enlarged. He is appointed Governor of SYRIA. His Character.

Herod ſplendidly entertains Auguſtus Cæſar, by whom he is graciouſly received, and confirmed in his government.

WHEN Cæſar was paſſing through Syria into Egypt, Herod received him at Ptolemais with a magnificence truly aſtoniſhing; and while the emperor was reviewing his troops, he cauſed Herod to ride in company with him. The emperor, his friends, and the whole army, were entertained by Herod with the greateſt plenty and regularity, and with a degree of ſplendor that can ſcarcely be conceived; and he furniſhed a ſupply of water at Peluſium, and other places where that element was ſcarce, and provided the army with the utenſils neceſſary for common uſe. This unbounded generoſity cauſed Auguſtus and his whole army to acknowledge that the kingdom of Judæa was not adequate to the capacious mind of Herod.

Cæſar confers further honours and grants on Herod.

Upon the arrival of Cæſar in Egypt, both Antony and Cleopatra being deceaſed, he gave to Herod four hundred Gauls, who had ſerved as the guards of the late queen, and annexed to his kingdom that part of Judæa which Antony had aſſigned to her, containing Gadara, Hippon, Samaria, and the maritime cities of Gaza, Anthedon, Joppa, and the tower of Straton. Auguſtus beſtowed great additional honours upon Herod, proportioning his rewards according to the approved merits of the king; to whoſe command he ſubjected the provinces of Trachon and Batanæa, and on the following occaſion annexed Auranitis to his juriſdiction: a man named Zenodorus, who inhabited a houſe

houſe hired of Lyſanias, made a practice of ſending people to commit depredations in Damaſcus; the people of which country repreſented to Varus, who was then governor of Syria, the oppreſſions they endured, ſupplicating redreſs, and urging that he would report their caſe to Cæſar. Varus complied with their requeſt, and being commiſſioned by the emperor to ſuppreſs the robbers, he extirminated them the land, and confiſcated part of the eſtate of Zenodorus, which Cæſar beſtowed upon Herod; whom he appointed governor of all Syria.

Auguſtus viſits Syria, where he gives Herod freſh tokens of his regard.

Ten years afterwards Auguſtus came again into that province, when he enjoined the governors to conſult Herod in all affairs of importance; and Zenodorus being now deceaſed, he gave to Herod all the land between Trachon and Galilee. Herod valued himſelf, above all other circumſtances, on that of poſſeſſing the next place to Agrippa in the eſteem of Cæſar, and being reſpected by Agrippa above all men, excepting Cæſar. Herod was bleſſed with the enjoyment of every advantage that could contribute to the happineſs of life, and his mind became exalted in proportion to the advancement of his fortune.

CHAP. XVI.

HEROD repairs the Temple, and builds divers ſuperb Edifices. His great and various Dedications. The Bounty of CÆSAR to HEROD. STRATON's Tower repaired, and a ſuperb Palace conſtructed.

Herod's magnificent reparations and buildings.

IN the fifteenth year of his ſovereignty over the Jews, Herod, at an immenſe expence, repaired the temple in a ſtyle of the utmoſt magnificence that can be conceived. He ſurrounded it with ſuperb galleries, raiſed from the foundation; and adjoining to the northern ſide, a caſtle was conſtructed, which, in point of grandeur and elegance, was not inferior even to the royal palace, and, in honour of Antony, Herod named this place Antonia. He enlarged the incloſure about the temple, to double its former extent. Upon an eminence that commanded a view of the city, he erected two ſpacious buildings, and they were executed in ſo rich and ſplendid a manner, that there was no temple deſerving to be put in competition with them. In honour of his illuſtrious friends, Cæſar and Agrippa, he called theſe ſtructures Cæſarion and Agrippion.

He dedicates cities to Cæſar and Agrippa, particularly Sebaſte in Samaria.

It was not to particular buildings that Herod confined himſelf; for, to immortalize the memory of his two noble friends, he dedicated whole cities to them: for inſtance, in Samaria he built the beautiful city called Sebaſte, the circumference of which was twenty furlongs, and it was incloſed with a wall. This city was peopled by ſix thouſand inhabitants, who enjoyed peculiar privileges, and had granted to them exceeding fine tracts of land. Beſides other fine buildings, Herod erected a ſuperb temple, and formed an area about it of three furlongs and an half: this temple he dedicated to Cæſar.

White marble temple at Panium.

After this, Auguſtus granted conſiderable additions to the territories of Herod, who, in gratitude to his patron, conſtructed a temple, compoſed of white marble, at Panium, which is ſituated near the head of the river Jordan. Adjacent to Panium, there is a prodigious mountain environed with crags and rocks, and a valley of great depth: at the bottom, there is a dark cavern, worn by the continual fall of the waters, and it is of ſuch ſurpriſing depth that the bottom cannot be ſounded. A number of bubbling ſprings iſſue from the foot of the cavern, and tradition reports them to be the ſource of the Jordan.

Other ſumptuous buildings.

Between the caſtle of Cypros and the old palaces, Herod conſtructed other buildings, formed after more commodious plans; and to theſe places he gave names in honour of Auguſtus and Agrippa. Herod, in ſhort, erected ſome memorial of the fame of the emperor in every part of his dominions.

Herod repairs Straton's tower.

Upon viſiting his maritime cities, Herod obſerved that time had made great ravages in the place called Straton's Tower, and judging that city, from its ſituation, and other advantages, to be worthy his particular notice, he cauſed the neceſſary reparations to be made with a beautiful kind of white ſtone; and he erected a magnificent palace, thereby affording a ſtriking inſtance of the ſingular greatneſs of his mind.

CHAP. XVII.

Diſorders in HEROD's Family. He divorces his Wife DORIS, and marries MARIAMNE. HYRCANUS put to Death, and ARISTOBULUS drowned, by the Command of HEROD. MARIAMNE and JOSEPH put to Death. HEROD ſettles the Succeſſion upon ANTIPATER. An Aſſembly called at JERUSALEM by HEROD. The Advice of HEROD to his Sons. Cruelty and Injuſtice of HEROD. ALEXANDER apprehended, and his Friends put to the Torture. PHERORAS obtains Pardon. ALEXANDER introduced to his Father by ARCHELAUS. A Charge againſt ALEXANDER and ARISTOBULUS. A Forgery of DIOPHANTUS. HEROD, in the utmoſt Rage, orders the Brothers into Chains. Sentence of Death paſſed on the Sons. HEROD orders them to be ſtrangled.

Cauſes of the calamities in Herod's family.

THE troubles which aroſe in the family of Herod were a great deduction from the happineſs of his reign; and

theſe misfortunes were principally occaſioned by the perſon he loved beyond all others: for ſoon after he was in poſſeſſion of the kingdom, he diſcharged his firſt wife Doris, who was a Jeweſs, and married Mariamne, the daughter of Alexander, the ſon of Ariſtobulus. The unhappy diſputes in his family, particularly after his return from Rome, aroſe chiefly from this ſource.

Herod baniſhed Antipater, the ſon of Doris, from the city, on account of the children he had by Mariamne; but on feſtival days he was allowed to remain within the town. He then cauſed Hyrcanus, his wife's grandfather (who was now returned from Parthia), to be put to death, on a pretence that he had projected a plot againſt his life. After the conqueſt of Syria, Barzapharnes had carried Hyrcanus priſoner to the king of Parthia; but the Jews on that ſide the Euphrates pitying his caſe, paid his ranſom, and obtained him his liberty; and in this ſituation he might have lived in peace and happineſs, if he had taken their advice, and not returned to Herod: but he was induced to meet his ruin by the irreſiſtible deſire that he had to reviſit his native country. In the mean time, the circumſtance that wrought on the paſſions of Herod, was not that Hyrcanus had any view to ſeize the government, but that it belonged to him by a legal title.

Hyrcanus put to death by Herod's command.

Herod's children by Mariamne.

The children that Mariamne bore to Herod were three ſons and two daughters. The youngeſt of the former died while he was in the courſe of his education at Rome, and the two elder were educated in a manner becoming the high rank both of the father and mother, and as the immediate heirs of royalty. But the circumſtance that moſt endeared the children to Herod, was the exceſs of his fondneſs for Mariamne, which increaſed to ſo violent a degree, that he ſeemed almoſt inſenſible of the inſults and indignities that ſhe daily offered him; for, in fact, ſhe evidenced a degree of averſion proportioned to the exceſs of his tenderneſs. It is true that Mariamne was furniſhed with ſufficient pretences for this conduct, and confiding in the exceſs of that paſſion which he entertained for her, ſhe made no ſcruple of directly charging him with the murder of Hyrcanus and Ariſtobulus, and of reproaching him with every circumſtance of aggravation. She urged that the latter was a youth of only ſeventeen years of age when he was advanced to the rank of high-prieſt, and was deſtroyed ſoon after he had been honoured with this diſtinction. She ſaid, that on a feſtival day, when he firſt appeared in his ſacred veſtments, to diſcharge his duty at the altar, there was ſomething ſo affecting in the ſpectacle, that the people could not refrain from ſhedding tears of joy: but that in the night ſucceeding this very day, Herod did not ſcruple to give orders for the conveying Ariſtobulus to Jericho, where, in conſequence of theſe orders, he was drowned in a lake by the Gauls.

She ſeverely reproaches him for his conduct.

Theſe animadverſions on the conduct of Herod did not appear to gratify the whole reſentment of Mariamne; but ſhe attacked his mother and ſiſter in terms ſtill more ſevere; while he heard the whole without making any reply, ſo extravagant was the fondneſs of his love for her. In the mean time, this circumſtance mortified the women to ſo high a degree, that they concerted how they might moſt effectually inflame the paſſions of Herod; and having reſolved to propagate inſinuations againſt the honour and virtue of his wife, they told him a ſtory, among other things equally plauſible, that ſhe had ſent her picture to Antony, and that, through the violence of an ungovernable paſſion, ſhe had taken uncommon pains to make herſelf acquainted with him: and they inſinuated, that as Antony was one of the moſt licentious men of the age, he would not ſcruple even to ſacrifice the life of Herod for the obtaining of his purpoſe. Herod was inexpreſſibly alarmed at this intelligence, which threatened the loſs of his wife, and even of his own life; and his fears were greatly aggravated when he reflected on the avarice and cruelty of Cleopatra, and the influence ſhe had exerted over Antony, in the caſes of Lyſanias, and Malichus, the king of Arabia, the lives of both of whom were forfeited through her inſinuations.

Methods uſed by the women to make Herod jealous of his wife.

Diſtracted with his jealous fears, Herod formed a reſolution of paying a viſit to Antony; and, during his abſence, recommended the care of his wife to Joſeph, the huſband of his ſiſter Salome, of whoſe affectionate regard he had no doubt; and he ſecretly enjoined him, that if himſelf ſhould be deſtroyed by Antony, Joſeph ſhould put Mariamne to death. Now Joſeph, thinking to impreſs the queen with an idea of the extreme fondneſs the king had for her, which would not allow him to indulge the thought of parting from her even in death, innocently communicated this circumſtance to her. When Herod returned, he, in the exceſs of his fondneſs, was telling the queen that he never had a paſſion for any other woman. "I am convinced of that, (ſaid ſhe) by the commiſſion you left with Joſeph to deſtroy me." Herod was almoſt diſtracted at this unexpected reply; for it immediately ſtruck him, that unleſs Joſeph had been too intimate with the queen, he never would have imparted ſo important a ſecret. Shocked with this idea, he leaped from his bed, and took a walk in the court-yard, where he met Salome, who immediately ſeized this opportunity, which ſhe thought a favourable one, of traducing Mariamne; and this ſhe did in ſuch a manner as to confirm the ſuſpicions of Herod, who, during the phrenzy of his rage, gave orders that Joſeph and Mariamne ſhould be put to death. He had not long iſſued theſe orders before he repented of them; but it was too late; the execution was already paſt. Herod was now tranſported to the moſt violent degree of madneſs; he would not believe that his

During a viſit to Antony, he recommends Mariamne to the care of Joſeph, the huſband of Salome, who betrays his truſt.

He puts Mariamne and Joſeph to death.

his wife was dead, though a moment's reflection muſt have aſſured him that ſhe was ſo. He even kept talking to her as if ſhe had been yet living; and after the funeral ſolemnities were paſſed, the extravagance of his preſent grief equalled the violence of his former love.

Inveterate antipathy of Mariamne's ſons againſt their father, and their marriages.

The two ſons of Mariamne now became inveterate againſt Herod, whom they conſidered as a common enemy, on account of the barbarity of his late proceedings. They had entertained an unfavourable opinion of him from the time they were at Rome; but ſince their return to Judæa, they were confirmed in their ſentiments, the ſtrength of their minds having increaſed with their growing years. Being now of age, one of them married the daughter of his aunt Salome, a profeſſed enemy of their mother; and the other eſpouſed the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia. After their marriage, they converſed more freely than they had formerly done; a circumſtance that ſubjected them to the malice of informers, who did not ſcruple to acquaint the king that his ſons had joined in a conſpiracy againſt him; and that the ſon-in-law of Archelaus had formed an intention of retiring to his father-in-law, from whom he would go to Rome, and exhibit a complaint to Cæſar againſt Herod. The mind of Herod was ſo impreſſed by theſe various inſinuations, that he took Antipater, (his ſon by Doris) to reſide with him in his own palace, propoſing that he ſhould act ſo as to countermine the plots of his brothers; and in conſequence of this idea he treated Antipater with diſtinguiſhing marks of his regard.

Herod recalls Antipater from Rome.

He provokes the reſentment of the brothers.

This alteration was highly diſagreeable to the brothers, who thought it a great derogation from the dignity of men of their illuſtrious deſcent, to be ſubjected to the ſon of a private and obſcure woman; on which they freely declared their reſentment on all occaſions: but this freedom of ſpeech was diſadvantageous to their intereſt, and greatly in favour of Antipater, who partly by flattery, and partly by traduction (in which he was aſſiſted by his friends and agents), at length brought affairs to ſuch an iſſue, that all hope of his brothers ſucceeding to the government was abſolutely deſtroyed, ſince the will of his father made a public and formal ſettlement of it on himſelf. Soon after this, Herod ſent Antipater in a kind of regal ſtate and character to Cæſar, in which he wore the royal robes, and was attended as a king. The crown alone ſeemed to be wanting to his dignity. The vanity of his ſtately pomp had ſuch an effect upon Antipater, that, by the help of inſinuations and calumnies, he procured an introduction for his mother into the bed-chamber of Mariamne; and by the ſame diſingenuous conduct, he practiſed againſt his brothers, till he inſpired his father with a deſign of taking away their lives.

Herod takes his ſon Alexander to Rome, and accuſes him before Cæſar.

In conſequence of theſe proceedings, Herod took Alexander with him to Rome, and there exhibited a charge againſt him before Cæſar, as having been an accomplice in the intention of poiſoning his father. Alexander being admitted to make his defence, and before a judge whom he thought could not be eaſily impoſed on either by Herod or Antipater, he began by endeavouring to ſet his father right with regard to the falſe impreſſions he had received: he ſpoke clearly to all the points with which himſelf was charged, and intirely exculpated his brother Ariſtobulus, who, as it was alledged, was equally culpable with himſelf. He then proceeded to a diſplay of the various artful contrivances of which Antipater had been guilty. All this he did with a grace and dignity peculiar to himſelf, ſo that the integrity of his mind was illuſtrated by the powers of his eloquence; for he was a moſt florid and agreeable orator. He ended his diſcourſe in a modeſt manner, obſerving that it could not be a crime in a father to puniſh his children when they ſhould appear to be guilty. The auditors were ſo affected by the ſpeech, and this concluding obſervation, that they burſt into tears; and it had likewiſe ſuch an influence on Cæſar, that he exerted his authority to unite them all in friendſhip, on the condition that the ſons ſhould, in future, pay all proper obedience to their father, and that the father ſhould be intirely directed by his own pleaſure in the diſpoſition of the kingdom.

His eloquent ſpeech in his defence influences Cæſar and the audience to acquit him.

When Herod returned from Rome, he could not do otherwiſe than exculpate his ſons of the crime of which they had been charged; though he ſtill entertained his ſuſpicions; for Antipater ſo frequently diſcourſed to him on the ſubject, that it was almoſt impoſſible for him to baniſh them: though, at the ſame time, he did not dare to ſpeak publicly, or do any thing contrary to the determination of Cæſar. In his paſſage Herod went from Cilicia to Eleuſa, where Archelaus, on account of his ſon-in-law, received him with the utmoſt magnificence and diſtinction, returned him a thouſand thanks, and heartily congratulated him on the favourable turn of affairs. In the interim, Archelaus, by means of letters, and by the interpoſition of his friends at Rome, exerted his utmoſt endeavours to promote the intereſt of Alexander. Archelaus conducted Herod as far as Zephyrium, where he took his leave of him, after having firſt preſented him with thirty talents.

Herod reconciled to his ſons.

Herod entertained by Archelaus.

No ſooner had Herod arrived at Jeruſalem than he ſummoned the meeting of an aſſembly, and related an account of his journey, and the ſucceſs that had attended it; returning his unfeigned thanks to Almighty God, and to the emperor, that the commotions in his family were allayed, and his ſons united in peace and friendſhip. Herod embraced his ſons, and then diſmiſſed the aſſembly.

A diſ-

Diſſenſions in the family increaſe; and different diſpoſitions of the two brothers from that of Antipater.

A diſunion ſtill prevailed among the brothers, who became ſo jealous of each other that they thought it prudent to ſeparate, for fear of ill conſequences. Alexander and Ariſtobulus were highly offended that any preference ſeemed to be given to Antipater, who, on the other hand, was exaſperated to think that any ſhare in the government ſhould be allotted to the other brothers. Antipater was of a temper falſe, ſecret, and malicious: he kept his ſentiments intirely within his own breaſt, and never exhibited the leaſt ſign of that mortal enmity he had for his brothers. They, on the contrary, were open and unreſerved, and made it a point of honour not to conceal or diſguiſe their ſentiments. In the interim, their enemies were every where buſy, by their agents, to take all advantage of any thing they ſaid. Some provoked them to free and dangerous liberty of ſpeech; while others, under pretence of friendſhip, inſinuated themſelves ſo far into their favour, that not a word paſſed in Alexander's apartments but it was immediately carried to Antipater, who reported it to Herod with ſuch circumſtances of aggravation as he thought proper. The moſt innocent language was made to appear criminal by the mode of its interpretation, and even the ſlighteſt circumſtance was aggravated to a crime.

Treachery and ſubtlety of Antipater and his agents.

There was not a day in which the agents of Antipater did not ſurround Alexander, to learn his ſentiments; and a ſlight fact, being intermixed with a thouſand falſehoods, was ſufficient to give currency to the whole ſtory. It was remarked that the agents of Antipater were as reſerved as himſelf; but whether this reſerve aroſe from a natural cloſeneſs of diſpoſition, or was the conſequence of the bribes and rewards they received, is foreign to the preſent purpoſe: but the truth is, that the whole life of Antipater was one continued myſtery of iniquity. In fact, Antipater conducted his affairs in ſuch a manner, that either by force or flattery or reward, all the friends, acquaintance, and ſervants of Alexander were prevailed on to diſcover his ſecrets. The contrivance of Antipater was ſuch, that he never declared himſelf an open enemy; but when any of his agents accuſed Alexander, he appeared at firſt to take his part, and then artfully turned the whole argument againſt him; till at length Herod was driven almoſt diſtracted from a conviction of the truth of Alexander's plot againſt his life: for the artful management of Antipater in the buſineſs fully confirmed him in his ſuſpicions.

Herod gives credit to Antipater's inſinuations, and to the report and plot formed by Alexander againſt his life.

This conduct of Antipater highly incenſed Herod againſt the brothers, and he obtained the king's good opinion in proportion as they loſt it. The friends of the government acceded to Herod's ſentiments, ſome from conviction, and others through faſhion, among whom were Ptolemy, the king's particular friend, then his brothers, and at length the whole family; for Antipater was now the particular favourite. Alexander was ſhocked to think that this wicked plot aroſe from the advice of Antipater's mother, who bore a mortal enmity to the queen's children. Great reſpect was now paid to Antipater, on account of the favour in which he was held by the king, who had iſſued an order that no application ſhould be made to, or intercourſe held with, the other brothers. This order alarmed thoſe of the royal houſhold, as well as their diſtant friends; for Cæſar had conferred privileges on Herod, never granted to any other perſon; particularly that of fetching deſerters from the territories of other princes, where he had no command. In the mean time, the brothers were ignorant of all offence, as no public charge had been exhibited againſt them by Herod; and their ſituation was therefore dangerous, as they knew not how to prepare a defence: but they ſuſpected the fact, and became unhappy thereon, from a viſible declenſion in the royal favour.

Glaphyra foments the family broils.

In the interim, Antipater ſpoke with the utmoſt freedom to Pheroras, and his aunt Salome, againſt his brothers. The family uneaſineſs was by this time riſen to a great height; but it was conſiderably aggravated by Glaphyra, the wife of Alexander, who was conſtantly boaſting of the dignity of her extraction, as giving her a right to precede all others. She ſaid ſhe was deſcended on the father's ſide from Themenus, and on that of the mother from Darius, the ſon of Hyſtaſpes. She treated the wife and ſiſter of Herod with contempt, as perſons of low birth. She ſaid Herod, in marriage, had conſulted beauty, not quality. It has been already obſerved that Herod had ſeveral wives; for he was a friend to polygamy, which is permitted by the laws of the Jews. Glaphyra's pride exaſperated all theſe women againſt Alexander.

Salome becomes a tale-bearer.

Salome, though mother-in-law to Ariſtobulus, now became his enemy. She thought herſelf inſulted by the unreaſonable pride of Glaphyra, who frequently reflected on her, on account of the meanneſs of her birth. Glaphyra told Ariſtobulus that his wife was only a private woman, whereas his brother Alexander had wedded a queen. Salome's daughter, affected by this remark, went weeping to her mother with the news; to which ſhe added, that Alexander and Ariſtobulus had threatened, that if ever they came to the throne, all the wives and daughters of Herod ſhould be compelled to ſpin for their ſubſiſtence; and with regard to the boys, they would ſerve for pariſh clerks: though this, in fact, was only a joke on their attachment to literature. Salome was ſo enraged by this information, that ſhe went immediately to Herod with the news, which had the more weight, as it was the evidence of a mother-in-law againſt her ſon. To this tale was added another, which gave Herod more concern than all the reſt. It was ſaid that Alexander and Ariſtobulus, with ſighs and groans, often lamented the unhappy ſituation of their mother, and curſed their father. It was likewiſe hinted, that when Herod divided the wearing-apparel among his other wives, the two brothers made their

Salome incenſes Herod againſt his ſons.

remarks,

remarks, insinuating that mourning would soon take place of those gaudy dresses.

Herod's advice to his sons, before his departure for Rome.

Reflecting on these circumstances, Herod, considering that his sons were now in the prime of their vigour, was apprehensive of some violence from them; but he was unwilling to carry matters to extremities. Being now resolved on a journey to Rome, he directed his sons to attend him, and, intermixing the tenderness of the father with the authority of the sovereign, gave them advice for the regulation of their conduct, recommended an agreement among themselves, and a mutual regard: and promised them a full pardon for all past offences, on the condition of their repentance and reformation. As to what Herod had said, the youths positively denied the charge against them; and they engaged, if they might be attended to, not only to prove its falsity, but its impossibility. At the same time they insinuated that calumnious reports would never cease, while he would listen to the tales of the calumniators.

They exculpate themselves.

Pheroras and Salome enemies of the brothers.

The brothers having satisfied Herod, made themselves easy from the apprehension of farther danger; but new cause of anxiety soon arose. They were very sensible that Pheroras and Salome, whose influence was great, and whose rank considerable, were their determined enemies: and they particularly dreaded Pheroras, who in some degree shared the regal government with Herod. His personal revenue consisted of an hundred talents, exclusive of the emolument arising from all the lands beyond Jordan, which the benevolence of Herod was the means of his obtaining, for Cæsar had been induced to make him a tetrarch on his recommendation. Herod likewise honoured him with an alliance to the royal family, having given him his wife's sister in marriage; and after her decease he proposed a match between him and his eldest daughter, with whom he offered, as a marriage-portion, three hundred talents: but Pheroras declined this noble offer, from an attachment he had to a woman of inferior rank. Herod was so provoked by this refusal, that he caused her to be married to the son of his brother, the same who was afterwards slain in the Parthian war. Though at first Herod had been exceedingly enraged by the rejection of his offer, yet, on calmer deliberation, he thought less of the indignity, which he imputed to the impulse of a violent passion.

A report that Pheroras designed to poison his brother Herod.

It had, for a considerable time past, been whispered that Pheroras, even during the life-time of Mariamne, had formed a design of poisoning his brother. The spies and informers were so busy in propagating this tale, that Herod, though entertaining the sincerest fraternal affection, could not avoid being alarmed, and giving some credit to the report. Many persons were apprehended, of whom several were put to the torture; and when others had been thus examined, it came to the turn of the friends of Pheroras. These declared their ignorance of any intention to poison, but said that Pheroras had formed a design of retiring into Parthia with the woman that he loved; and that Costobarus, the second husband of Salome, was well acquainted with this his intention. This was the same Costobarus to whom Herod had given Salome, after her former husband's life had been sacrificed on account of her adultery. Salome herself did not escape without having an accusation; for she was charged by her brother Pheroras, with having treated of a match with Syllæus, the governor of Arabia, under king Obodas, and the most inveterate of all the enemies of Herod. There was not a single article that Pheroras exhibited against his sister Salome, of which she was not found guilty: but they both received a free pardon from Herod.

Charge against Alexander, of a design to poison his father by the hands of the eunuchs, who are put to the torture.

They who wished to create a disturbance, now levelled their charges against Alexander. Herod had in his service three eunuchs, who had all of them a considerable share in his favour, and were well known in the family by the offices they bore: these were a cupbearer, a steward, and a valet de chambre. One of them was to fill the king's wine, the second to provide his supper, and the third to put him to bed, and to sleep with him. Now these men, by the influence of gratuities and promises, were all of them the friends and agents of Alexander. Herod having become suspicious of them, caused them to be put to the torture, when the whole secret was discovered; the method in which Alexander had imposed on them, and the promises by which he had prevailed. It was said that he had made a declaration to the following purport: "You can have no expectations from Herod, who is a wicked old man, that has his hair coloured like a beau, to make him appear young: the respect which you pay to him belongs of right to me, who am to succeed him in the kingdom, a circumstance which he cannot prevent. When this time arrives, it will be in my power to punish my enemies, and reward my friends, of whom you will be considered in the first rank." The informers farther declared that the principal ministers and officers were all attached to the interest of Alexander, and, meeting together in a private manner, consulted how they might most effectually serve him.

Cruelty and injustice of Herod.

Herod was so astonished at this intelligence, that he was for some time afraid of publishing the discovery he had made; but no time was lost by his agents, who were constantly employed, by night and day, to discover what passed in all families, and in every place; and immediate death was the consequence even of being suspected. In this part of Herod's history there appears an uniform series of oppression and injustice. Calumnies arose from the slightest disgust; and these calumnies were sufficient to make a crime capital: for Herod was but the agent to execute the contrivances of others. However infamous the evidence, however gross and absurd the tale, it was certain to

be credited; and the punishment immediately followed the charge, even without conviction; for Herod seemed to conceive that, in a case where the life of a prince was in danger, all the formalities of the law were superfluous.

Antipater proves to be the source of all the mischiefs.

At length the disposition of Herod became so ferocious, that innocence itself was no security against the severity of his nature. Even his friends were treated in the most cruel manner: some of them he banished from the kingdom, and in instances where he could not exercise this power, he indulged his malice by insulting them in the most opprobrious terms. Almost all this mischief, however, is chargeable on Antipater, with his friends and adherents, who omitted nothing in their power to promote the growing evils. The king was at length so terrified by Antipater's ridiculous stories, that he imagined Alexander standing before him, with a sword ready to destroy him. Agitated by these ideas, he caused Alexander to be apprehended, and put his friends to the torture. Many of these, from conscientious motives, remained absolutely silent; while others, whose courage could not afford them resolution to abide the torment, made a charge against the two brothers, as having concerted a plot against the life of the king: which plot, they said, was to be executed during a time of hunting, and the agents in it were immediately to make their escape to Rome. How improbable soever this story was, the fears of Herod made him credulous enough to believe it; and thereupon his son was committed to prison.

Alexander apprehended, and his friends tortured.

He determines to make confession of a pretended plot

The jealousy which at this time tormented the mind of Herod, appeared to be at once so inveterate and incurable, that Alexander gave himself no farther concern to make his defence by argument or excuse; but resolved that, for the future, he would acknowledge all the charges which his enemies brought against him, and by such acknowledgment condemn them equally with himself. Thus determined, he drew up four papers, in which he owned himself a confederate against the life of the father. In these papers he gave the names of the confederates, among whom were Pheroras and Salome, the latter of whom he charged with the insolent audaciousness of forcing herself into his bed one night, against his consent. When Herod was in possession of these papers, in which were capital charges against a number of the nobility, it providentially happened that Archelaus, uneasy respecting the fate of his daughter and son-in-law, arrived in Judæa, with a view to serve them to the utmost of his power: and his interference had great success; for by his address and management, the passions of Herod were, in a great degree, allayed.

Subtle project of Archelaus to reconcile Herod to his son.

When Archelaus met Alexander and Herod, he burst out into the following exclamations: "What is become of my abandoned son? Wherefore does he secrete himself from my personal vengeance, which would tear him in pieces? I will provide a better man as a husband to my daughter: but alas! she is so affected even with the recollection of the relation she has borne to this execrable man, that though innocent of all his contrivances, she is an unfit wife for any other. I am astonished at your patience, which hath thus spared the life of a conspirator, at the hazard of your own. When I hastened from Cappadocia hither, I little thought to have found Alexander living: so that my view in this visit was rather to have conferred with you respecting my daughter, whom I gave in marriage to this man, through the respect that I entertained for you: but as matters are now situated, something may be urged in behalf of both parties. Your tenderness as a father and a man will probably induce you to remit the punishment due to a rebellious son: wherefore let us only change hands: I will commend my daughter to your generosity, and permit me the favour of doing justice on your son."

He disposes Herod to favour Alexander.

Herod became more favourable in his sentiments towards Alexander, through this speech of Archelaus; but, at the same time, Archelaus was enraged against Pheroras; for the substance of the four papers, which Herod gave him to read, was principally levelled against him. Archelaus, being thus possessed of evidence so favourable to his own wishes, exerted himself to become master of the merits of the case, and laid the blame on the principal agents in the faction, who were mentioned in the papers, but particularly on Pheroras. By this time Archelaus, finding that he had made some kind of interest in the favour of Herod, addressed him in the following manner: "I confess it is my opinion that you are in less danger of being injured by your son, than he is of being destroyed by a faction. Alexander must have been out of his senses to have been guilty of the practices charged against him. In a great degree he does already divide the government with his father, and has reasonable hopes of succession: nor would he expect more, if not instigated by those who wish to corrupt his mind. Young men are inconsiderate, and, through want of experience, liable to be imposed on by bad company and ill advice. Such sorts of agents are so artful that neither youth nor age can resist their insinuations: and, when these make their appearance, kingdoms, as well as private families, fall a sacrifice to their artifices."

Pheroras applies to Archelaus, who counsels him how to proceed.

These arguments induced Herod to think more favourably of Alexander, and less so of Pheroras than he had heretofore done; for this reasoning was fairly deducible from the four papers which had been presented. Pheroras now finding that the temper of Herod appeared to be changed for the better, and that the interest of Archelaus was very considerable, he assumed all possible courage, and resolving to supply by impudence what might be otherwise wanting, he repaired to Archelaus; who told him that it was impossible he should ever clear himself of a charge that was as fully proved

proved againſt him as the nature of it would admit: for that his conſpiracy againſt his brother's life was evident, as was likewiſe his contrivance to ruin Alexander. Archelaus farther addreſſed him, ſaying, "You had better ceaſe all endeavours to obtain your ends by tricks and contrivance, and freely confeſs the crimes of which you muſt be conſcious of having been guilty. Your brother's affection for you is ſuch as might be expected from a brother; and I have no doubt but that he would grant your pardon on a proper application. Conſider on what I have ſaid, make the experiment, and depend on every aſſiſtance within the compaſs of my power."

Pheroras humbles himſelf, and obtains pardon.

Having reflected on this hint, Pheroras put himſelf into deep mourning, and accommodating his countenance to the ſolemnity of his appearance, went and threw himſelf at the feet of Herod, to whom he confeſſed his faults, and moſt humbly implored his pardon: but at the ſame time attributed all his offences to a violent paſſion which he entertained for a woman, who had made him regardleſs of his duty, and almoſt incapacitated him from being a proper judge of the propriety of his own conduct. Pheroras had no ſooner given this ample teſtimony againſt himſelf, than Archelaus uſed his influence to reconcile him to Herod, and to abate the violent paſſions of the king. On this occaſion Archelaus addreſſed Herod in ſubſtance as follows: "I confeſs that ſuch conduct from a near relation has a very bad appearance: yet I have ſuffered even more from a brother, and greater inſults than have been offered to you: but I thought it a point of prudence to make my ſentiments of revenge yield to thoſe of duty and natural affection. It is with kingdoms as with the human body; when a diſorder deſcends into any one of the limbs, it is certainly more prudent to endeavour a cure, than to ſuffer the limb to be amputated."

Through the management of Archelaus, Herod becomes an advocate for his ſon Alexander, who is reconciled to his father.

The diſpoſition of Herod towards Pheroras being now more favourable, through the interpoſition of Archelaus, the latter affected to treat Alexander with threats and reproaches, and at length ſaid, that without farther heſitation, he would take away his daughter. This apparent reſentment of Archelaus had ſuch an effect on the mind of Herod, that he became an advocate for his ſon, and moſt earneſtly intreated Archelaus not to take a ſtep which would render the marriage void. Archelaus replied, that, through the regard he had to the honour of the alliance, he was ſatisfied to leave his daughter to the abſolute diſpoſal of Herod, on the ſingle condition that he ſhould not beſtow her on Alexander. But this behaviour was the effect of art only. Herod urged that the young couple might remain together, ſaying, that they had children, and entertained ſo great a regard for each other, that death itſelf would not be worſe than their ſeparation. Herod ſaid farther, "If ſhe remain, an act of oblivion ſhall paſs; but if ſhe depart, the conſequence will be fatal; ſince nothing endears relations to each other like a friendly correſpondence between their families." Theſe words were no ſooner ſpoken than Archelaus went out, and returned in a few minutes, bringing Alexander in his hand, and immediately reconciled him to his father. Archelaus now gave his advice that Herod ſhould repair to Rome, and give the emperor an account of the late tranſactions; declaring that he himſelf had written many of the particulars.

Herod diſmiſſes Archelaus loaded with preſents.

The above-mentioned artful behaviour of Archelaus delivered his ſon from danger, and gave an opportunity of celebrating the reconciliation by every aſſiſtance of friendly feſtivity. When Archelaus was ready to take his leave, Herod preſented him with ſeventy talents, a throne ornamented with jewels, and ſeveral eunuchs, complimenting him likewiſe with a concubine named Pannychis. Herod likewiſe ordered magnificent preſents for the king's miniſters, relations and friends, proportioned to their reſpective ranks: and then himſelf and his nobility went as far as Antioch, to conduct Archelaus on his journey.

Eurycles becomes the favourite of Herod, and defeats the projects of Archelaus.

Soon after this event a perſon arrived in Judæa, who, in point of political management, was more than the equal of Archelaus; and who not only defeated the late ſcheme of Alexander's reconciliation with his father, but, in the end, brought the young man to deſtruction. The name of the man was Eurycles, born in Lacedæmon. His love of money induced him to aſſume the affectation of power; yet he was ſo profuſe in his expences, that even a princely revenue was unequal to them. He ſent Herod ſeveral valuable preſents, with a view to obtain greater, which Herod actually ſent him; but he thought not much of any bounty that was not the price of royal blood; wherefore he inſinuated himſelf into Herod's favour, partly by artful tales, and partly by the groſſeſt flatteries; till at length he had made himſelf ſuch a perfect maſter of Herod's foibles, that he approved of all he ſaid or did. This inſinuating behaviour procured him great intereſt at court; beſides that his country was honoured, as he was a Spartan by birth.

His artful and inſinuating behaviour.

The means he uſed to compaſs his deſigns.

Eurycles having remarked the diſſenſions which prevailed in the royal family, and particularly the light in which Herod ſeemed to regard them, went and lodged with Antipater, and at the ſame time pretended great friendſhip for Alexander, to whom he recited ſtories of his intimacy with Archelaus, and the amity that had long ſubſiſted between them. This pleaſed Alexander, who communicated the grateful intelligence to his brother Ariſtobulus. Eurycles having diſcovered the diſpoſitions of the ſeveral people with whom he had to deal, accommodated himſelf to their various humours; his principal view being to betray Alexander, and poſſeſs himſelf of Antipater's money. Addreſſing himſelf to the latter, he ſaid, "I am aſtoniſhed that you, who are the eldeſt ſon, and heir-apparent to the crown, can be impoſed on by thoſe

thoſe who only pretend to your right." To Alexander he addreſſed himſelf as follows: "It is ſtrange that you, who are the ſon of one great princeſs, and the huſband of another, can bear the ſon of a private woman to ſtand between you and the crown, eſpecially when ſupported by ſuch a friend as Archelaus."

Obtains the confidence of Alexander.

Alexander was impoſed on by this addreſs, which he ſuppoſed aroſe from the friendſhip of Eurycles to Archelaus, and having no ſuſpicions, made Eurycles his boſom friend, and ſpoke freely to him reſpecting Antipater: "It is no wonder (ſaid he) that Herod can think of depriving the ſon of the kingdom, when he robbed the mother of life." On hearing this, Eurycles affected aſtoniſhment at the barbarity of the proceeding, and engaging Ariſtobulus to diſcourſe on the ſame ſubject, involved him alſo in the treachery. When Eurycles had poſſeſſed himſelf of the ſecrets of both the brothers, he went to Antipater, and told him what he had heard, with many circumſtances of his own invention, inſinuating that the king's life was in danger, and the plot on the point of being executed. For this ſervice Antipater gratified Eurycles with a preſent of a large ſum of money, and likewiſe ſpoke of him to Herod, in the warmeſt terms of friendſhip: and from this time Eurycles conſtantly offered himſelf as an evidence againſt the brothers, till the death of Alexander and Ariſtobulus.

His calumniating accuſation of him to Herod.

Eurycles now went to Herod, and addreſſed him in the following manner: "Gratitude brings me hither, to acknowledge your favours, and to offer you your life as the reward. Your death has long been reſolved on: Alexander was at one time armed with a ſword, to have perpetrated the deed; and the horrid fact would have been actually accompliſhed, if I had not prevented it, by affecting to approve of it, and offered my aſſiſtance to carry it into execution. Alexander ſaid, Cannot Herod be content with uſurping a kingdom, deſtroying my mother, and diſtracting the government, without nominating for his ſucceſſor ſuch a wretch as Antipater, to the diſgrace of all royalty? But it is my part to do juſtice to the manes of Hyrcanus and Mariamne. It would be infamous that the government ſhould deſcend from ſuch a father to a ſon ſo meanly born. Daily provocations furniſh freſh arguments to confirm me in my purpoſe. Every word I mention is made a ſnare to betray me. If I but ſpeak on the ſubject of honourable families and extraction, Herod deems it an affront offered to himſelf, and ſays that I mean to inſinuate his baſeneſs and my own honour and dignity. When I hunt with him, if I am ſilent, he demands why I do not talk; if I ſpeak, he commands my ſilence. If I praiſe him, he attributes it to flattery. In fact, I can do nothing to pleaſe him: Antipater is poſſeſſed of that happineſs. If my preſent plot ſhould fail, death will be more welcome than life in ſuch a ſituation: and if it be ſucceſsful, I can eaſily retire to my father-in-law, and from him to Cæſar, who is little acquainted with Herod's temper, or the preſent ſituation of affairs. When I arrive at Rome, I ſhall not tremble, as formerly, in terror of a father on the ſpot. I ſhall little inſiſt on the injuries I have received, but dwell on thoſe of the public; the corruptions and oppreſſions; the impoſitions of public money, waſted in luxury. I ſhall ſhew how, and by whom the money was ſpent; the ſlavery of the citizens, and its true cauſe; and finally, I will relate ſuch a tale of the death of my grandfather Hyrcanus, and my mother Mariamne, and develope the wickedneſs of Herod in ſuch a light, that the murder of my father will never be laid to my charge."

Eurycles ſpeaks in praiſe of Antipater, who brings accuſe againſt the brothers.

This invective againſt Alexander being finiſhed, Eurycles began to ſpeak highly of Antipater, whom he repreſented as a dutiful ſon, who had cruſhed the plot in its birth. Herod, whoſe former jealouſies were not ſubdued, broke into the moſt extravagant rage on this occaſion, and this rage was inflamed by Antipater, who produced new evidence againſt the brothers, in ſubſtance as follows: "That Alexander and Ariſtobulus had maintained a private correſpondence with Jucundus and Tyrannus, two commanders of horſe, who had been lately degraded for miſbehaviour." Exaſperated by this information, Herod ordered the officers to be put to the torture; but they declared they knew nothing of the affair, other than that a letter had been written to the governor of Alexandrion, as from Alexander, requeſting him to receive himſelf and brother into the caſtle, in caſe of their father's death; and, in ſuch an event, to furniſh them with arms and other neceſſaries. Alexander declared that this letter was forged by Diophantus, the king's ſecretary, who was a daring man, and extremely ſkilled in counterfeiting hands. It is worthy of remark, that Diophantus was at length executed for forgery. The governor of the caſtle was tortured, but confeſſing nothing, the ſons were acquitted: yet Eurycles, the contriver of the plot, who was a diſgrace to human nature, was careſſed by Herod as his friend and preſerver, and preſented with fifty talents. Before Archelaus could have intelligence of the brothers impriſonment, this execrable villain retired privately to him, and had the aſſurance to inform him, that Herod and Alexander were good friends, and that himſelf had been the happy means of effecting the reconciliation. Thence he departed into Achaia with his riches, which he ſpent in as infamous a manner as he had acquired them. At length he was accuſed before Cæſar, with having been guilty of ſeditious practices, and promoting oppreſſions and diſturbances; and in the end was baniſhed. Thus were his infamous tranſactions againſt Alexander and Ariſtobulus puniſhed.

Two officers tortured.

A forgery of Diophantus.

Inſtances of the villainy of Eurycles, who is at length baniſhed by Cæſar.

In this place it may not be improper to contraſt the conduct of Evaratus of Coos with that of Eurycles the Spartan. Evaratus was in Herod's court at the ſame period, and was much the friend of Alexander. The king earneſtly queſtioned

Character of Eurycles contraſted with that of Evaratus.

Evaratus

Evaratus how far he credited the report of the conſpiracy, and the accuſations that were founded on it; when Evaratus declared on his oath, that he believed the young princes were perfectly innocent. Notwithſtanding this, the unfortunate priſoners met with no better fate; for Herod liſtened to calumnies only: the more infamous the traduction, the more the traducer was in his favour; and the ready way to pleaſe him was to ſay as he did, and affect to believe what he credited.

Salome acts the part of an incendiary.

At this time Salome, for her own ſecurity, inflamed the quarrel between Herod and his ſons. Ariſtobulus had cautioned her to take care of herſelf, both as a mother-in-law and an aunt; hinting that her danger from Herod was as great as that of any other perſon, ſince ſhe had entered into a contract with Syllæus, the Arabian, with an intention to marry him, though ſhe knew he was a profeſſed enemy to the king; and that ſhe had repeatedly given him ſecret accounts of the tranſactions of the cabinet. The view of Ariſtobulus in giving her this warning, was to involve her in the ſame fate with himſelf and brother; but it happened otherwiſe, and this ſcheme proved the deſtruction of them both: for Salome immediately going to the king, informed him of what Ariſtobulus had ſaid, by which he was ſo much enraged that he cauſed the brothers to be put in chains, and kept ſeparate from each other.

Herod tranſmits an account to Cæſar.

During the violence of Herod's paſſion, he ſent Volumnius, a commander of horſe, and Olympus, his own friend, to Cæſar, with an account of what had paſſed. On arriving at Rome, they delivered their letters to Cæſar, the peruſal of which gave him great pain, on account of the young men; but he was cautious of exerting his authority to the prejudice of the natural power of a father over his children; wherefore he ſent an anſwer to Herod, that "he was maſter of himſelf, and all thoſe who depended on him." Yet Cæſar thought it prudent to call a council of Herod's friends and relations, with the governors of the province, to examine into the plot; and then to execute thoſe who had been guilty of wilful malice; but he thought that a ſlighter puniſhment might ſuffice, if the brothers had only entertained an idea of abſconding.

Herod ſummonſes a council at Berytus, to inquire into the ſuppoſed conſpiracy of his ſons.

Berytus was fixed on by the emperor as the place where the contending parties ſhould meet; and, agreeable to his inſtructions, Herod ſummoned a council to aſſemble there. Cæſar appointed the preſidents, who were Saturninus and Pedanius, embaſſadors, with Volumnius, governor of the province, and Herod's friends and relations; Salome and Pheroras not excepted. Beſides theſe, there were all the chief men of Syria, except king Archelaus, the father-in-law of Alexander, of whom Herod was ſuſpicious. The brothers were kept in cuſtody, at the village of Plantane, in Sidonia, the council being averſe to admitting them into court, for reaſons of prudence; as the very ſight of them would have excited compaſſion, and if they had been permitted to plead their own cauſe, it was in Alexander's power to have obviated every objection.

He exhibits an accuſation againſt them.

When Herod ſtood up to ſpeak, he expreſſed his diſpleaſure againſt his ſons in the moſt violent manner, as if they had been within hearing. On the ſubject of the conſpiracy, he ſpoke in a low and faint voice, as if unwilling that what he had to ſay on this topic ſhould be heard; for he could not poſſibly prove his aſſertions: but when he ſpoke of acts of diſobedience, injuries, rancorous expreſſions, and affronts to himſelf, he was diſtinctly heard by every one; and he inſinuated that death itſelf was leſs painful in his idea than theſe inſults. At length, when he found that there was no oppoſition to his will, he directed the court to proceed to ſentence, after lamenting his unhappy fate, in being victorious in a conteſt that coſt him ſo dear.

The favourable opinion of Saturninus over-ruled by the adjudications of Volumnius and others.

The firſt opinion was given by Saturninus, who ſaid the ſons ought to be puniſhed, but not capitally; for it would look ill to paſs ſuch ſentence on the abſent, while Herod had three ſons in the council. The embaſſadors, and ſeveral others, were of the ſame opinion; but Volumnius adjudged them to ſuffer death, in which he was followed by ſuch others as the intereſt or paſſions of Herod had influenced: but none of them bore any malice to the unfortunate youths. The expected iſſue of this affair occaſioned an alarming ſuſpenſe in Judæa and Syria; though no one thought that Herod would accede to the murder of his children. However, there was ſo little humanity in his diſpoſition, that he firſt ſent them in chains to Tyre, and thence to Cæſarea by ſea, till he determined in what manner they ſhould be put to death.

The ſons ſent in chains to Tyre.

Zealous interpoſition of Tyro in their behalf.

At this period advanced one Tyro, an ancient ſoldier, who was a great admirer of the young princes, and whoſe ſon was very much eſteemed by Alexander. Now Tyro, in a rage of reſentment at Herod's prepoſterous conduct, went about exclaiming like a madman, that juſtice was inſulted, truth was vaniſhed; that villainy and iniquity triumphed at large in the world, while humanity and natural affection had fled from the face of the earth. Thus he continued to rave and exclaim, as one who was grown weary of his life; and at length he went to the king, whom he addreſſed in the following manner: "Thou, Herod, of all men exiſting, art certainly the moſt miſerable; ſince thou art puniſhed by giving credit to the baſeſt and vileſt of the people, to the injury of thy beſt and moſt approved friends. For inſtance, there are Salome and Pheroras, whom thou knoweſt, and haſt declared, are highly deſerving of death; yet, on the credit of theſe people, art thou raſhly proceeding to deprive thy ſons of their lives. Thou haſt not conſidered how much Antipater will be gratified by the deſtruction of the

legal heirs, when only thyſelf and he remains; for the plan of thy enemies is to have a king who will govern according to their wiſhes. But, in this caſe, let them beware of the ſoldiers: for if they reſent the murder, no one knows where the deſtruction may end. Every man pities the brothers; and the men of rank publicly complain of the ill management of affairs." Several of the malcontents were now mentioned by Tyro, on which Herod gave orders for their immediate apprehenſion, and that Tyro and his ſon ſhould likewiſe be taken into cuſtody.

The baſeneſs of Tryphon, who cauſes Tyro and his ſon to be tortured.

One Tryphon, the king's barber, happening to be preſent at this time, advanced, and offered himſelf as an evidence againſt Tyro; declaring that he had, in the name of Alexander, offered him a conſiderable reward, if he would cut Herod's throat while he was ſhaving him. Hereupon, orders were given that the barber, with Tyro and his ſon, ſhould be put to the torture. The two latter denied every thing that was charged againſt them, and Tryphon remained perfectly ſilent. On this, Herod ordered an increaſe of Tyro's torments; till his ſon, in mere compaſſion for the father, promiſed the king a full diſcovery, if he might be pardoned. In conſequence of this, he was taken from the torture, when he declared that Alexander had inſtigated his father to murder the king. Some perſons gave credit to this ſtory, while others ſuppoſed it was merely a contrivance of the youth, to get his own pains remitted.

Tyro killed by the people, and Hered commands his ſons to be ſtrangled.

Soon after this, Herod ſpoke reproachfully of ſome great officers of the army, and of Tyro; which ſo inflamed the mob, that they attacked thoſe officers, as well as Tyro and the barber, with ſtones and cudgels, and deſtroyed them all. Herod's unhappy ſons were now at Sebaſte, near Cæſarea, w[illegible]e he ordered them to be ſtrangled, and their bodies conveyed to Alexandrion, and depoſited by their mother's uncle, Alexander. Thus ended the lives of Ariſtobulus and Alexander.

CHAP. XVIII.

ANTIPATER conſpires againſt the Life of his Father. A Council ſummoned by HEROD, who recommends proper Alliances for the Royal Family. Bad Practices charged on the Wife of PHERORAS. ANTIPATER is ſent to ROME by HEROD, with his laſt Will, in which ANTIPATER is declared Succeſſor. The corrupt Practices of SYLLÆUS. His Deſign againſt HEROD's Life diſcovered.

Antipater dreads the children of the murdered brothers.

THE ſucceſſion to the kingdom was now looked on as certain by Antipater; but the people univerſally hated him; for they were ſenſible that he was the author of all the preceding miſchief: nor was he eaſy himſelf when he reflected on the future vengeance of the children of the murdered brothers. By Glaphyra Alexander had two ſons, named Tigranes and Alexander; and by Berenice, the daughter of Salome, Ariſtobulus had Herod, Agrippa, and Ariſtobulus, and two daughters, Herodias and Mariamne. After the death of Alexander, Glaphyra was ſent back to Cappadocia, with her fortune; and Berenice, widow of Ariſtobulus, had married her uncle Antipater, who concerted this match to become friends with Salome, and put an end to all animoſities. Antipater complimented, and made preſents to Pheroras, and at the ſame time ſent large ſums to Rome, to procure the intereſt of Cæſar's friends. Nor was he leſs liberal to Saturninus and his friends in Syria. But this profuſion of expence had no good effect; his bounty was thought the conſequence of fear, and the more he gave the more he was deſpiſed; while thoſe to whom he gave nothing, became his more inveterate enemies. Herod being very careful of the orphan children, ſeemed to ſhew that he commiſerated the death of their parents; a circumſtance that made Antipater ſtill more liberal of his bounties.

Herod determines to protect the orphans, and propoſes alliances for them.

Herod having now ſummoned a meeting of his friends and relations, ſent for the young princes, and, with tears in his eyes, addreſſed the company in the following manner: "You now behold the children of an unhappy family. Having been deprived of their fathers by a melancholy fate, I am bound in humanity to protect the orphans, and be a better grandfather than I was a father. With this view, I ſhall provide that, after my death, my children may be placed in the care of my moſt valuable friends. With regard to you, Pheroras, I adviſe you to wed your daughter with the eldeſt ſon of Alexander, and be a father and guardian to him. To you, Antipater, I recommend that your ſon marry one of the daughters of Ariſtobulus, and that you become a parent to the orphan child. Let the other ſiſter be married to Herod, the grandſon of Simon, the high-prieſt, by my mother's ſide. This is my earneſt requeſt, which will not be deſpiſed by any one who has a regard or affection for me. I repeat that this is my will; and I truſt that Heaven will bleſs theſe connections to the advantage of my family and kingdom, and grant that the children may be more happy than their parents." Thus ſaying, Herod united the hands of the princes, and having wept over them, diſmiſſed the aſſembly, taking leave of each member reſpectively.

Antipater, tormented with envy and jealouſy,

Obſerving what paſſed, Antipater was ſtruck in ſuch a manner, that every one remarked it; for he conſidered the friendſhip that Herod had evidenced towards the children as an inſult to himſelf. He

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thought that, by this proceeding, all things would become confuſed, particularly if the tetrarch Pheroras ſhould join his intereſt with Archelaus, in favour of the ſons of Alexander. He was likewiſe tormented with the idea of the hatred of the public to himſelf, the compaſſion of the people to the children, and the intereſt the whole nation took in the affair, between reverence for the deceaſed, and regard for the living; ſo that himſelf was looked on as a murderer. Antipater having conſidered theſe things, thought his buſineſs was to diſſolve the contracts: but how to effect this was the difficulty; for Herod was of a ſuſpicious nature, of violent paſſions, and not eaſily to be managed by artful contrivance: wherefore Antipater openly requeſted that he would realize the honour of which he had thought him worthy; for as to the reſt, it was but the ſhadow without the ſubſtance of a kingdom; which would be particularly the caſe if the ſon of Alexander ſhould have Pheroras for his father-in-law, and Archelaus for his grandfather. Antipater, therefore, moſt earneſtly ſolicited Herod to change the diſpoſition of the marriages, which, he ſaid, might moſt eaſily be done, as the king had ſuch a numerous family.

Seeks to prevail on Herod to diſſolve the contracts.

The wives of Herod were nine in number, and he had children by ſeven of them, viz. Antipater by Doris, Herod by Mariamne, Antipas and Archelaus by Malthace, likewiſe a daughter, named Olympias, married to his brother Joſeph; Herod and Philip by Cleopatra of Jeruſalem; Roxane by Phædra, and Salome by Elpis. He had likewiſe two wives, by whom he had no children, one of whom was his couſin, and the other the daughter of his brother. Excluſive of theſe, the two ſiſters of Alexander and Ariſtobulus were born of Mariamne. It was urged by Antipater that here was ſufficient choice among whom to vary the marriages.

He propoſes others.

Herod now began to conceive the ſentiments of Antipater towards the children, and became uneaſy, leſt he ſhould murder the ſurvivors, as himſelf had done their predeceſſors. He therefore ſeverely cenſured the freedom of his expoſtulation, and obliged him to leave the apartment; but was afterwards induced, by means of flattery and artful management, to alter his original plan: on which he beſtowed the daughter of Ariſtobulus in marriage on Antipater, and wedded his ſon to the daughter of Pheroras. By this, the influence that Antipater had over Herod became evident. But ſimilar arguments could not prevail in the caſe of Salome, though ſhe was ſupported by the empreſs Julia, and was alſo his own ſiſter. Salome wiſhed to be united in marriage with Syllæus, the Arabian, and engaged the empreſs in her favour; but Herod not only oppoſed the plan, but ſolemnly ſwore he would treat her as his worſt enemy if ſhe did not abandon all thoughts of it. After this, he compelled her to marry a friend of his,

Herod is induced to change his purpoſe, and comply with Antipater's wiſhes.

named Alexas, and then to cauſe one of her daughters to be eſpouſed to the ſon of Alexas, and the other to Antipater's uncle on the maternal ſide. One of the daughters of Mariamne was likewiſe given by Herod to Antipater, the ſon of his ſiſter; and the other to Phaſael, his nephew on the brother's ſide.

Every thing being thus altered according to the plan, and ſettled ſo as to ſuit the convenience of Antipater, and of courſe to the perfect excluſion of the orphans, his pride and malignity were increaſed to ſuch an extravagant degree, that he became perfectly inſupportable. He was ſenſible that, as the people hated him, his ſafety could conſiſt only in their fear of him likewiſe: and Pheroras now treated him as a prince already poſſeſſed of ſovereign power.

Antipater renders himſelf odious to the people.

About this time, new diſturbances happened in the court of Herod, owing to a faction among the women: the wife, the mother, and the ſiſter of Pheroras, and the mother of Antipater, all behaved in a moſt inſolent manner towards the king's daughters; a circumſtance that gratified the malice of Antipater, who entertained the utmoſt hatred for them: and with regard to the reſt of the women, they were all afraid of the faction, Salome alone excepted, who informed the king of every thing that paſſed in their private aſſemblies, hinting that his intereſt was endangered by their conſultations. When the women were informed that notice of their meetings had been communicated to the king, and that he was greatly offended at them, they declined aſſembling themſelves together, and began a plan of bickering and quarrelling, even in the royal preſence, as if they were enemies to each other, rather than conſpirators againſt the king; and under this diſguiſe, Antipater ridiculed Pheroras; but their nightly meetings were ſtill held; and the more ſpies were on their conduct, the more they adhered together: but none of their tranſactions could eſcape the vigilance of Salome, who inſtantly acquainted the king with all ſhe knew. Herod was enraged at this intelligence, particularly againſt the wife of Pheroras, who was principally charged by Salome. Hereupon Herod ſummoned a council of his relations and friends, in which he exhibited a complaint againſt her for offending his daughters, engaging the Phariſees againſt himſelf, and giving his brother a medicine to make him hate him. Then Herod ſaid to Pheroras, "If you had your choice of parting from your wife or brother, which ſhould it be?" Pheroras replied, he would rather die than part from his wife. Struck with this anſwer, Herod deliberated awhile, and then ſtrictly enjoined Antipater neither to diſcourſe nor hold connection with Pheroras or his wife, or any of their acquaintance. Antipater appeared to pay a ready obedience to this order; notwithſtanding which, they had ſeveral meetings; but in the night, to prevent diſcovery. Antipater having many friends in Italy, ſo concert-

Cabal among the women.

Foul practices charged on Salome.

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ed matters with them, that letters were written to Herod, to send Antipater to Rome, to pay his respects to the emperor. Hereupon, Herod furnished him with money and all necessaries, with a splendid train, and sent him to Rome, with his last will, in which he declared Antipater his successor, and that he should be succeeded by Herod the son of Mariamne.

Herod sends Antipater to Rome.

Syllæus takes a journey thither, for a rehearing of the cause between him and Antipater.

At this time, Syllæus, the Arabian, regardless of Cæsar's orders, made another journey to Rome, to debate with Antipater the same cause which he had formerly defended against Nicolaus. It was a dispute likewise of great importance which he had with his sovereign Aretas, having executed several of his friends, among whom was Sohemus, the most eminent man in all the city of Petra for wealth and power. Tabatus, one of Cæsar's governors, was also corrupted by him with a sum of money, to assist him against Herod. But the latter purchasing his assistance with a larger sum, detached Tabatus from the interest of Syllæus, and made him receiver of his own duties. Syllæus finding that he did not account to him, complained to Cæsar that Tabatus was Herod's governor, and not the emperor's. Tabatus, highly incensed at this proceeding, and being in great credit with Herod, betrayed Syllæus to him, informing the king, that he had, by means of a sum of money, prevailed on Corinthus, one of the guards, to join in the conspiracy, and advising that he might be immediately apprehended. Herod did not hesitate at this; for Corinthus, though educated at court, was by birth an Arabian. Soon afterwards Corinthus, and two Arabians who were with him, were taken into custody; one of these was named Phylarchus, and the other was a friend of Syllæus. These being put to the torture, confessed, while on the rack, that, by means of a large sum of money, they had prevailed on Corinthus to undertake the murder of the king. The examinations were taken by Saturninus, the governor of Syria, who dispatched them to Rome.

His corrupt practices, and designs on Herod's life.

CHAP. XIX.

PHERORAS banished from the Court by HEROD. His Death and Funeral. Strong Evidence of his being poisoned by Advice of SYLLÆUS. An Agreement among the Witnesses. The great Severity of HEROD. MARIAMNE's Concern in the Plot fully proved.

Herod banishes Pheroras and his wife.

HEROD now finding ample cause to hate the wife of Pheroras, but no means of punishing her, daily urged him to turn her away; but this not being complied with, he was so incensed, that he banished both husband and wife from the court. This misfortune was borne with apparent patience by Pheroras, who repaired to his tetrarchy, and solemnly swore that he would never return during the life of Herod, for that his banishment should be completed only by his death. Soon after this Herod was taken ill, and sent repeatedly to Pheroras to attend him, as he had something of importance to mention before he died. Pheroras refused to attend, and Herod recovered, contrary to all expectation. Pheroras being now attacked with sickness, Herod gave a proof of his humanity by paying him a visit, and treating him with singular care and affection: but Pheroras soon died of the disorder. The general opinion was, that Herod had a great esteem for Pheroras to his last moments; yet a report was propagated that he had caused him to be poisoned. Be this as it may, the body was conveyed to Jerusalem, interred in a most magnificent manner, and a public mourning appointed. Thus ended the life of one of the murderers of Alexander and Aristobulus: but Antipater, the author of it, afterwards experienced the punishment of his wickedness; and the death of Pheroras gave rise to his ruin; for some of the freed-men of Pheroras, lamenting the loss they had sustained, went to the king, and informed him that his brother had been poisoned; for that his wife had given him a kind of food not dressed in the customary way, and that he was immediately taken violently ill after swallowing it. Two days before this circumstance, it had been remarked that a cunning woman had, by the advice of the mother and sister, been brought from Arabia, to prepare a medicine for Pheroras, which proved to be a most rancorous poison, administered by the advice of Syllæus, who was well acquainted with the woman.

Death of Pheroras, supposed by poison.

Presumptions were so strong, and suspicions so numerous, that Herod ordered several persons, both bond and free, to be put to the torture. Among these was a woman, who in the extremity of her pain, exclaimed, "May that God who rules heaven and earth avenge both thee and us on the mother of Antipater, on whose account we suffer such excess of misery." In consequence of this hint, Herod traced the discovery; and another woman informed him of all the proceedings between the mother of Antipater, and Pheroras, and his women; mentioned their irregular meetings; and that Pheroras and Antipater, when they retired from court, kept them company all night, not a servant being admitted to the apartment. This evidence was given by one of the freed-women.

Inquiry made by Herod concerning it, and several persons tortured.

The witnesses being separately examined, there appeared to be a perfect coincidence in their informations, so that no doubt remained of the reality of the charge. Herod now conceived an idea that Antipater's retiring to Rome, and Pheroras having procured (for so he thought it) his own banishment, were but stratagems to retire from danger: for they had been often heard to say that Herod would not be content with the death of Alexander and Aristobulus;

Agreement of the witnesses in proof of the charge.

bulus; but themſelves and their wives muſt expect a ſimilar fate; ſince no one could hope for moderate treatment at the hands of him who had murdered his wife and children; wherefore the moſt prudent meaſure would be to retreat beyond the reach of his power.

Allegations againſt Antipater by the women.

It was farther depoſed by the women, that Antipater would frequently addreſs his mother to the following purpoſe: "While I begin to grow grey-headed, my father ſeems to grow younger every day; and what certainty is there that I may not die before I arrive at the throne? Or, as my father may live a long time, ſuppoſe I ſurvive him, I may by that time be indifferent to the pleaſures of royalty. Beſides, the children of Alexander and Ariſtobulus are ſo many Hydra heads ſhooting forth: and with regard to my own children, the will of my father has abridged them of the ſucceſſion, and made the ſon of Mariamne his heir; if the will of ſuch a dotard may be allowed to have any validity: but he will provide againſt any diſputes on this ſcore, by deſtroying every one of his family who might claim the ſucceſſion. Certainly, of all the parents that ever exiſted, he is the moſt unnatural and cruel to his ſons; and yet more ſo, if poſſible, to his brothers: an inſtance of this ariſes from the hundred talents which he gave Antipater, to have no farther connection with Pheroras: and when Pheroras demanded, "What injury have we done him?" Antipater replied, that he only wiſhed he would give them their lives, after ſtripping them of all they poſſeſſed. But what is to be expected from ſo perfect a ſavage, with whom it is dangerous to live in the open profeſſion of friendſhip? But here are we now (continued Antipater) contenting ourſelves with ſtolen meetings, when we might do ourſelves juſtice in a very different manner, if we had but the common courage and reſolution of men."

Herod cruelly puniſhes the ſuppoſed offenders.

Thus much was confeſſed by the women, and likewiſe that Pheroras had entertained an idea of retiring with them to Petra. This diſcovery ſeemed clear; but the circumſtance that ſtruck Herod in particular was the hundred talents, which he had mentioned only to Antipater. Herod therefore made Doris, the mother of Antipater, the firſt object of his vengeance, taking from her the ornaments, and valuable trinkets, with which he had preſented her, to the amount of many talents; and then baniſhed her. When his rage was ſomewhat abated, he relieved the women belonging to Pheroras from the torture: but he was at the ſame time tormented with fear of the conſequence of this mercy; for ſo rigid was he in his cruelties, that, leſt any of the guilty ſhould eſcape, the innocent were frequently put to the torture.

Evidence of Antipater the Samaritan;

Antipater, the Samaritan, the deputy of the other Antipater, now gave his evidence; by which it appeared that Antipater had diſpatched a friend of Antiphilus into Egypt, to procure poiſon for the king. This poiſon was received from Theudion, Antipater's uncle, and, by his order, delivered to Pheroras, who had undertaken to perpetrate the horrid deed, while Antipater was at Rome, and conſequently beyond the reach of ſuſpicion: and Pheroras committed the care of the poiſon to his wife.

and of the widow of Pheroras.

On receiving this intelligence, the king ſent immediately for the widow of Pheroras, whom he commanded to make an inſtant diſcovery of the ſecret. She had no ſooner received theſe orders, than ſhe retired under pretence of fetching the poiſon; but threw herſelf from the top of the houſe, at once to prevent the diſcovery, and avoid the torture. But Providence would not thus permit the eſcape of Antipater; for not being killed by the fall, ſhe was taken up, and conveyed to the king; and being ſomewhat recovered from the hurt ſhe had received, Herod urged her to inform him what could have tempted her to run ſuch a hazard; ſolemnly ſwearing that, if ſhe diſcovered the truth, ſhe ſhould be no farther puniſhed; but that, if ſhe gave a falſe account, ſhe ſhould be tortured to death, and denied the honours of a funeral.

Her teſtimony reſpecting the poiſon, taken from her huſband's dying confeſſion.

When her ſenſes were fully reſtored, ſhe exclaimed as follows: "Now Pheroras is dead, it is not for me to keep ſecrets in favour of Antipater, who hath been the ruin of us all. Attend to what I ſay, mighty prince, while I call on that God who cannot be deceived, to witneſs the truth of my declaration. When you viſited my huſband in his illneſs, and was drowned in tears on his account, he called me to him, and declared that he had been miſtaken in the opinion he had formed of his brother's kindneſs: for that he had hated you, and had meditated your deſtruction; though you could then evince ſo generous a concern for his unhappy ſituation: whereon he charged me immediately to fetch the remainder of the poiſon which Antipater had brought, and burn it in his preſence, declaring that he ſhould otherwiſe die with a weight of guilt on his mind. I fetched it, according to his directions, and burnt the greater part of it before him; reſerving the remainder for my own uſe in a caſe of extremity." Having thus ſaid, ſhe produced a box, with a ſmall quantity of the poiſon in it. The examinations of the mother and brother of Antiphilus were now taken; by which it appeared that Antiphilus had brought the box which contained the poiſon from Egypt, having received it of a brother of his, a phyſician at Alexandrion. It now ſeemed as if even the ghoſts of Alexander and Ariſtobulus were agents in making diſcoveries, by means of perſons and circumſtances leaſt likely to develope them. It was clear that Mariamne, the daughter of the high-prieſt, had a concern in the plot, as was evident from the teſtimony of her brothers: but the mother was puniſhed in the ſon; for the king, who had formerly declared Herod, the ſon of Mariamne, ſucceſſor of Antipater, now obliterated his name from his will.

Other examinations.

Mariamne concerned in the plot.

CHAP. XX.

BATHYLLUS brings with him forged Letters againſt the Brothers. ANTIPATER applies to his Father, who orders him to prepare for his Trial on the following Day. The Court aſſemble. The Defence of ANTIPATER. Evidences of the Poiſon produced. HEROD reſolves to do Juſtice on ANTIPATER; alters his Will, and ſubſtitutes ANTIPAS in his Place.

Strong evidence of Bathyllus againſt Antipater.

THE moſt material evidence againſt Antipater, was one of his own freed men, named Bathyllus, who, juſt at this juncture, arrived from Rome, bringing with him the poiſon of an aſp, and of other ſerpents; that if the former ſhould fail, Pheroras and his wife might put an end to the life of Herod. Excluſive of this, Bathyllus brought ſeveral letters, which Antipater had forged, to the prejudice of the brothers.

He forges letters againſt the brothers, and plots their deſtruction.

At this time Archelaus and Philip were purſuing their ſtudies at Rome. They were now become young men of great courage and expectation; and being ſons of the king, Antipater conſidered them as obſtacles to his ambition; and had little hope of ſucceſs unleſs he could work their deſtruction. For this purpoſe he forged letters againſt them, in the names of ſeveral of their friends at Rome; in ſome of which their ſuppoſed reflections on their father were mentioned; their exclamations on the death of Alexander and Ariſtobulus, and their regret at being ſent for from Rome (their father having ordered their return). This laſt circumſtance affected Antipater more than all the reſt.

It was proved that before Antipater left Judæa, he had been guilty of forgery, and procured letters from Rome to Herod on this ſubject: while, to prevent ſuſpicion falling on himſelf, he would apply to his father, and become a ſeeming advocate for his brothers. He uſed to ſay he "hoped the repreſentations exceeded the fact; that ſome things urged againſt them might be falſe; and for the reſt, there might be leſs of malice than inconſiderateneſs in them." All this time he was at an enormous expence with his agents, to procure the deſtruction of his brothers; and to cover the deceit, he purchaſed variety of rich garments, carpets, gold and ſilver plate, and many other articles of high value, which he placed to the account of the ſuit in which they were engaged with Syllæus.

Antipater univerſally deteſted.

The leſſer evil ſeemed to have been ſwallowed up by the greater. When the converſation of the whole country turned on the intended murder of Herod, and every letter and witneſs combined to prove and detect the repeated deſign on the lives of the brothers; yet, though it was ſeven months between the proof of the fact and the return of Antipater, not a word was ſaid on the road out of Judæa, of the preſent ſtate of Herod's family: for Antipater was univerſally deteſted; and it ſeems to have been an act of Providence, to prevent that circulation of report which might otherwiſe have prevented the execution of the divine vengeance.

He informs the king of his honourable treatment at Rome, and purpoſe of ſpeedy return, which is preſſed by Herod.

Antipater now wrote to Herod, that he had been honourably treated and diſmiſſed by the emperor, and was on the point of commencing his journey. Herod, ſtill anxious till he had him in his power, leſt any precaution ſhould prevent his coming, wrote him letters of great apparent kindneſs, familiarly deſiring him to expedite his return; and telling him that, if he made haſte, he might compound for the offence of his mother, whom Antipater knew to be already baniſhed. When he arrived at Tarentum, he received a letter adviſing him of the death of Pheroras, which exceedingly ſhocked him. Some imputed the extremity of his ſorrow to his concern for the death of ſo near a relation; while others attributed it, not to his regard for Pheroras, but to his concern for the loſs of an accomplice and agent in his deteſtable plot, and his fear that what had been already done ſhould be diſcovered, and the whole ſtory of the poiſon be revealed.

Antipater is racked by foreboding fears; but at length perſuaded to expedite his journey homewards.

When he reached Celendris, he began to have certain foreboding ideas of what might happen, and could not avoid reflecting very ſeriouſly on the ſituation of his mother. They who were more prudent and cautious among his friends, adviſed him not to go forward to his father, till he received certain information of the cauſe of his mother's baniſhment; leſt he himſelf ſhould be involved in the crime imputed to her: but thoſe of leſs judgment, who wiſhed to reviſit their native place without regard to the conſequence to Antipater, urged his proceeding with all poſſible expedition; ſaying, that his delay might cauſe ſuſpicion, and furniſh arguments for his adverſaries; that if any thing was done againſt him, it would be during his abſence; for that if he were on the ſpot, no man would preſume to oppoſe him. They ſaid farther, that it would be the height of folly to hazard a real advantage for an idle chimæra: that his buſineſs was to make all expedition to his father, to be within reach of receiving a crown that could not deſcend to any other. Theſe arguments had their weight; and Antipater, as if impelled by a fatality, continued his voyage to the port of Sebaſte in Cæſarea.

He is ſhunned and hated by the people, but behaves with craft and diſſimulation.

He was aſtoniſhed, at his arrival there, to find himſelf avoided by the people, no one being willing to come near him. It is true that they hated him as much before, but did not ſhew it ſo openly. Some of them ſtood in fear of the king; the whole diſcourſe was of Antipater; yet Antipater himſelf the moſt ignorant of the ſubject. When he went to Rome it was in a diſtinguiſhed manner; but his return was altogether as contemptibly mean. He was now acquainted in general with the diſturbances and

and contentions in the family; but he had the ſenſe to diſguiſe his fears, and conceal an aching heart, by a ſmiling countenance. It was not now poſſible for him to make an eſcape, or relieve himſelf from his diſtreſs in any other manner. Still he was not abſolutely certain of the particular ſtate of affairs at home; for no one durſt come to inform him of them: ſo that, at times, he had hope, either that his crimes were undiſcovered, or that, by impoſition and confidence, he might acquit himſelf; and in theſe conſolations all his truſt was repoſed.

His treacherous embrace fearfully rejected by Herod.

Antipater advancing towards the palace with his friends, his train was contemptuouſly refuſed admittance at the outer gate, wherefore he went in by himſelf. It happened that Varus, governor of Syria, was preſent at this juncture. Antipater was no ſooner entered, than he had the aſſurance to addreſs Herod, as in a way of reſpectful duty; but, as he approached, Herod extended his hand to ſtop him; and, with a look of indignation, exclaimed, "Shall I thus ſubmit to the embrace of a parricide? Curſed be that impiety that prompts thee to approach me till thou haſt obviated the criminal charges againſt thee. For what purpoſe thinkeſt thou that Varus, thy judge, appears, but to paſs a ſentence agreeable to thy deſerts? Therefore, be gone, and prepare for thy defence againſt to-morrow, for I ſhall not allow thee a longer period." Aſtoniſhed at theſe words, Antipater was unable to reply, and immediately retired in gloomy ſilence. His mother and his wife going afterwards to him, informed him of every thing that had paſſed; which recovered him from his ſtupefaction, and induced him to conſider what he ſhould urge in his defence.

His appearance and addreſs before the council.

On the following day, Herod aſſembled a council of his friends and relations, and likewiſe of the friends of Antipater; himſelf and Varus preſiding in the court. He immediately ordered all the witneſſes to be brought in, among whom were ſeveral of the ſervants of Doris (the mother of Antipater), who had been long in confinement. Theſe ſervants produced letters from the mother to her ſon, to the following effect: "Your father is informed of all that has paſſed; therefore be cautious how you come near him, unleſs you can abſolutely rely on the protection of Cæſar." Soon after theſe witneſſes were introduced, Antipater came into the court, and throwing himſelf at his father's feet, ſaid, "I humbly intreat you, Sir, to hear me with impartiality: prejudge not my cauſe; and I have not a doubt of adducing the fulleſt proofs of my innocence." This was done in a very pathetic manner, accompanied with many tears and lamentations.

Nicolaus repreſents the crimes of Antipater in an odious light.

Nicolaus made a ſpeech, and, agreeable to the king's orders, prefaced it with remarks on the artifice of Antipater; charged him with crimes of a capital nature, and left him no room to hope for mercy. All the public miſconduct was attributed to Antipater; particularly the deſtruction of the brothers, which was evidently the effect of his traductions. He was charged with having practiſed againſt the ſurvivors, who were in the way of his advancement. It was urged, that he would not ſpare the brothers, who could entertain thoughts of poiſoning the father. When Nicolaus came to prove the intended poiſoning, he produced the evidences in order, declaimed on the crime of Pheroras, charged Antipater with having promoted the wickedneſs, corrupted the king's beſt friends, and made the palace a ſcene of lewdneſs.

Antipater declares his innocence, but is convicted, and committed to cuſtody.

Varus now demanded of Antipater, what he had to urge in his own defence; to which he made no other reply than by a ſolemn appeal to Heaven that he was wholly innocent. Hereupon, Varus called for the poiſon, and giving part of it to a perſon under ſentence of death, he expired immediately. Varus now conferred with Herod in private, ſent the proceedings to Cæſar, and departed the following day. Herod likewiſe ſent an account of the proſecution to the emperor, and committed Antipater to cloſe cuſtody.

His treacherous deſigns againſt Salome detected.

After this, Antipater was charged with a treacherous deſign againſt Salome. A ſervant of Antiphilus, on his return from Rome, brought the king a letter from Acme, an attendant on the empreſs, in which ſhe informed him, that having found among the papers of her miſtreſs a number of letters from Salome to Julia, ſhe thought the receipt of them would be deemed a favour by Herod. Theſe letters, which were the production of Antipater, were filled with the moſt ſcandalous invectives againſt, and reproaches of the king; and Acme was only employed to convey them to Herod, on the promiſe of an ample gratuity. What made the guilt of Antipater yet more evident, was a letter from this very Acme to him, conceived in the following terms: "Agreeable to your commands, I have written to your father, and have alſo ſent him other letters. You may be aſſured that, on the peruſal of them, the king will be ſufficiently enraged againſt his ſiſter. Now I have done my duty, let it be your care not to forget the promiſe you have made me."

Herod, reſenting Antipater's baſeneſs, alters his will, and excludes him from the ſucceſſion.

When this forgery had been detected, and other practices againſt Salome diſcovered, Herod was alarmed and aſtoniſhed on the reflection, that ſhe had ſo narrowly eſcaped from the ſnare laid by Antipater; and an idea now ſtrongly poſſeſſed his imagination that Alexander himſelf had fallen a ſacrifice to ſome ſuch artifice: wherefore, he was now reſolved, without loſs of time, to cauſe juſtice to be executed on Antipater, in the name of all the family: but, juſt at this juncture, Herod was prevented from carrying his plan into execution, by a violent fit of ſickneſs; however, he tranſmitted to Cæſar an account of the treacherous practices againſt Salome, with information how far Acme was concerned in the plot. This being done, he altered his will, and ſtriking

out the name of Antipater, inſerted that of Antipas in its place, but took no notice of Archelaus and Philip, though they were the elder brothers. To the emperor he bequeathed a thouſand talents, beſides other pecuniary gratifications. To the empreſs, her ſons, friends, and freed men, he left about fifty talents; and to other perſons, lands, and other legacies. To his ſiſter Salome he likewiſe made a very conſiderable bequeſt.

CHAP. XXI.

Unhappy State of HEROD in Mind and Body. JUDAS and MATTHIAS head a Tumult reſpecting HEROD's golden Eagle, which the Mob deſtroy. The Ringleaders put to Death. HEROD attempts to kill himſelf. ANTIPATER killed by Command of HEROD, who appoints ARCHELAUS his Succeſſor. Deceaſe of HEROD. His cruel Order not obeyed.

Herod's unhappy ſtate.

REDUCED by age, ſickneſs, and vexation, Herod grew every day more weak. He was now ſeventy years of age, and ſo bitterly lamented the death of his ſons, that, even when in tolerable health, he enjoyed not any ſatisfaction. He was now extremely ill; yet the idea that Antipater ſtill lived occaſioned him the moſt pungent ſorrow; for he had fixed his mind on giving orders for his execution on the firſt proper opportunity.

A tumult excited among the people.

At this juncture, a new diſturbance aroſe among the people, which was headed by Judas, the ſon of Sephoræus, and Matthias, the ſon of Margalus, two Sophiſts, diſtinguiſhed by their knowledge of the laws, and, of courſe, in high reputation with the people. Theſe men gave daily lectures, which were attended by amazing numbers of young men. When the Sophiſts were acquainted with the languiſhing ſituation of the king, between the violence of his diſorder and the agitation of his mind, they hinted to each other, that this was a proper time for vindicating the honour of God, by the deſtruction of ſuch works as had been erected in defiance of his holy laws: and they urged that the placing of images, or the ſimilitude of any living creature, in the temple, was poſitively forbidden. This was eaſily underſtood to refer to the golden eagle which Herod had cauſed to be placed on the great gate: and the merit of pulling it down was repreſented to the people as an object worthy any hazard they could run in defence of their laws and country: death in the attempt was mentioned as an honour, and a circumſtance that would be ſucceeded by eternal felicity. It was ſaid that baſe-minded people, and thoſe only who regarded the preſent moment, would wiſh to die in their beds, rather than fall a ſacrifice at the ſhrine of religion. While the people were attending to this doctrine, a report circulated that the king lay at the point of death. This circumſtance inflamed the paſſions of the multitude, ſome of whom aſcending the temple at noon-day, and thence deſcending by means of ropes, cut the eagle in pieces, while an immenſe croud of people attended as ſpectators. Intelligence of this affair being carried to the captain of the guards, he took a party of ſoldiers, who ſeized about forty of the ringleaders, and conducted them priſoners to the king. Herod aſked them, if they had been ſo preſumptuous as to break the golden eagle: they replied in the affirmative. He then demanded by what orders: they ſaid by the laws of their own country. He farther interrogated them how it could happen that they were ſo chearful, when they were certain of death; and to this they anſwered, that they were aſſured of a better exiſtence in a future life. Enraged at this apparent magnanimity, Herod ſeemed to forget his indiſpoſition through the force of his anger: he ſaid that they were a ſet of ſeditious and abandoned wretches, who ſought to deſtroy the government under a pretence of law: "But (added he) you ſhall be puniſhed in a way proportioned to the enormity of the crime of which you have been guilty." It was now thought that the king's anger might urge him to too great ſeverity: the people, therefore, requeſted that he would be ſatisfied with puniſhing the preſent priſoners, and the two principal agents, and extend his mercy to the others. This he at length complied with, ordering the two ringleaders, and thoſe who deſcended by the ropes, to be burnt alive, and the others of the combination to be beheaded by the common executioner.

Herod's golden eagle deſtroyed.

The principal agents puniſhed.

His dreadful and complicated diſorder.

The illneſs of Herod now increaſed, ſo that he was pained from head to foot; he had a burning fever, an itching all over his body, pain in his ſtomach, the gripes, and the dropſy: his ſecret parts were putrified, and infected with worms: he breathed with difficulty; his nerves were contracted, and he was univerſally convulſed. The ſuperſtitious imputed this complication of diſorders to a judgment on him for the death of the two Sophiſts: yet he was ſtill ſo anxious for life, that notwithſtanding his numerous diſorders and extreme torments, he hoped to find a cure. He croſſed the river Jordan, and tried the warm baths of Callirrhoe, the waters of which are at once grateful to the taſte and medicinal. After this, his phyſicians recommended a bath of warm oil; but on the firſt trial of it, he loſt his ſenſes, and his eyes were fixed. His ſituation now ſo alarmed his attendants, that they burſt out into an exclamation of grief, and were ſo loud in their expreſſions of ſorrow, that the very noiſe of them in ſome degree recalled his ſenſes. At length, however, finding that his ſituation was altogether hopeleſs, he directed that each of his ſoldiers ſhould receive a gratuity of fifty drachmas, and that a large ſum of money ſhould be diſtributed to his friends and governors.

On

His horrid and murderous intention against the nobility.

On his return to Jericho, when there was no longer expectation of his life, he ſeemed to bid defiance to futurity by one of the moſt horrid reſolutions that can be conceived; for the violence of his diſorder ſeemed only to inflame his rage, and render him more diabolical. He ſent an order through all the country of Judæa, that all the nobility ſhould be ſeized, and confined in the circus, or hippodrome. This order being iſſued, he addreſſed Salome, and her huſband Alexas, in the following manner: "I am very ſenſible that the day of my death will be celebrated by the Jews as a holiday; but if you will pay a proper attention to my directions, I have made an ample proviſion of mourners, and my funeral ſolemnities ſhall be properly celebrated. I therefore charge you that, as ſoon as I am abſolutely dead, you commiſſion the ſoldiers to enter the circus, and put to death all who are within it. By this mode of proceeding, my death will be ſincerely lamented by the whole province of Judæa, and every particular family therein."

Acme and Antipater condemned to death by Cæſar.

Herod had no ſooner given theſe directions, than his agents arrived from Rome, bringing him letters, which informed him, that Cæſar had ordered Acme, the ſervant of Julia, to be put to death; and that Antipater was likewiſe condemned to a ſimilar fate: but that the emperor would have no objection to his being puniſhed with baniſhment only, provided this was agreeable to his father. Theſe letters afforded Herod ſome preſent conſolation; but his violent pains ſoon returning, he was tempted to think of deſtroying himſelf. Being at this time afflicted with a violent cough, he took an apple, and aſked for a knife, as if he intended to pare or cut it. Thus provided, he looked around him, to ſee if any one took notice of him, and then lifted his hand as if to ſtab himſelf. This being ſeen by his nephew Achiab, he ran to him, ſeized his arm, and prevented the intended ſuicide.

Herod attempts to kill himſelf.

Antipater offers to bribe his keepers to releaſe him, which Herod hearing of, orders him to be put to death, and appoints Archelaus to ſucceed him.

This circumſtance gave immediate occaſion to the circulation of a report that the king was dead. The news furniſhed great cauſe of joy to Antipater, who hereupon offered his keepers a conſiderable ſum of money to grant him his liberty: but this the principal officer not only refuſed to comply with, but inſtantly went to the king, with an account of the affair. Herod now exclaimed with more ſtrength than could have been expected from one in his ſituation; and gave orders that his guards ſhould go directly and put Antipater to death, and take care to depoſit his body in the caſtle of Hyrcanion. This being done, Herod again altered his will, leaving the ſucceſſion to the eldeſt brother Archelaus, in the ſtead of Antipas, on whom he beſtowed a tetrarchy.

Death of Herod.

Five days after the execution of Antipater, Herod departed this life, having been thirty-ſeven years declared king by the Romans, and thirty-four years after the deceaſe of Antigonus. He was one of the moſt fortunate of men, the troubles in his own family excepted. From a private ſtation, he was raiſed to the rank of a king. He held the government for a long period, and at length bequeathed it to his family.

Salome liberates the nobles, whom Herod had devoted to deſtruction.

The military were as yet unacquainted with the death of the king; during which interval Salome and her huſband went to the hippodrome, and gave orders that all the priſoners who had been devoted to deſtruction ſhould be ſet at liberty, and every one permitted to retire to his own habitation; and this under the pretence that Herod had altered his reſolution. The priſoners were no ſooner at liberty than the ſoldiers were informed that the king was dead, and being aſſembled together at the amphitheatre of Jericho, Ptolemy, the keeper of the royal ſeal, addreſſed them in a ſpeech in honour of the deceaſed, whom he mentioned as a prince of ſingular good fortune, and condoled with them on the loſs they had ſuſtained. He then read a letter addreſſed particularly to the military, in which he warmly recommended his ſucceſſor to the affectionate regard of the public. In the next place, he read the will; whereby the kingdom was left to Archelaus; Philip was declared heir of Trachon, and its adjacencies; and Antipas, as before-mentioned, was appointed tetrarch. Herod alſo directed, by his will, that his ring ſhould be preſented to Cæſar, that he ſhould be acquainted with all that had paſſed, and nothing ſhould be ratified without his conſent. In other reſpects, the former will was to be deemed valid.

Ptolemy announces the death of Herod, recommends his ſucceſſor, and reads the will.

Congratulations on the advancement of Archelaus.

Hereupon, there was a general acclamation of "Long live Archelaus!" The ſoldiers and common people were equally free of their good wiſhes. The next care was to bury the deceaſed king, in which Archelaus was at great expence; directing that the funeral ſhould be accompanied with all the pomp of royalty. The hearſe was covered with purple, embroidered with gold, intermixed with precious ſtones. The body being placed herein, was likewiſe covered with purple; a diadem put on the head, and a crown of gold on that. In the right-hand was a ſceptre, and the children and near relations ſurrounded the corpſe. The body was preceded by the guards, Thracian troops, Germans and Gauls, who marched in military order. The other troops followed their commanders in a proper manner. The proceſſion was cloſed by five hundred officers, domeſtics and freemen. The body was depoſited in the caſtle of Herodion, agreeable to the deſire of the deceaſed.

Pompous funeral of Herod.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

ARCHELAUS goes to ROME, and PHILIP officiates for him. SABINUS retires to JERUSALEM, and demands Poſſeſſion of ſome Caſtles and Treaſure, but is refuſed. SABINUS and SALOME bring Charges againſt ARCHELAUS. His Defence. CÆSAR receives ARCHELAUS graciouſly, and adjourns the Court.

Archelaus is well recommended by the multitude.

NEW troubles aroſe from the neceſſity of Archelaus's going to Rome on the death of Herod. When the ſeven days of mourning were ended he advanced to the temple, dreſſed in white, and was received with all poſſible reſpect by the people; to whom, from a throne of gold, he behaved in the moſt gracious and condeſcending manner. Having thanked them for the attention they had paid to his father's funeral, and the honours they rendered to him as the ſucceſſor, he added, "But till Cæſar, our common ſovereign, has confirmed the ſucceſſion, I ſhall neither claim the authority, or even the name of king: and for this reaſon I refuſed the crown, when the army would have beſtowed it on me at Jericho: though I ſhall ever remember with gratitude the good wiſhes both of ſoldiers and people, when I am poſſeſſed of ſovereign authority through the favour of the emperor; and my friends may rely on my promiſe to ſerve them, even more effectually than my father has done."

The people clamorous reſpecting grievances.

This declaration gave great ſatisfaction to the people, who, determined to ſee if he would keep his promiſe, preſented petitions, ſome for the aboliſhment, ſome for the reduction of taxes, and others for the releaſe of priſoners. Archelaus complied with every requeſt, and then retired to ſacrifice and feaſt with his friends.

Freſh tumults break out.

A number of diſcontented people had now aſſembled, who complained much of the public grievances. They ſaid it was infamous in Herod to ſacrifice his people for cutting down the golden eagle from the gate of the temple. The clamour now grew general: ſome beat their breaſts; and others lamented, with violent outcries the loſs of ſuch a number of good men as had fallen ſacrifices for the religion and laws of their country. They demanded juſtice on the inſtruments Herod had made uſe of to execute his vengeance; and inſiſted that Herod's high-prieſt ſhould be deprived of his office, and a more upright man appointed in his ſtead.

Archelaus incenſed againſt the people, who inſult his meſſenger.

This circumſtance tranſported Archelaus with rage: but being in haſte to proſecute his journey, he thought it adviſeable to treat them with mild language, and therefore ſent his maſter of the horſe, to requeſt that they would be at peace: but he no ſooner came to the temple than the leaders of the mob began to aſſault him with ſtones, and would not permit him to ſpeak. Hereupon Archelaus ſent ſeveral other meſſengers, all of whom were treated in the ſame manner; ſo that, numbers excepted, the riot had the appearance of a rebellion.

An inſurrection at the paſſover.

The feaſt of the paſſover now approaching, great numbers of the Jews reſorted to the city, to celebrate their religious rites: among the reſt, were ſeveral of the faction of the two Sophiſts, who came to lament the death of the pretended patriots; and would not retire from the temple, where they waited in hope of inflaming the paſſions of their party. Archelaus, apprehending a general tumult, had previouſly ſent a band of ſoldiers, and a tribune, with orders to ſeize the ring-leaders, if any irregularities ſhould be committed. Theſe were attacked, ſome of them killed with ſtones, and the tribune dangerouſly wounded; while the inſurgents retired to their devotions, with as much unconcern as if nothing had happened. Archelaus being now convinced that force alone could quell them, ſtationed his infantry in the city, and the horſe before the walls. The infantry attacked them while ſacrificing, and killed three thouſand at the altar; on which the reſt fled to the mountains; and Archelaus ordering proclamation to be made that every man ſhould return home, the feſtival was at an end.

Some of the guards killed, and many of the Jews ſlaughtered.

Archelaus departs for Rome.

The tumult being thus ſuppreſſed, Archelaus, with his mother, and his friends Poplas, Ptolemy, and Nicolaus, embarked for Rome; but he left Philip to officiate in his abſence. Salome and her children, with the king's nephews and other relations, went with Archelaus, under pretence of aſſiſting his claim to the ſucceſſion; but in reality to procure him to be puniſhed for the violation of the temple.

Treacherous conduct of Sabinus.

When they arrived at Cæſarea, they met Sabinus, governor of Syria, who was on his way to Judæa, to take poſſeſſion of the money left by Herod; but he was prevailed on to ſtop his journey, by the influence of Varus and Ptolemy, at the requeſt of Archelaus. Wherefore he remained at Cæſarea, and promiſed neither to ſeize on the caſtles or money, to the prejudice of Archelaus, without the orders of Cæſar. But no ſooner was Varus gone towards Antioch, and Archelaus on his progreſs for Rome, than Sabinus repaired to Jeruſalem, took up his reſidence in the palace, and ſent to the governors of the caſtles, to deliver them into his hands; and to the officers of the treaſury, to account with him for the money: in anſwer to which they ſaid, they were the officers of Cæſar, not of Archelaus.

At

Antipas goes to Rome, and claims the kingdom of Judæa.

At this period, Antipas made claim to the kingdom, inſiſting that the former will was valid, by which the ſucceſſion was limited to him; and that he was certain his pretence would be ſupported by Salome, and the other relations who had ſailed with Archelaus. He took his mother with him, and Ptolemy, the brother of Nicolaus (a firm friend of Herod), which was greatly in his favour, for no two perſons were more eſteemed than they: but his chief dependence was on Irenæus, a man of abilities, and a ſkilful orator. Thus ſupported, Antipas thought himſelf ſo ſure of ſucceſs, that he would not liſten to any one who adviſed him to pay reſpect to the ſeniority of Archelaus, or to the ſecond will of his father. Antipas, on his arrival at Rome, was joined by the enemies of Archelaus, particularly thoſe who wiſhed to ſhake off the yoke of government, or be ruled by a Roman magiſtracy: but if this failed, they were content to acknowledge Antipas for their ſovereign.

Allegations in his favour; and memorial of Archelaus.

Antipas depended on the aſſiſtance of Sabinus, who had heretofore written letters in his favour to Cæſar, and likewiſe complained of Archelaus. Salome and her party ſtated the charge againſt Archelaus, and preſented it to Cæſar: Archelaus, on the contrary, wrote a memorial in his own favour, which, with his father's ſeal-ring, and an account of treaſure left behind him, were preſented to the emperor by Ptolemy. Cæſar reflecting on the importance and revenues of the kingdom, the numerous family of Herod, and the letters of Varus and Sabinus, aſſembled the Roman nobility in council, to try the merits of the caſe.

Antipater, the ſon of Salome, pleads as counſel for Antipas.

The cauſe was opened by Antipater, the ſon of Salome, who inſiſted that Archelaus had, in fact, long exerciſed the ſovereign authority, and it was idle now to contend about the name. "Why (ſaid he) ſhould that man appeal to Cæſar, who has already denied his judicial authority? Inſtantly on Herod's death the people were ſuborned to put the crown on his head. He ſat like a king, in royal ſtate, on a throne of gold; and aſſerted his authority by changing the order of the militia; by diſpoſing of places; by receiving and granting petitions; by ſetting priſoners at liberty, and aſſuming the power of life and death; all which are royal prerogatives. If this man, who has thus exerciſed royal power, be permitted to aſk the title of royalty of Cæſar, he makes Cæſar no more than a ſhadow; a king in name, and not in reality. Let me farther aſk, why Archelaus makes this farcical appearance every day of mourning for his father, when he ſpends each night in feaſting and carouſing? Was not the late ſedition occaſioned by the deteſtation that the people had for this hypocriſy?"

His account of the ſlaughter near the temple.

Antipater proceeding to recount the ſlaughter near the temple; ſaid, "It was the feſtival day, when the people aſſembling to worſhip were ſacrificed: that their throats were cut, and ſuch number of dead bodies piled round the temple, as had not been known in the moſt violent of foreign wars. Now (ſaid he) the implacableneſs of this man's nature was ſo well known to Herod, that it could not be thought he would demiſe the crown to him while he was in poſſeſſion of his intellects. The king's conduct juſtifies this obſervation: when he made the latter will, his mind was more diſordered than his body, and he was not maſter of his own conduct. No defect is charged on Antipas, the ſucceſſor by the former will; on the contrary, he is ſpoken of as a prince admirably calculated for government. But if it ſhould be allowed that Herod was in his right ſenſes, Archelaus, by ſubverting the laws of the conſtitution, has, in effect, abdicated the throne: and what miſchief would not this raſh youth do if he had Cæſar's authority to countenance his cruelties, ſince he has done thus much in deſpite of all authority?"

Nicolaus argues for the defendant.

Much to the ſame purpoſe having been urged by Antipater, and ſeveral of the relations of Archelaus having given evidence againſt him, Nicolaus ſtood up to ſpeak for the defendant. He inſiſted that the ſlaughter committed in the temple was not only abſolutely neceſſary, but that the parties who were ſlain were enemies of Cæſar. He likewiſe proved that the other alledged crimes were adviſed by thoſe who now oppoſed Archelaus. With reſpect to the ſecond will, he obſerved that it ought to be deemed valid, becauſe the teſtator, when he made it, referred the confirmation of it to Cæſar: a plain proof that the man muſt have ſenſe enough to appoint the right heir, who had ſo properly recognized the undoubted ſovereign.

Archelaus favourably received by Cæſar, who diſmiſſes the court without a deciſion.

Nicolaus having finiſhed his plea, Archelaus ſuddenly threw himſelf at the feet of Cæſar, who raiſed him ſo graciouſly, that it was thought he deemed him worthy to ſucceed his father; but for the preſent no reſolution was taken. Cæſar now diſmiſſed the council, and deliberated with his friends how he ſhould act. It was doubted if any of thoſe named in the will ſhould be choſen to the ſucceſſion; or whether the principality ſhould be divided among the family; for they were too numerous to be all properly ſupported at a moderate expence.

CHAP. II.

The JEWS continue riotous. The People reſort to the Feaſt of Pentecoſt. The Temple aſſaulted. A Battle enſues. The Galleries fired by the ROMANS. The Holy Treaſure pillaged by the Soldiers. Violent Troubles in JUDÆA. The Conduct of JUDAS, SIMON, and ASTRONGES.

Death of the mother of Archelaus,

MALTHACE, the mother of Archelaus, died before Cæſar had come to a reſolution reſpecting the ſucceſſion. In the

and a revolt among the Jews.

the interim, Varus ſent letters from Syria, reſpecting a revolt among the Jews, which he having foreſeen, went to Jeruſalem, when Archelaus departed to Rome, to keep the peace, taking three legions with him; but finding his endeavours ineffectual, he left one of the legions in the city, and returned to Antioch.

Sabinus inflames the uproar, and the people grow outrageous.

Sabinus going afterwards to Jeruſalem, inflamed the quarrel; for finding the troops left by Varus, beſides a number of his domeſtics, armed, and ready to ſecond his violence, his intention was to take poſſeſſion of the caſtles and money of Herod, by menacing the governors, and officers who had them in poſſeſſion. The feaſt of Pentecoſt happening at this time, the people aſſembled in prodigious numbers, not from motives of religion but of rage: vaſt multitudes came from Idumæa, Galilee, and Jericho, and the country beyond Jordan, excluſive of the inhabitants of Judæa, who were more courageous and numerous than the reſt. Having ſeparated into three bodies, they pitched their tents in different diviſions; one to the weſtward of the palace, one to the north of the temple, and the other to the ſouth of it, towards the hippodrome; ſo that the Romans were beſet on every ſide.

Sabinus preſſes Varus for relief, and the Romans attack the temple.

The courage of Sabinus began to fail; wherefore he ſent repeated meſſengers to Varus, to bring him immediately relief, or the conſequences would be fatal. In the mean time, he retreated to the tower of the caſtle of Phaſael, which commands all the reſt; and from thence made a ſignal to his troops to attack the enemy; but he had not courage to lead his men to the attack in perſon. The Romans now aſſailed the temple in a furious manner, and a bloody fight enſued; for while the Jews had no aſſiſtance from above, either with darts or arrows, the advantage lay with the Romans, from their ſuperior ſkill: but when the Jews obtained poſſeſſion of the galleries, they galled the Romans from thence, ſo that numbers were killed, and their companions too diſtant to revenge their loſs.

The Romans fire the galleries, and numbers of the Jews are burnt and ſlain.

Thus preſſed, the Romans ſet fire to the galleries, which were diſtinguiſhed by the elegance and ornament of their workmanſhip. Numbers of the Jews were burnt to death; many ſlain by the enemy when the galleries fell; and ſome puſhed from the battlements; while others deſtroyed themſelves with the ſword, chuſing rather to periſh that way than by fire. Thoſe who attacked the Romans from the walls were eaſily deſtroyed; and at length, a complete conqueſt being obtained, the ſoldiers ſeized the holy treaſure, to the amount of four hundred talents, leaving the reſt to Sabinus, except what had been clandeſtinely carried off.

The ſoldiers ſeize the ſacred treaſure.

The Jews ſummon the palace to ſurrender, and

In conſequence of this loſs, a more numerous and valiant body of Jews aſſembled; and ſetting down before the palace, ſummoned it to ſurrender, threatening to give no quarter on other conditions; but offering Sabinus leave to depart with his troops, among whom were numbers of volunteers, and three thouſand courageous men of Sebaſte: of theſe Rufus commanded the horſe, and Gratus the foot: they were valiant officers, and the favourites of their partizans. The Jews, urging the ſiege, attempted the walls of the caſtle; ſtill adviſing Sabinus to retire, and not provoke his fate, by oppoſing their reſolution to recover their liberties. Sabinus would have retreated, but he was afraid to truſt them, ſuſpecting ſome treachery was intended; wherefore he maintained the ſiege, in hopes that Varus would relieve him.

offer conditions, which Sabinus declines accepting.

At this time diſorders were univerſal in Judæa, and many waited an opportunity of inſulting the government. Two thouſand veterans, who had formerly ſerved under Herod, were aſſembled in Idumæa. They were well armed, ſkilfully commanded, and had frequently encountered the king's troops, under Achiab, kinſman to Herod, who was not able to cope with them in the open fields, but had ſucceſsfully attacked them in ſallies from fortified towns.

Violent factions in Judæa.

Judas, the ſon of Hezekias (the celebrated captain of robbers formerly made captive by Herod), was now in Sepphoris of Galilee, followed by a number of men who forced the royal magazines, and furniſhing themſelves with arms, &c. ravaged the country without oppoſition.

Judas, a notorious robber.

On the other ſide of the river was Simon, who had been a domeſtic of Herod's. He was diſtinguiſhed by the uncommon ſize, elegance, and ſymmetry of his perſon. He was followed by a ſet of vagabonds, and ranging the country with a crown on his head, burnt and deſtroyed as he went, even to Jericho, where he ſet fire to the palace, reduced to aſhes many adjacent buildings, and obtained a very valuable treaſure. He would probably have reduced the whole country, but that Gratus arrived with a body of the people from Sebaſte, and bowmen from Trachon; on which a battle enſued, when Simon was routed, with the loſs of many men; and while he was flying acroſs a ſteep bottom, Gratus killed him by a violent blow acroſs the neck and ſhoulders. Thus fell Simon: but there was another gang of depredators aſſembled near Amathus and the banks of Jordan, which ravaged all the adjacent country.

Simon captain of a banditti.

He is routed and ſlain by Gratus.

At this time one Aſtronges, a ſhepherd, preſumed on ſovereign authority. He was robuſt of body, of a ſtrength of mind to brave danger or death in any ſhape. He had four brothers who aſſiſted him, and acted as his officers and counſellors. Each man commanded a troop, and with theſe they ravaged the country. When buſineſs of conſequence demanded diſpatch, Aſtronges ſat on a throne with a crown on his head, iſſuing orders, and pronouncing judgment, in all the

Exploits of Aſtronges and his four brothers.

ftate of royalty. Thus the five brothers proceeded for a while, in deſpite of all oppoſition. They attacked the Romans, the king's troops, and even the Jews, when any advantage could be made by conqueſt. On a time when the Romans were convoying corn and arms to one of their legions, they were met near Emmaus, by the forces of Aſtronges, who ſlew Arius the centurion, and forty of his beſt troops, and would have deſtroyed them all, if, juſt at the juncture, Gratus had not arrived, with a number of his followers, from Sebaſte. The partizans of Aſtronges continued their depredations for a conſiderable time; equally attacking natives and ſtrangers, and making great booty: but at length three of the brothers were made priſoners, one of them by Archelaus, and two others by Gratus and Ptolemy; and a fourth ſurrendering himſelf to Archelaus, the confederacy was diſſolved: but in the mean time, Judæa was involved in all the diſtreſs conſequent on rebellious proceedings.

They attack and defeat a party of the Romans, but are at length all taken priſoners.

CHAP. III.

VARUS oppoſes the JEWS. SEPPHORIS burnt, SAPPHO plundered, and EMMAUS reduced to Aſhes. Many of the Ringleaders crucified. Generoſity of VARUS towards the JEWS of IDUMÆA.

Varus aſſiſts Sabinus againſt the Jews, routs them, and burns Sepphoris.

SABINUS and the principal officers at Jeruſalem having informed Varus that the legion there was in danger of being deſtroyed, he haſtened to their relief, marching with two legions and four diviſions of horſe, to Ptolemais, which he appointed as a rendezvous, for the king's and prince's auxiliaries to join him. On his way, he was reinforced by fifteen hundred armed men from Berytus; and when he reached Ptolemais he was joined by a large body of horſe and foot, under the command of Aretas, king of Arabia. Having drawn up his forces near Ptolemais, he diſpatched a diviſion into Galilee, under the care of Gallus, who ſoon encountered and routed a party of the enemy, entered the city of Sepphoris, reduced it to aſhes, and enſlaved the inhabitants.

Sappho taken and plundered, and Emmaus laid in aſhes.

In the mean time, Varus proceeded to Samaria, but did not attack the city, becauſe the inhabitants were unconcerned in the revolt. He next encamped at Arus, a village in the poſſeſſion of Ptolemy, which the Arabians deſtroyed becauſe he was a friend of Herod. The army now proceeded to the fortified town of Sappho, which was taken and plundered. The Arabians deſtroyed as they went. Emmaus being abandoned, they burnt it by order of Varus, in revenge for the death of Arius and his aſſociates.

The Jews quit the ſiege of Jeruſalem on the approach of Varus.

Varus now proceeded towards Jeruſalem, and the Jews abandoned the ſiege on his approach. Some fled to the woods and fields; but the citizens in general bade him welcome to the town, declared that they were unconcerned in the ſedition, which they attributed to others. They ſaid, that ſo far from joining the inſurgents, they were themſelves as much blocked up as the Romans; but as it was a public day, they could not hinder people from coming into the town. Varus was met on his approach by Joſeph, the nephew of Archelaus, Rufus and Gratus, generals to the king, the people of Sebaſte, and the Roman ſoldiers in their military array. Sabinus was afraid to ſee Varus, but had privately retreated to the ſea-coaſt. In the interim, Varus diſpatched troops through the country, in ſearch of the principal authors of the inſurrection, of whom they found great numbers. Varus ordered near two thouſand of the moſt criminal to be crucified, and gave directions that many others ſhould be committed to priſon.

Two thouſand of the inſurgents crucified.

Varus diſmiſſes the Arabians, and generouſly treats the Jews of Idumæa.

Varus now diſcharged the Arabians, who had not acted like ſoldiers of honour, but devoted themſelves to ſpoil and plunder, and made great devaſtation where-ever they came. He now received information that ten thouſand Jews were in arms near Idumæa; on which he put himſelf at the head of his troops, and marched directly to oppoſe them: but before an attack was made, the Jews, adviſed by Achiab, ſurrendered, and laid down their arms. Varus was not ſevere with the common men; but ſent the officers to Cæſar, to anſwer for their conduct. Some he pardoned; but finding ſome relations of Herod among the number, he cauſed them to be treated as traitors to the king. Varus having thus adjuſted affairs at Jeruſalem, returned to Antioch, leaving behind him the legion which had been previouſly eſtabliſhed as a garriſon to the city.

CHAP. IV.

The JEWS petitioning CÆSAR for the free Exerciſe of their Religion, he ſummonſes a Council. ARCHELAUS defended by NICOLAUS. The Cauſe heard by CÆSAR, who ſettles the Government, and adjuſts the Will of HEROD.

Petition of the Jews to Cæſar, for civil and religious liberty.

DURING the above-mentioned tranſactions in Judæa, an affair happened at Rome that poſtponed the views of Archelaus. Fifty deputies, with the conſent of Varus, had been ſent from Jeruſalem to Rome, to petition Cæſar, in the names of their employers, that the Jews might be admitted to the free exerciſe of their religion; and this petition

was ſeconded by eight thouſand Jews, who were reſident at Rome. Hereupon, Cæſar ſummoned a council of his friends among the nobility, to meet him in the temple of Apollo, on Mount Palatine; a building which he had erected with equal expence and elegance. When the council met, Archelaus and his friends ranged themſelves on one hand, and a great number of the Jews and their embaſſadors on the other. The relations of Archelaus ſeemed to act a neutral part. The ill-will they bore him would not permit them to eſpouſe his cauſe; and, at the ſame time, they were aſhamed to oppoſe a prince of the blood, by taking part with his enemies. Among others who were preſent, was Philip, the brother of Archelaus, whom Varus had diſpatched on two friendly motives: the firſt was, that he might be ready to aid his brother, if his ſervice ſhould be wanted; and the other, that he might obtain a ſhare in the government, if Cæſar ſhould determine to divide it among the children of Herod.

Account of the proceedings of the council.

Nicolaus inveighs againſt the Jews.

Nicolaus extenuated the crimes which had been alledged againſt the kings, and then proceeded to draw the general character of the Jewiſh nation. He inſiſted that they were a people averſe to regal government, and impatient of controul of any kind; and he concluded by remarking on the conduct of the relations of Archelaus, who had taken part with his accuſers.

Cæſar divides the kingdom of Judæa between Archelaus and Philip and Antipas.

Cæſar, having heard both parties, diſmiſſed the council; and, after a few days conſideration, gave Archelaus half the kingdom, with the title of ethnarch (which ſignifies governor, or ruler), and promiſed him that of KING, if he ſhould appear to merit it. The other half he divided between Philip and Antipas, ſons of Herod, (the latter of whom had diſputed the ſovereignty with Archelaus) and theſe were called tetrarchs. To the ſhare of Antipas fell the country near the river, and Galilee, of the annual value of two hundred talents. Philip obtained Batanæa, Trachon, and Auranitis, with part of the land of Zenon, near Jamnia, with one hundred talents yearly. The ethnarchy of Archelaus amounted to four hundred talents, and conſiſted of Idumæa, all Judæa, and Samaria; but to this laſt was remitted a fourth of its tribute, as a gratuity for not being concerned in the rebellion with their neighbours. To Archelaus's lot there fell Straton's Tower, Sebaſte, Joppa, and Jeruſalem: but the Greek cities of Gaza, Gadara, and Hyppon, were ſeparated from the kingdom, and annexed to Syria. To Salome, excluſive of what the king had left her, Cæſar gave Jamnia, Aſotus, and Phaſaelis, with a palace at Aſkalon; all eſtimated at ſixty talents: but the palace was made ſubject to the dominion of the ethnarchy. When Cæſar had adjuſted the affairs of Herod's will, he gratified his two daughters with a preſent of five hundred pieces of minted money, on their marriage with the ſons of Pheroras; and finally, on the diviſions of Herod's patrimony, he diſtributed among the family a thouſand talents, which were left to himſelf, reſerving only a few trifling articles, in remembrance of the teſtator.

Liberal grant to Salome.

CHAP. V.

An Impoſtor perſonates ALEXANDER. *He is detected, condemned to the Gallies, and the Author of the Scheme put to Death.*

A ſpurious Alexander, and his impoſitions on the Jews.

A Certain young Jew, who was educated at Sidon, with the freed-man of a Roman citizen, now undertook to perſonate Alexander, who had been put to death by Herod; and went to Rome for the purpoſe of carrying on the impoſition. There went with him, in order to adviſe and ſupport him, another Jew, who was a perfect maſter of the perſons of the court of Herod, and their intrigues. This man inſtructed his companion to ſay, that the men who were engaged by his father to put him and his brother Ariſtobulus to death, had relented in their favour, and, having conveyed them out of danger, ſubſtituted other bodies in their ſtead. Many Jews of Crete believing this ſtory, furniſhed the impoſtor with abundant neceſſaries for his ſupport; on which, he went to Melos, where he was received and accommodated in the moſt bountiful manner. His behaviour was ſo plauſible, that he prevailed on many friends to attend him to Rome. When he came to Puteoli, he was preſented with valuable preſents by the Jews of that place, while the friends of his ſuppoſed father paid him the reſpect due to a ſovereign prince. In fact, there was ſuch an amazing likeneſs between him and the real Alexander, that they who had ſeen the latter did not ſcruple to ſwear that he was the ſame. So much credit had this ſtory gained in the world, that the Jews of Rome flocked about him, thronging every ſtreet through which he was to paſs; carrying him about in a chair of ſtate, and contributing by every inſtance of reſpect and munificence, to give an air of reality to the counterfeit.

The impoſture detected by means of Celadus.

Cæſar recollected the features of Alexander, whom he had ſeen when brought before him on the accuſation of Herod: however, he ſent Celadus, who was perfectly acquainted with the deceaſed, to bring this young man to him: not that Cæſar gave any credit to this alledged ſtory; but it was proper that ſomething ſhould be done in a matter of ſo much importance. Celadus had a ſtrong ſuſpicion of his being an impoſtor at the firſt view; and his opinion was confirmed beyond all doubt, when he remarked the coarſeneſs of his ſkin, the inelegance of his ſhape, and the aukwardneſs of his addreſs: but what particularly ſtruck Celadus was the confidence of his manner. Inquiring reſpecting Ariſtobulus, he ſaid, he was in health, but lived at Cyprus, to be

out of danger; for, if they were together, the conſequence of a ſurpriſe might be fatal. Celadus now took him aſide, and told him he knew he was an impoſtor; but that if he would give up the contriver of the plot, Cæſar would ſpare his life. This he readily engaged to do, and attended Celadus to Cæſar, to whom he diſcovered the name of the Jew who had put him upon this plan of raiſing money. And, in fact, more money had been acquired from the credulity of thoſe citizens he had viſited, than the real Alexander could have procured. Cæſar could not help ſmiling at the abſurdity of the contrivance; but, in the end, condemned the counterfeit Alexander to the gallies, a ſervice adapted to his athletic frame; and ordered his aſſociate to be put to death. With regard to the people of Melos, he thought them ſufficiently puniſhed in the expence they had incurred.

He is condemned to the gallies, and the projector put to death.

CHAP. VI.

ARCHELAUS baniſhed, and his Eſtate ſeized. Two remarkable Dreams. Princeſs GLAPHYRA's Viſion of her firſt Huſband, and her Death two Days afterwards.

ARCHELAUS was no ſooner ſettled in his government than old animoſities revived in his mind; and he was very ſevere both on Jews and Samaritans; and theſe joining to ſend an embaſſy to Cæſar againſt him, he was baniſhed to Vienne, a city of Gaul, and his whole eſtate ſeized on, in the ninth year of his government.

Dream of Archelaus.

A ſtory is related of a dream that Archelaus had, previous to his being ſummoned to attend Cæſar. He dreamt that he ſaw ſome oxen eating nine large full ears of corn; and he applied to divers Chaldæans and magicians for an interpretation. Their opinions were various; but Simon, an Eſſene, interpreted it as follows: "Nine years are meant by theſe ears of corn: the oxen ſignify overturning, or changing of things, as the earth is overturned by the plough. You will reign as many years as there were ears of corn, and die after various changes of fortune." Archelaus was ſummoned to plead his cauſe before Cæſar within five days of this interpretation of the dream.

Princeſs Glaphyra's ſtrange dream, viſion, and death.

The princeſs Glaphyra, daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, and wife of Archelaus above-mentioned, had likewiſe a ſingular dream. She had been firſt married to Alexander, brother of Archelaus, and ſon of Herod, who cauſed him to be put to death. After his fatal exit, ſhe was married to Juba, king of Lybia, and on his demiſe ſhe went and lived with her father. On the firſt ſeeing her, Archelaus, the ethnarch, fell ſo violently in love with her, that he diſmiſſed his wife Mariamne, and married her. Not long after this, ſhe returned to Judæa, where ſhe beheld her firſt huſband in a viſion, who reproached her in the following manner: "Abandoned woman! would not one huſband after me ſuffice thee? And art thou ſhameleſs enough to wed a third, and even under my roof? This third, too, my own brother? This is an inſult not to be borne: but thy conduct will not avail thee: I will have thee again, in deſpite of thy will." Glaphyra died two days after ſhe had related this dream to her friends.

Herod and Philip (named Antipas) now remained in poſſeſſion of their tetrarchies, the ethnarchy of Archelaus being reduced to a province. Salome died, and left her eſtate to the empreſs Livia, and alſo a nurſery of palm-trees at Phaſaelis.

Death of Auguſtus, who is ſucceeded by Tiberius.

After a reign of ſomething more than fifty-ſeven years, Auguſtus died, and Tiberius, the ſon of Livia, ſucceeded to the empire of Rome. A city called Cæſarea, was built in Paneas, by Philip the tetrarch. It was ſituated at the head of the river Jordan. He likewiſe built another in Gaulanitis, which he named Julias. Tiberias in Galilee, and Julias in Peræa, were built by Herod.

Rigorous proceedings of Pilate, governor of Judæa.

At this time Judæa was governed by Pilate, and Tiberius ſending him thither to take charge of his government, he privately conveyed into Jeruſalem, by night, ſome enſigns of Cæſar, with his image on them. Hereupon, the Jews grew tumultuous, apprehending the loſs of their religion and liberties, by this inſult on their laws, which ſtrictly forbid the bringing of images into the city. Great numbers of people from all parts of the province ſoon inflamed the uproar in the city; on which the Jews went in a body to Cæſarea, beſeeching Pilate to ſhew his regard to their laws, by directing the images to be removed. Pilate paid no attention to their remonſtrances; on which, the Jews threw themſelves on the ground near his houſe, and continued in that poſture five days and nights.

Introduces enſigns into the city, which being reſolutely oppoſed by the Jews, he is induced to remove them.

Pilate aſcended a tribunal in the great court on the ſixth day, and ſummoned the Jews, as if to acquaint them with his determination: but, on a ſignal being given, they inſtantly found themſelves ſurrounded by armed ſoldiers, three in depth. The Jews were alarmed at this circumſtance, and ſtill more, when Pilate declared that, unleſs they received the enſigns into the city, they ſhould all of them periſh; and hereon, he commanded the ſoldiers to draw their ſwords. On this, the Jews threw themſelves on the ground before the ſoldiers, and ſtretched out their necks to the ſtroke of the ſword, unanimouſly declaring that they would die rather than ſubmit to a violation of their laws. This magnanimity of behaviour aſtoniſhed Pilate to ſuch a degree, that he gave immediate orders for the removal of the enſigns.

Another tumult on ac-

Another contention immediately followed the above. The Jews poſſeſs a ſa-

cred

count of a tax, which Pilate ſuppreſſes by an artful and bloody method.

cred treaſure, which bears the name of corban; and on this Pilate impoſed a tax towards the expence of bringing water, by means of aqueducts, from the diſtance of three hundred furlongs. This circumſtance ſo enraged the common people, that they freely complained of it to Pilate, while he ſat upon the tribunal. But Pilate had taken care to provide for the conſequences of a riot, by ordering diſguiſed ſoldiers to mix with the mob, and attack them when directions ſhould be given; but they were commanded not to draw their ſwords, but make uſe of cudgels only, in caſe of an inſurrection, The mob growing riotous and ungovernable, Pilate gave the ſignal to the ſoldiers, who obeyed his orders by doing great execution. Many of the Jews were deſtroyed, ſome by the blows they received, ſome were trampled to death in the croud, and others killed in the purſuit. This chaſtiſement affected the multitude to ſuch a degree that they made no more complaints; and thus the riot was effectually quelled.

Agrippa complains of Herod to Tiberius, and is impriſoned.

Some time after this, Agrippa (the ſon of that Ariſtobulus who was put to death by his father Herod) went to Tiberius with a complaint againſt Herod the tetrach; but the emperor diſregarding it, Agrippa remained at Rome in the character of a private gentleman; and inſinuated himſelf with perſons of the firſt rank, particularly with Caius the ſon of Germanicus. It happened that when Agrippa was entertaining Caius at his table, he, in the height of his feſtivity, extended his arm, and ſaid, "I ſhould be happy to ſee Caius maſter of the world inſtead of Tiberius." The emperor being informed of this ſpeech, Agrippa was committed to priſon, where he remained, in a ſhocking ſituation, till the death of the emperor, which happened at the end of about ſix months, and in the three and twentieth year of his reign.

He is releaſed and promoted by Caius.

When Caius Cæſar was advanced to the throne, he releaſed Agrippa, and beſtowed on him the tetrarchy of Philip (lately deceaſed), with the title of king. Herod, the tetrarch, greatly envied him for this promotion; and Herodias, his wife, inflamed his ambition to the hope of poſſeſſing the kingdom. She uſed to tell him that he had loſt it by his idleneſs; that he might have had it for the trouble of a journey to Cæſar, and making the requeſt. "Caius (ſaid ſhe) would not have made the leaſt ſcruple of advancing you to the dignity of a king, from that of a tetrarch, when he could ſo readily promote Agrippa to that rank, from that of a private man." Thus ſtimulated, Herod went to Cæſar, and was immediately followed by Agrippa; but the emperor was ſo far from complying with the ambitious views of Herod, that he reprimanded him for his avarice, and beſtowed his tetrarchy on Agrippa. The expectations of Herod being thus fruſtrated, he and his wife retired to Spain, where he died.

CHAP. VII.

Impiety and Cruelty of CAIUS CÆSAR. Account of MEMNON's Sepulchre. The JEWS at PTOLEMAIS petition PETRONIUS for Relief, reſpecting his Order for placing CÆSAR's Statues in the Temple. He writes CÆSAR an Account of the Tranſactions, who ſends an Order to put PETRONIUS to Death; but his own Death prevents the Execution of it.

Caius pretends to be a god, becomes cruel, and orders his ſtatues to be ſet up in the Jewiſh temple.

ANIMATED by ſucceſs, Caius Cæſar was impious enough to aſſume the character of a god, and to demand divine honours. He cauſed ſuch numbers of the Roman nobility to be beheaded, that he almoſt extirpated the order, and debilitated his country by thoſe frequent executions. Nor did his cruelty ſtop here; but he extended it to Judæa, whither he ſent Petronius, with a commiſſion to erect his ſtatues in the temple, to execute every one who might oppoſe this order, and to make ſlaves of the reſt of the Jews. But Providence mercifully interfered. Petronius haſtily marched from Antioch towards Judæa, with three legions, and a number of auxiliary forces from Syria. The Jews were ſo amazed at the intelligence of this expedition, that few of them could credit its reality; and they who did were unable to defend themſelves: and when the army had reached Ptolemais, an univerſal anxiety enſued.

Deſcription of Ptolemais.

Ptolemais is ſituated on a large plain, on the coaſt of Galilee. This city is ſurrounded with mountains to the eaſtward, diſtant ſixty furlongs. Theſe mountains belong to the ſouth part of Galilee, with mount Carmel, diſtant one hundred and twenty ſtadia northwards; where is likewiſe a high mountain, called the Tyrian Ladder, which is alſo diſtant one hundred and twenty ſtadia. Two ſtadia from the town is a ſmall river, in the neighbourhood of Belus, near which is ſituated the ſepulchre of Memnon, adjacent to a proſpect near a hundred cubits over, which has ſomething very ſingular in it. It appears like a circular valley, yielding a ſort of glaſſy ſand. This ſand is met by ſhips, which carry it away; but a freſh ſtock is ſtill ſupplied by the winds from the top of the mountains. This place naturally turns any thing that comes into it to glaſs; but the moſt ſingular circumſtance is, that when the ſand has been vitrified, it will turn to ſand again, only on its being thrown on the banks; ſuch is the peculiar nature of the ſoil.

Tomb of Memnon.

The Jews petition Petronius reſpecting the ſtatues, and he argues in favour of deſtruc-

vour of their erection.

deſtruction of ſo many unoffending perſons. So earneſt and ſo numerous were the petitioners, and ſo unfortunate their ſituation, that Petronius was induced to leave his army, and the ſtatues of the emperor at Ptolemais; and proceeding towards Galilee, he ſummoned the Jews of every denomination to attend him at Tiberias. When he arrived there, he repreſented to them the ſtrength and power of Rome, and the threats of the emperor; adding, that the requeſt of the Jews was a kind of affront, ſince they had no right to diſpute the orders for placing the emperor's ſtatues in their temples, among the other gods, as they were ſubmitted to by all the other ſubjects of the empire. He inſinuated that their expoſtulations had the air of rebellion, and himſelf, next to Cæſar, was intereſted in the affair.

Expoſtulations of the Jews, who perſiſt in their oppoſition.

The Jews had nothing to urge, but that the erecting images, either of God or man, in any place, ſacred or profane, was altogether contrary to the laws and cuſtoms of their country. "But (ſaid Petronius) ought I not to keep the laws of my maſter as well as you thoſe of yours; and if I ſhould violate them in your favour, ſhould I not deſerve puniſhment? You are not now oppoſed by Petronius, but by Cæſar; for I am equally a ſervant with yourſelves." Hereupon, all the people made a declaration that they would never ſubmit to a violation of their laws, though their lives were to pay the penalty of their reſiſtance.

Petronius's reply on their perſeverance.

The tumult having ſomewhat ſubſided, Petronius aſked if they were determined to take up arms againſt Cæſar. They replied in the negative; and that they offered up daily prayers for him, and for all the inhabitants of Rome: but that if Cæſar perſiſted in his reſolution to place images in their temple, he ſought the ready method to ſacrifice the whole body of the Jews; for that themſelves, their wives, and their children, were all ready to yield up their lives on the occaſion. This united reſolution of ſuch a multitude, all zealous in the cauſe of religion, had ſuch an effect on Petronius, that he broke up the aſſembly without coming to any determination.

He uſes gentle methods to obtain their conſent.

On the following day, however, he went privately to ſome of the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſons among them; and likewiſe, on the ſame day, addreſſed himſelf in public to the common people; at one time adviſing them as a friend; then urging the invincible courage of the Romans, and the danger of incurring the diſpleaſure of Cæſar; and repreſenting, likewiſe, the obligations he was under of obeying his commands.

Petronius relents, intereſts himſelf in their behalf, conducts his army to Antioch, and ſends to the emperor.

When he found that all theſe arguments were in vain, and that the Jews had already loſt the ſeaſon of ſowing their corn (for the controverſy had continued near fifty days), he told them he had determined to run an imminent hazard on their account: "I will engage (ſaid he) either to ſatisfy Cæſar, and thereby ſave both you and myſelf; or, if that cannot be done, my life ſhall pay the ſacrifice of my zeal." The multitude now offered up vows and prayers for his welfare; on which he diſmiſſed them, and retired with his army from Ptolemais to Antioch. From Antioch he diſpatched a meſſenger to Cæſar, with an account of his method of entering into Judæa, where all the people had united in one general requeſt, the denial of which he thought would riſk the loſs of the whole province. He ſaid they demanded only the protection of their own laws againſt all innovations. In anſwer to this letter, Caius gave immediate orders that Petronius ſhould be put to death for not having executed his orders. But contrary winds detaining thoſe who carried this expreſs, it did not arrive till twenty-ſeven days after news had come, by a ſhorter paſſage, that Caius was dead.

Caius ſentences Petronius to death, which is prevented by his own.

CHAP. VIII.

CLAUDIUS declared, by the Army, ſucceſſor of CAIUS. A Soldier aſſerts the Honour of CLAUDIUS. AGRIPPA prevents the Loſs of CLAUDIUS's Party. Riches and Power of AGRIPPA. Account of the walling of JERUSALEM. AGRIPPA dies at CÆSAREA, after reigning three Years.

Claudius declared emperor by the army.

AFTER a reign of three years and ſix months, Caius was treacherouſly deſtroyed; and the army, which was then at Rome, beſtowed the government on Claudius. Three companies were appointed as a guard to the city, by Sentius Saturninus, and Pomponius Secundus, the conſuls, agreeable to the order of the ſenate, which aſſembled in the capitol, and reſolved to oppoſe Claudius, in revenge of the cruelties of Caius, and with a view to reduce the government to an ariſtocracy, as it anciently had been, when the adminiſtration was compoſed of the moſt worthy men. Agrippa happening to arrive at this period, the council invited him to a ſeat in the ſenate, and Claudius ſolicited him to ſide with the army; as he was deemed a valuable acquiſition to either party. Agrippa, conſidering Claudius already in the light of an emperor, made no ſcruple of attaching himſelf to his intereſt, and was by him diſpatched on an embaſſy to the ſenate. His buſineſs was, to declare that Claudius having been choſen emperor by the army, it was intirely their act, without any conſent of his own; and as the tranſaction was irretrievably paſt, it was not in his power to recede, conſiſtently either with his ſafety or honour: for, to decline the dignity would appear as if he deſpiſed the ſoldiers; and if he ſeemed inſenſible of the obligation, they would be inſtigated to revenge. Agrippa repeatedly urged, that as Claudius was already choſen, he could not think of reſigning; ſince, even if he did, he ſhould be ſtill conſidered as the ſovereign of their choice:

Agrippa takes part with Claudius.

choice: but that as the eſſential point was gained, and he was in actual poſſeſſion of the government, he was determined to diſcharge the duties of his office, as a prince who had a real affection for his people, and not, as a tyrant, ſeeking the gratification of his own will. He ſaid that Claudius would reſt ſatisfied with the name of emperor, but take advice of the ſenate in ſtate affairs: "For (ſaid he) the ſhocking fate of Caius would make Claudius unaſſuming, if he was not naturally diſpoſed to temperance and moderation."

He mediates between Claudius and the ſenate.

Agrippa having delivered his commiſſion, the ſenate (who relied on their own conduct, and their influence with the army) replied, that "they were not men who would ſubmit to voluntary ſlavery." This meſſage was carried to Claudius, who immediately ſent Agrippa back with an anſwer to the ſenate, importing that Claudius was not of a diſpoſition to betray thoſe friends who had advanced him to the empire: that he was diſturbed at the idea of having any diſpute with the ſenate; but that if the affair muſt be determined by force of arms, he wiſhed they would fix on a ſpot without the city for their deciſion; ſince it were pity that Rome itſelf ſhould be made a ſcene of blood, and reduced to aſhes, only to indulge the humour of a few violent men. Agrippa delivered this meſſage to the ſenate, agreeable to his orders from Claudius.

A ſoldier addreſſes his comrades in favour of Claudius, and is followed by the nobility.

While affairs were in this ſituation, one of the ſoldiers who was preſent advanced, and drew his ſword, ſaying, "Why, my companions, ſhould we remain thus in rancorous enmity with our beſt friends, and ſtand on the precipice of a civil war, becauſe we adhere to Claudius, who is an emperor of unblemiſhed character, and a prince whom we ought not to oppoſe with arms, as an enemy, but rather treat him with duty and reſpect, as our protector?" Having thus ſaid, he proceeded through the midſt of the court, and was followed by the reſt of the ſoldiers. The nobles were alarmed at the probable conſequences of this deſertion; and finding that oppoſition availed nothing, they followed the example of the military, and retired, declaring for Claudius. In the mean time a number of officious ſoldiers were watching under the walls, with drawn ſwords, to kill them as they came out; and all of them would probably have been ſacrificed, before Claudius was acquainted with the affair, if Agrippa had not appriſed him of it, in time to prevent the ſlaughter, and expreſsly told him, that if he did not reſtrain the licentiouſneſs of the army, particularly towards the nobility, devaſtation would ſtalk at large, and, in a little time, he would be reduced to a prince of a deſert only, inſtead of being the ſovereign of a mighty empire.

Claudius, by Agrippa's advice, pacifies the ſoldiers, and amply rewards his friends.

This advice was followed by Claudius, who brought his ſoldiers to obedience, treated the ſenators in his camp with reſpect and friendſhip; and then, agreeable to cuſtom, proceeded with them to offer ſacrifices and prayers for the welfare of the empire. Claudius now gave to Agrippa not only the whole of his father's kingdom, but likewiſe thoſe places which Auguſtus had beſtowed upon Herod, viz. Auronitis, and Trachonitis; with a diſtrict that bore the name of the kingdom of Lyſanias. The emperor ordered the particulars of this grant to be ſignified to the people, and directed that the ſenate ſhould have the ſame engraved in braſs, and placed in the capitol. On Herod, the brother of Agrippa, he beſtowed the kingdom of Chalcis; this Herod, by marrying his daughter Berenice, being now become his ſon-in-law.

Agrippa begins to wall Jeruſalem, but dies before the work is completed.

The wealth and power now poſſeſſed by Agrippa exceeded all deſcription; but he did not waſte his riches in trifling or idle purſuits. He ſoon ſet about the walling of Jeruſalem; and if it had been completed in the manner it was begun, it never would have yielded to the Roman force: but he left this great work unfiniſhed, dying at Cæſarea, after a reign of three years: having governed as a tetrarch three previous years. By his wife Cypris he left three daughters; Berenice, Mariamne, and Druſilla; and a ſon named Agrippa, who being very young at the time of his father's death, the kingdom was reduced into a province by Claudius, who beſtowed the government of it on Cuſpius Fadus, who was ſucceeded by Tiberius Alexander, who held the people in peace, by leaving the laws and cuſtoms of the country unviolated. Soon after this, died Herod, the governor of Chalcis, who left two ſons, named Berenicianus and Hyrcanus, by Berenice, the daughter of his brother; and Ariſtobulus, by Mariamne, his former wife. Another brother, Ariſtobulus, died a private man, and left a daughter, called Jotapa. It has been already mentioned that theſe were the children of Ariſtobulus, the ſon of Herod. But Mariamne bore to Herod two ſons, named Alexander and Ariſtobulus, who were put to death by order of their father. After this the children of Alexander were governors in Armenia the Greater.

Deaths of Herod and Ariſtobulus, the ſons of Herod.

CHAP. IX.

A vile Affront to the JEWS, and its Conſequences. The Books of MOSES torn and burnt by a Soldier, who is put to Death. A Quarrel between the JEWS of GALILEE and SAMARIA. CUMANUS and the SAMARITANS heard at ROME, by CÆSAR, who paſſes Judgment, and orders Execution. Death of CLAUDIUS, who is ſucceeded by NERO. Infamous Character of the latter.

Herod ſucceeded by Agrippa, and Tiberius Alexander by Cumanus.

HEROD of Chalcis being dead, Agrippa, the ſon of Agrippa, was advanced by the emperor to the kingdom of his uncle; and that of Judæa was governed by Cumanus, who ſucceeded Tiberius Alexander. During the adminiſtration of the latter

many

many freſh misfortunes overtook the Jews. While the people were aſſembled in prodigious numbers at Jeruſalem, to celebrate the feſtival of unleavened bread, a guard of ſoldiers was ſtationed at the gate of the temple, to prevent diſorders, according to the uſual cuſtom. Among theſe ſoldiers, was one, who, turning up his bare poſteriors in the midſt of the company, made a diſagreeable noiſe, correſponding with the indecency of the action. This inflamed the multitude to ſuch a degree, that preſſing in crowds to Cumanus, they demanded juſtice on the ſoldier for the inſult: and among the reſt, ſome violent young men proceeded to high words, and quarrelling, and ſtruck the ſoldiers, and pelted them with ſtones. Cumanus, fearing the conſequences of a popular inſurrection, ſent other ſoldiers to ſupport the former; which occaſioned ſuch terror to the Jews, that they endeavoured all in their power to get out of the temple; but the throng was ſo great in the paſſages, that near ten thouſand were preſſed or trod to death. This circumſtance turned the Jewiſh feſtival into mourning: there were tears and lamentations in every houſe; for the calamity was ſo general that every family ſhared it.

A Roman ſoldier, by inſulting the Jews, occaſions a tumult, in which many are killed.

No ſooner was this misfortune ended, than it was ſucceeded by another. A domeſtic of Cæſar, named Stephen, being on a journey with ſome houſhold-goods belonging to his maſter, was attacked by a ſet of thieves who robbed him near Bethoron. Hereupon Cumanus ſent a party to ſeize the inhabitants of the adjacent villages, and bring them in bonds to anſwer for not apprehending the robbers. While ſearching for theſe people, a ſoldier happening to meet with the books of Moſes, tore, and threw them in the fire. Affronted by this inſult, the Jews aſſembled in multitudes, and in the hurry of their zeal repaired to Cumanus in Cæſarea, and urged him in the moſt violent manner to puniſh the author of ſo daring an outrage on the law of God. Cumanus, finding that the people would not be appeaſed, ordered the ſoldier to be brought forth, and put to death in their preſence: and thus the tumult ſubſided.

Another tumult occaſioned by a robbery, and the books of the law torn by a ſoldier.

At this period an unhappy diſpute likewiſe happened between the Jews of Galilee, and thoſe of Samaria. A Galilean Jew being going to worſhip at a feſtival at Jeruſalem, was killed as he was paſſing through the village of Geman in the plain of Samaria. Hereupon the Galilæans aſſembled in a body, to take vengeance on the Samaritans by force of arms. Thoſe of better rank applied to Cumanus, and adviſed him to go to Galilee before the matter went too far, and do juſtice on the murderers, on a ſtrict ſcrutiny. Cumanus, otherwiſe employed, would not interfere. The report of this violence reaching Jeruſalem, the people were beyond meaſure inflamed, and reſolved to attack Samaria, notwithſtanding all the arguments that could be uſed to

Quarrel between the Jews of Galilee and Samaria.

reſtrain them. The ringleaders of theſe outrages were Eleazar, the ſon of Dinæas, and Alexander; who making inroads into the diſtrict of Acrabatena, deſtroyed men, women and children, with the ſword, and burnt the country.

Cumanus hearing of theſe ravages, advanced with a party of horſe from Sebaſte, to relieve the country; and deſtroyed and made priſoners many of Eleazar's adherents. With regard to thoſe who had made ſuch ravages in Samaria, the officers and principal people in Jeruſalem went after them in ſackcloth and aſhes, entreating them, by every perſuaſive argument, to abandon their deſign. "Do not (ſaid they) let your rage againſt Samaria deſtroy Jeruſalem. Pity your country, temple, city, and wives; the fate of all being at ſtake in this conteſt; let not the idea of avenging one poor Galilean, coſt you all that you hold dear in the world." The Jews were at length pacified by theſe remonſtrances.

The ravages of Eleazar and Alexander ſuppreſſed by Cumanus.

Peace being naturally productive of ſloth, robberies of every kind became now very common; the countries were infeſted with men of violence, and the greater villains preyed upon the leſs. At this time Numidius Quadratus being governor of Syria, was applied to, at Tyre, by the principal of the Samaritans, who repreſented how greatly their country was infeſted by robbers. Jonathan, the ſon of Ananus, the high-prieſt, was preſent, with a conſiderable number of Jews of diſtinction. Jonathan replied to their complaints by blaming the Samaritans, as the authors of the inſurrection, by the death of the Galilean: and likewiſe hinted that Cumanus's neglect of properly puniſhing the offenders had produced all the fatal conſequences.

Judæa infeſted with robbers.

When Quadratus had heard thus much of the affair, he poſtponed the farther conſideration of it till he ſhould arrive in Judæa, where he might obtain fuller information reſpecting it. He now went to Cæſarea, and ordered the execution of thoſe perſons whom Cumanus had made priſoners; and then proceeded to Lydda, where he again heard the cauſe, and ordered eighteen of the principal Jews, who were proved to have been concerned, to be beheaded. He ſent ſome of the noble Samaritans to Cæſar; likewiſe Jonathan and Ananias, high-prieſts of the Jews, Ananus ſon of Ananias, and other Jews of diſtinction. Cumanus, and Celer the tribune, he alſo ſent to Rome, to anſwer for their conduct to the emperor. Having thus adjuſted affairs, he went to Jeruſalem; but retired to Antioch, on finding that the people were in the peaceable celebration of their feaſt of unleavened bread.

Complaints of them made to Quadratus, who cauſes ſeveral to be executed.

The trial coming on at Rome, Agrippa was now an advocate for the Jews, and Cumanus had many friends to ſupport him; but when Cæſar had heard his defence, and that of the Samaritans, he ordered three of the moſt eminent of the latter to be beheaded; Cumanus to be baniſhed; Celer the tribune to be

Cæſar pronounces judgment on the offenders.

ſent in chains to Jeruſalem, dragged through the city and beheaded, and the Jews to ſee the ſentence executed. This done, he conſtituted Felix, brother of Pallas, Governor of Judæa, Samaria, Galilee, and Peræa. He advanced Agrippa from the kingdom of Chalcis to a better government, giving him likewiſe Trachonitis, Batanæa, with the tetrarchy that Varus had held, and the kingdom of Lyſanias.

Death of Claudius and ſucceſſion of Nero;

Claudius died after a reign of thirteen years, eight months and twenty days; and was ſucceeded by Nero, who had been artfully introduced to the government by his wife Agrippina, though the emperor had a lawful ſon named Britannicus, by his former wife Meſſalina; and Octavia, a daughter, whom Nero married. He had likewiſe a daughter called Antonia, by Æl. Petina.

who proves a moſt flagitious and abandoned prince.

Nero made a moſt profligate uſe of his power and fortune. He imbrued his hands in the blood of his mother, wife, and brother, and treated other near relations with equal inhumanity. He degraded the character of the emperor by the buffooneries of a ſtage-player. But theſe facts being commonly known, and foreign to my purpoſe, I proceed with my narrative.

CHAP. X.

Robbers defeated by FELIX, and their Captain made Priſoner. The SICARII kill the High-Prieſt. A Magician pretends to be a Prophet, and advances towards JERUSALEM with 30,000 Men. He is routed by FELIX. The JEWS and SYRIANS near CÆSAREA quarrel. The Cauſe referred to CÆSAR. FELIX is ſucceeded by FESTUS.

Commiſſions and bounties granted by Nero.

NERO beſtowed the government of the Leſſer Armenia on Ariſtobulus, the ſon of Herod, and to Agrippa's territory he added the cities of Taricheæ and Tiberias in Galilee, and Abila and Julias in Peræa. He granted the remainder to Felix, who was no ſooner veſted with his authority, than he made war on the robbers, who had now infeſted the country for twenty years; making priſoner Eleazar their captain, with ſeveral others, whom he ſent to Rome. The number of thieves killed, taken priſoners, or put to death judicially, with thoſe kept in priſon, including the country people who joined them, was incredibly great.

Felix chaſtiſes the robbers.

Outrages committed by the Sicarii, who murder many people.

Theſe miſcreants being routed, another ſet of villains appeared, who were called Sicarii, from Sica, the poniard uſed by them. Theſe uſed to commit murders in the open ſtreets of Jeruſalem, particularly when the city was crouded on public days. They carried ſhort daggers under their cloaths, and privately ſtabbed thoſe they had an enmity to; and when a murder was committed were the firſt to wonder at the crime. This practice was continued ſome time before the authors of it were ſuſpected. Jonathan, the high-prieſt, was the firſt who fell by their hands, and daily murders followed his death. The citizens were ſo alarmed, that their apprehenſions aggravated the reality: for the danger in battle was not greater than in walking the ſtreets: every man at a diſtance was ſuſpected for an enemy, and people were afraid of their approaching friends: yet the murderers were ſo dextrous at their work, that vigilance itſelf could not guard againſt them.

Miſchievous effects of a ſet of enthuſiaſts, many of whom Felix deſtroys.

Another ſet now aroſe, whoſe tongues were as miſchievous as the weapons of the former. Though they ſhed no blood, their doctrines were worſe than daggers, utterly contaminating the minds of the people. Theſe enthuſiaſts, under pretence of religion, propagated ſtrange doctrines. They enticed the people into woods and ſolitary places, pretending that God had determined to give them abſolute liberty, of which he would grant them infallible aſſurance by ſigns from heaven. Felix, foreſeeing that this plan tended only to foment a rebellion, diſpatched a body of troops after the enthuſiaſts, by which great numbers of them were deſtroyed.

An Egyptian magician and falſe prophet defeated, and numbers of his deluded followers ſlain

This calamity was followed by another, not leſs diſagreeable than the former. An Egyptian magician, pretending to be a prophet, had collected a body of thirty thouſand men, whom he conducted, by the way of the wilderneſs, to Mount Olivet, whence he propoſed to proceed to Jeruſalem, drive off the Roman garriſon, and take poſſeſſion of the city and country; being properly provided for this enterpriſe with counſellors and guards. Felix, foreſeeing that delay would increaſe danger, aſſembled his Roman legions, and a body of Jews, and advanced towards the Egyptian, whom he totally routed, killing numbers of his people, making many priſoners, whom he bound in chains, and diſperſing the reſt. The Egyptian, and ſome of his friends, ſought their ſafety in flight.

A lawleſs banditti excite the people to revolt and commit great devaſtations.

When the body is diſtempered, one diſorder frequently ſucceeds another: and thus it was with nations. The robbers and magicians now concerted with each other how they ſhould engage the people to ſhake off the Roman yoke, and aſſert an abſolute liberty. To effect this, they uſed arguments and menaces, threatening with death thoſe who denied their authority. Their view was to reduce thoſe by terror, who would otherwiſe have ſubmitted to voluntary ſlavery. Theſe people were diſperſed through the country, plundering the houſes of the rich, and killing and burning as they went: ſo that Judæa was reduced to the utmoſt degree of confuſion and deſpair.

Quarrel between the Jews and Syrians, concerning the property of Cæſarea.

Some diſorders now likewiſe aroſe near Cæſarea, on a diſpute between the Jews and Syrians, who lived together in a promiſcuous manner. The Jews inſiſted that the city belonged to them, as it was founded by king Herod, who was a Jew. The Syrians inſiſted that it could not have been built by a Jew,

Jew, but that it had belonged to the Gentiles: for if it were the property of the Jews, they would not have permitted the erection of temples and ſtatues therein. This debate at length grew to ſuch a height, that each party had recourſe to arms, and many violences were daily committed by the moſt active diſputants of each party. On the one hand the elders gave their beſt advice, and exerted their utmoſt authority, to appeaſe the Jews; but they would not ſubmit to reaſon: and, on the other hand, the Greeks thought it beneath them to yield in any reſpect to the Jews. It was acknowledged that the Jews were richer and more courageous than the Greeks; but the latter had greater intereſt with the ſoldiers: for at this time the Roman army being in Syria, were ready to take part with the Greeks, as their relations and countrymen. The magiſtrates and officers exerted themſelves, by ſevere diſcipline, to ſuppreſs the diſturbances: the moſt obſtinate being impriſoned, whipped, chained, and otherwiſe puniſhed. But though ſome of them ſuffered ſeverely, it had no effect on the reſt; for they only grew more daring through the exertion of that authority which was uſed to ſuppreſs them.

Felix orders the faction to quit the city; and at length refers the matter to Cæſar.

At length, when Felix found that nothing could reduce the people to reaſon, he ordered proclamation to be made for the faction immediately to quit the city; but many remaining in contempt of theſe orders, the governor diſpatched a party of ſoldiers, who killed ſeveral of them, and ſeized their effects. Still, however, the ſedition increaſed, on which the governor choſe and ſent ſome of the leading men of each party, as commiſſioners, to Nero, to plead their own cauſe. Felix was ſucceeded by Feſtus, who vigorouſly attacked the robbers who had principally infeſted the province, many of whom he apprehended, and put to death.

CHAP. XI.

FESTUS is ſucceeded by ALBINUS, and he by FLORUS. SYRIA governed by CESTIUS GALLUS. FLORUS endeavours to incite the JEWS to Rebellion. CÆSAR decrees in Favour of the GREEKS of CÆSAREA. Origin of the JEWISH War.

Albinus ſucceeds Feſtus, and proves a corrupt governor.

FESTUS was ſucceeded by Albinus, whoſe government was unlike that of his predeceſſor. This man was ſo abandoned as to be equal to every vice. Avarice, corruption, extortion, oppreſſion, public and private, were equally familiar to him. He accepted bribes in civil and perſonal cauſes, and oppreſſed the nation by the weight of arbitrary taxes. If any offender, however atrocious, convicted of robbery or aſſault by himſelf, or any other magiſtrate, was under ſentence of the law, a friend and a bribe would enſure his liberty; and this governor never found a man guilty who had money to prove his innocence.

He joins himſelf to a mutinous party, and oppreſſes the people.

At this time a faction prevailed at Jeruſalem; and, wiſhing a change of government, the moſt opulent of them previouſly compounded with Albinus, in caſe a diſturbance ſhould happen. There was likewiſe a ſet of men who could not be eaſy while the ſtate was at peace; and Albinus engaged theſe in his intereſt. The leaders of theſe mutineers were each of them attended by daring fellows of their own turn of mind; but the governor was the moſt abandoned villain of the whole, and had guards always ready to execute his orders. The event proved that the injured did not dare to complain; thoſe who were in any danger of loſing part of their property were glad to compound to ſave the reſt, and the receivers proved the worſt of thieves. In fact, there appeared to be no ſenſe of honour remaining; and a new ſlavery ſeemed predicted from the number of tyrants already in power.

Geſſius Florus, ſucceſſor of Albinus, a ſtill more abandoned perſon, for cruelty, rapine, and avarice.

Such were the manners and character of Albinus, who was ſucceeded by Geſſius Florus, whoſe principles were ſo much more abandoned, that the former ſeemed innocent on the compariſon. Albinus was treacherous, but obſerved a ſecrecy in his crimes that had the appearance of modeſty: but Geſſius was ſo conſummate in his wickedneſs, that he boaſted of his atrocious behaviour, and declared himſelf the general enemy of the nation. His conduct in his province was more like that of an executioner than a governor; for he treated all the people like criminals, and extended his rapine and tyranny beyond all bounds. He was equally devoid of compaſſion, and dead to all ſenſe of honour; cruel to the unfortunate, and utterly abandoned in caſes ſo enormous, that impudence itſelf would bluſh at the recollection of them. He exceeded all the men of his time in making lyes and impoſition paſs for truth; and was equally artful in diſcovering new modes of doing miſchief. He could not be contented with the idea of deſtroying a whole nation by ſlow degrees; but his vengeance extended to the ſweeping away whole cities, and extirpating the body of the people at once. He gave ſuch encouragement to the ſons of rapine and plunder, that he might as well have proclaimed that every man was at liberty to ſeize whatever he could lay his hands on, provided that he himſelf obtained a ſhare of the plunder. His avarice was carried to ſo extravagant a pitch, that the inhabitants of the province were reduced to a degree of poverty little ſhort of ſtarving; and many of them left the country in abſolute want of the neceſſaries of life.

The Jews accuſe him to Gallus, governor of Syria.

At this time Ceſtius Gallus had the command in Syria, and it was then deemed dangerous for any Jew to complain of the conduct of Florus; notwithſtanding which, when Gallus went to Jeruſalem, at the feaſt of unleavened bread, a number of Jews, not leſs than three hundred thouſand, applied to Gallus, to have compaſſion on a wretched people, and relieve the province from the infamous government of Florus. This proceeding was immediately made known to Florus,

who was so far from being concerned at it, that he made a perfect jest of the affair. In the interim, Cestius, having used his utmost endeavours to calm the passions of the multitude, by assuring them that Florus should treat them with more humanity for the future, returned to Antioch. Florus attended Gallus on his journey as far as Cæsarea, recounting many improbable tales to him as they travelled; but, in the mean time, revolving in his own mind the necessity of a war with the Jews, as the only method to prevent a rigid scrutiny into his actions, and thereby remain unpunished. He apprehended that, if peace should continue, the cause would be brought before Cæsar, which might be attended with dangerous consequences; and, that if he could but incite them to a revolt, the lesser calamity might be lost in the greater: wherefore he thought the most effectual method of consulting his own safety, would be by gradually forcing them into a rebellion.

Florus endeavours to excite a rebellion in Judæa, to screen his villany.

Rise of the Jewish war.

At this time the Greeks of Cæsarea had carried their cause against the Jews before Cæsar, who had pronounced sentence in their behalf; a circumstance that was the origin of the Jewish war. This sentence is dated in the month Artemisius, in the seventeenth year of the reign of Agrippa, and the twelfth of Nero.

CHAP. XII.

An Affront offered to the JEWS. Perfidy of FLORUS. A Sacrifice in Mockery of the JEWS. The Books of the Law removed by them. FLORUS foments the Dissension. The JEWS complain, but are treated with Contempt. Savage Orders and shocking Cruelties of FLORUS.

REBELLION appeared to be the natural consequence of a tyranny, such as that exercised by Florus: but the Jews bore their insults with patience, and the end was at length accomplished by the affair of Cæsarea.

Ill treatment of the Jews by the Greeks of Cæsarea.

Adjoining to the place which the Jews used as a synagogue, a certain Greek of Cæsarea had a house, which the Jews wanted to purchase; and frequently treating with the owner of it, offered him more than its value: but he was so far from regarding their offers, that instead of endeavouring to accommodate them, he, in mere malice, crouded a number of small shops into the passage, which almost blocked it up, so that the way to the synagogue was barely sufficient for a single person to pass. Affronted by this insult, some Jewish young men, in the heat of passion, went to the workmen, and warned them to proceed at their peril. This order of theirs was countermanded by Florus, whom the Jews now, therefore, thought it necessary to soften by means of a bribe. Some of the chief of them assembled on this business, among whom was one John, who farmed the royal customs; and these contracted with Florus to forbid the building, on the receipt of eight talents. The governor took the money, and promised to give the necessary directions: but he had no sooner received it than he went from Cæsarea to Sebaste, as if on purpose to increase the dispute; and as if he triumphed in the opportunity he gave them of murdering each other.

The Jewish sabbath falling on the following day, a malicious Cæsarean placed an earthen vessel, with a sacrifice of birds upon it, before the door of the synagogue, while the people were assembled within at their devotions. This ridicule and mockery of their solemnities had such an effect on the Jews, that they lost all patience at the profane derision. The principal and more moderate men among them were for making an appeal to government for redress of the injury; while the young men, of warmer passions, were only for verbal disputes and blows; nor were the Cæsareans less forward to come to an encounter; for the previous sacrifice had been made on purpose to produce a quarrel, and the event was as follows.

The Jews insulted on the sabbath by a mock sacrifice.

It happened that Jucundus, a captain of horse, who had been appointed to keep the peace, arrived at the critical juncture; and having given orders for the vessel above-mentioned to be removed, he did all in his power to quell the disturbance. The Jews finding that the Cæsareans were too powerful for Jucundus, took the books of their law, and conveyed them to the province of Narbata, at the distance of about sixty furlongs from Cæsarea. Then twelve of their principal people, attended by John, the farmer of the customs, repaired to Florus at Sebaste, complaining of what had happened, and petitioning for redress; with a slight hint of the eight talents he had received. Florus instantly ordered them into custody; and his pretence was, their having removed their law from Cæsarea.

Jucundus endeavours, tho' in vain, to suppress the tumult.

The Jews of Jerusalem were inexpressibly astonished at this conduct of Florus; but they thought it prudent, at present, not to be free in expressing their sentiments. In the mean time Florus continued to foment the sedition: and that he might do it the more effectually, he sent and demanded seventeen talents out of the treasury, in the name, and as for the service of the emperor. This circumstance caused great confusion among the Jews, who ran backwards and forwards about the temple, exclaiming as if they were distracted, and calling on the name of Cæsar, demanding a deliverance from the inhumanities of Florus, whom they pursued with curses, clamour, and every kind of insult. One of them, in derision of the governor, carried a basket on his back through the streets, begging of alms for the poor unfortunate Florus. These reflections, however, had no other effect on him, than the making him more avaricious, and more malignant. Florus, also, instead of suppressing the sedition at Cæsarea on its first

Florus, by his extravagant demand, incenses the Jews to outrage.

Instances of his mal administration and profligacy.

firſt commencement, as it was his duty to have done, marched with a body of horſe and foot to Jeruſalem, where he made the power of Rome ſubſervient only to the gratification of his paſſions of revenge, pride, and avarice; and he filled the minds of the people where-ever he went, with terror and apprehenſion.

Moderation of the Jews, and Florus's contemptuous carriage towards them.

Notwithſtanding all the indignities that he had offered to the public, the people ſtill continued to pay an apparent reſpect to Florus, going out to meet him in his way, and complimenting him by thoſe honourable marks of eſteem which are cuſtomary in ſimilar caſes. While they were thus diſpoſed to pay him every poſſible honour on his entrance into the city, Florus defeated the compliment by ſending to them a centurion, named Capito, with fifty horſe, to impede their journey. Capito delivered to them a meſſage to the following effect: "In the name, and by the command of Florus, I am to direct that you return home; and to inform you that the man whom you have ſo freely treated, partly in a ſerious way, and partly in ridicule, cannot be induced to form a more favourable opinion of you for your falſe and complimentary ſpeeches. If you are really men of courage and reſolution, as you would wiſh to be thought, why do you not abuſe, by ſcurrilous language, that man to his face, whom you have been ſo free to cenſure in his abſence; and aſſert, by force of arms, that liberty for which you have clamoured ſo loudly?" Daunted by this rebuke, and frightened by the ſudden attack of the ſoldiers, the terrified multitude diſperſed, without waiting to congratulate Florus, or to pay thoſe reſpects to the ſoldiers which are uſual on ſuch occaſions. In fact, every man retired to his own habitation, not a little diſturbed by the reſtleſs anxiety of his fears.

His threatens reſpecting the diſorderly Jews; and calm reply of their brethren

At this time Florus reſided in the palace; and on the following day he aſcended the tribunal, attended by the high-prieſt, and the principal perſons of the city. He made many ſevere reflections on the free and inſulting ſpeeches that had been made to his prejudice, and poſitively demanded that the authors of them ſhould be diſcovered, and delivered up; threatening, at the ſame time, that he would be revenged on thoſe in the place, if the guilty were not ſurrendered. To this the Jews replied, that "The majority of their people were peaceable; and with regard to thoſe who had ſpoken freely, they intreated pardon for them; ſince it could not be ſuppoſed but that, in ſuch an immenſe number, ſome raſh and violent men would be found. Nor was it poſſible clearly to diſtinguiſh the innocent from the guilty; ſince thoſe who might have repented of what they had done, would not be free to acknowledge the fact. Wherefore they ſubmitted to the conſideration of Florus, whether the greateſt ſervice that could, in this caſe, be rendered to the empire of Rome, would not be to conſult the ſafety of the city and people, by keeping them firm in their allegiance to the emperor. They ſaid they would farther adviſe, in caſe matters came to extremities, that ſome of the criminals might be ſpared, in compaſſion to ſo many innocent perſons; rather than that the unoffending ſhould be deſtroyed, in revenge of the inſult of the guilty few."

His barbarous orders, and ſubſequent cruelties, particularly to the Jewiſh nobles.

All the effect this reaſoning had on Florus was, to increaſe his rage to ſuch a degree, that he ordered the ſoldiers to the great market in the upper town, to pillage the place, and kill all they ſhould encounter. The ſoldiers finding their commander had given them this licenſe to plunder, not only executed their orders againſt thoſe places and people within their directions, but made equally free with every houſe, and deſtroyed the inhabitants without diſtinction; committing ſimilar violence on thoſe they found on their flight, in bye-ways and in ſecret places. In a word, they heſitated not to make booty by any means. Several of the nobility being ſeized and conducted to Florus, he gave orders that they ſhould be whipped and crucified. It is eſtimated that ſix hundred and thirty perſons were ſacrificed on that day, including women and children; for even infants at the mothers' breaſts were not ſpared. This misfortune, how terrible ſoever in itſelf, appeared the worſe for its ſingularity; for before the time of Florus it was never known that the Jewiſh nobility were whipped and gibbetted like ſlaves; for the Roman dignity was held ſacred, though they were Jews by extraction.

CHAP. XIII.

BERENICE repairs to JERUSALEM to pay a Vow. She applies to FLORUS in Behalf of the JEWS. The Animoſity of the People againſt FLORUS. Fatal Effects of his Scheme. He is repulſed in his Attempt on the Caſtle, abandons his Deſign, and retires to CÆSAREA.

Berenice intercedes for the Jews, but Florus is inflexibly bent on plunder and bloodſhed.

NERO having made Alexander governor of Egypt, Agrippa was now gone to Alexandria, to pay him a viſit. Berenice, ſiſter of Alexander, was at Jeruſalem, greatly afflicted on account of the tumults which had ariſen, ſo that ſhe ſent ſome of her officers and guards to Florus, to intreat that he would reſtrain his indignation, and ſhed no more blood. But Florus was alike inſenſible of the crime he had been guilty of, or of the honour of the mediatrix. His ſoul was proſtituted to the luſt of plunder, and he deſpiſed all other conſiderations: ſo that the ſoldiers were permitted to continue their maſſacres, notwithſtanding the preſence of Berenice, who would certainly have been ſacrificed if ſhe had not eſcaped from her palace, where ſhe had ſpent a ſleepleſs night, attended by her guards. She now went to Jeruſalem, for the purpoſe of paying a vow to

Mode in which Bere-

God,

nice performed her vow at Jerusalem.

God, as usual after deliverance from sickness, or other imminent danger. Agreeable to custom, she continued in prayer thirty days, abstaining from wine, and shaving her hair. It was now the sixteenth of the month Artemisius, when Berenice was in the daily course of her devotion, standing bare-foot before the tribunal, and soliciting Florus in behalf of the people; but she had not met with any success, and her pious office was undertaken at the risk of her life.

The people are incensed against Florus. but pacified by the high-priests.

On the following day, the people assembled in the market-place of the upper town, exclaiming most violently against those who had murdered their friends on the preceding day: but Florus was particularly the object of their rage and resentment. The high-priests and men of eminence were so apprehensive of the danger of again inciting the wrath of Florus, that they rent their garments, and going among the people, intreated them not to talk so freely, for that every ill consequence was to be dreaded from the vengeance of Florus. The passions of the people now began to subside; partly through respect to the mediators, and partly in the hope that the malice of the governor was at an end.

Contrivance of Florus to foment new troubles.

This return of peace was painful to Florus, who began to consider how he might foment a new disturbance. With this view, he sent for the high-priests and principal people among the Jews to attend him; and informed them that two companies were coming from Cæsarea, and if the people would go out and meet them on the way, it would be deemed a substantial proof of their affection to the government. This proposal being readily acceded to, Florus gave directions to the centurions, that if the Jews, on their meeting, should treat them with civility and respect, they should not pay the least compliment in return: and if this behaviour should be resented, even in the slightest degree, that they should immediately have recourse to arms.

Peaceable disposition of the priests and Levites.

The high-priests having assembled the Jews in the temple, solemnly charged them to go out, meet the Romans on the road, and pay them great respect, lest any ill consequences should ensue. There were several rash people among them who opposed this motion; and the rest of the company, inspired by sentiments of revenge for the late slaughter of their friends, were ready enough to coincide with them in opinion. At this juncture all the priests and Levites arrived, exposing to view the holy vessels, and other precious ornaments of the temple; likewise the choristers, and the organists with their musical instruments, all addressing the people, and earnestly imploring them to preserve sacred the honour of the temple, which would probably be rifled by the Romans, if they should be irritated. Several of the high-priests appeared, with ashes on their heads, their breasts bare, and their garments torn; who first applied themselves to every person of eminence, separately, and then addressed the people in general, intreating that they would not permit a slight disagreement to encourage the proceedings of those people who wished the ruin of their country. "In what manner, (said they) will the Romans be benefited, if you treat them with the same degree of respect that you have formerly done; or how can the Jews be sufferers by refusing this degree of respect? On the contrary, if you treat them in an honourable manner, and according to the rules of good breeding, Florus can form no pretence for molesting you; and, in the end, this conduct will relieve your country from the calamities that are otherwise to be dreaded. You will likewise reflect on the great disproportion between the peaceable majority of the people and a few turbulent incendiaries; and how probable it is that the smaller number should be over-ruled by the greater.

The Jews inclined to peace, but, being irritated by the Roman soldiers, they revile Florus. and a terrible destruction of them ensues.

The arguments and the authority of those who reasoned, had such an effect upon the multitude, that the most violent men among them were at length prevailed on to listen to the dictates of reason. When affairs were brought into this happy way, the principal people attended the priests, and marched out to receive the soldiers, being followed by the multitude in a regular manner. The Jews being come near enough to pay their compliments, saluted the Romans; but their salutation being received with silent contempt, the more violent among them began immediately to revile Florus, as the author and contriver of all the calamities they had endured. Agreeable to the hint given them, the soldiers instantly attacked the Jews with clubs and cudgels, totally routed them, and trampled numbers under the feet of their horses. Many of them died of the blows they received, others were crushed to death in the crowd, or smothered, by striving to get first out at the gate, where they only hindered each other; so that, on the whole, the spectacle was a dreadful one; many being maimed and bruised in such a manner that their bodies were so disfigured that the survivors could not know their friends, so as to afford them a decent funeral. In a word, the enemy destroyed all within their reach; but their principal aim was to get between the Jews and the gate of Bezeth, which was a passage leading to the castle of Antonia and the temple. In the mean time Florus sallied from the palace, with all the troops under his command, on the rear of the Jews, with a view of making himself master of the castle: but the Jews rallying, and making head against him, his design was frustrated. By this time, many of the Jews had taken possession of the houses, from the roofs of which they assaulted the Romans with such violent showers of stones and darts, that, unable to make any resistance, or press through the crouds of people in the narrow streets, Florus was compelled to retreat to the palace, with the remainder of his troops. As the Jews apprehended Florus would return to the attack, and make an attempt on the temple

Florus is repulsed, in his attempt on the castle.

ple by the way of Fort Antonia, they immediately cut down a gallery which communicated between that fort and the temple. Florus was so mortified by this circumstance, that he abandoned the enterprise, finding his project hopeless, and his avarice disappointed; for his principal view was to seize the holy treasure. He now held a conference with the high-priest and the senate; informing them that he meant to quit the city, but would leave them such a garrison as they should require. To this they answered, that if no new innovations took place, they thought one company would suffice; but hoped it might not be that company with which the people had already quarrelled; for having greatly suffered by them, they were prejudiced against them. Agreeable to their request, Florus ordered another company, and then returned to Cæsarea with the remainder of his army.

Florus, disappointed of gratifying his avarice, confers with the senate, and returns to Cæsarea with his army.

CHAP. XIV.

FLORUS represents the JEWS to CESTIUS as the Enemies of CÆSAR. POLITIANUS fixed on to make the Inquiry. He meets, consults AGRIPPA, and speaks in Favour of the JEWS. AGRIPPA reflects on the War in a religious and conscientious View. He assuages the Tumult; but the Rage of the People is re-inflamed.

Florus falsely charges the Jews to Cestius with being enemies to Cæsar.

AS soon as Florus arrived at Cæsarea, he endeavoured to devise a new mode of propagating a war, which he communicated in a letter to Cestius, governor of Syria, in which he charged the Jews with having revolted; but that was so notorious a falsehood, that he himself was guilty of the very crimes which he imputed to the Jews. The queen Berenice, and the chief people of Jerusalem acted nobly on this occasion; informing Cestius of the real matter of fact, and acquainting him with the mode in which Florus had governed. Cestius having obtained this information, held a consultation with his principal people on the most prudent mode of proceeding. Some advised the sending an army immediately into Judæa, to punish the offenders, if the account proved true; but wished he would encourage their loyalty, if it was false. Cestius thought it prudent previously to send a man of credit and address, to inquire into facts, and give him a faithful account of the success of his inquiries. The person fixed on was a tribune named Politianus, who, meeting king Agrippa near Jamnia, on his return from Alexandria, informed him who was his employer, whence he came, and his business. At this time, many senators and persons of rank, and among them several high-priests, attended to pay their duty to the king. When the first respectful compliments were passed, they gave a melancholy description of the condition to which the inhumanity of Florus had reduced the Jews. Agrippa was of their opinion; but he thought it incompatible with his rank to increase the complaint; and therefore he artfully seemed to take part against the Jews, whose situation he nevertheless commiserated: but his wish was to moderate, rather than inflame the passions, since the less they appeared to suffer, the less temptation would they have to seek revenge. He thought this conduct would be taken kindly by those who had most to lose, and consequently afford the greatest reason to wish for peace.

Politianus, appointed to inquire into the truth, meets Agrippa.

The people pathetically represent the destruction effected by Florus.

Agrippa and Politianus were met about sixty furlongs from Jerusalem, by the people of that city, who conducted them thither with every mark of respect: in the interim, the women grievously lamented the loss of their murdered husbands; and all the multitude, as if infected by their sorrow, burst into tears and lamentations. Some of them earnestly solicited Agrippa to compassionate their nation; and others intreated Politianus to go into the city, and see what havock had been there made by Florus. Hereupon, they took him to the market-place, shewed him the houses in ruins, and the devastation that had been made. After this, through the interest of Agrippa, they prevailed on Politianus to go through the city as far as the pool of Siloah, attended by one servant only, whereby he might witness the respect the Jews paid to the Romans in authority: but they said that the cruelties of Florus were insupportable.

Politianus admits the havock made by Florus, and the Jews' obedience to governors.

Politianus having taken a view of the city, and indisputably convinced himself of the loyal disposition of the Jews, he assembled the people, and went up to the temple, where he made a speech, in which he highly commended their known fidelity to the Romans; and then, having given them a variety of good counsel and advice, respecting the preservation of public peace, he offered praise and thanksgiving to God, in the place and manner prescribed by law, and with all possible veneration for the rites of religion. This being done, he retired to Cestius.

The Jews solicit leave to prefer a complaint to Nero against Florus.

No sooner was Politianus gone, than the people in general made their addresses to the king and the high-priests, soliciting permission to send embassadors to Nero, to exhibit a complaint against Florus: urging, as a reason for this request, that if they should remain supine, and not attempt to bring so violent an outrage to examination, and make the authors of it abide a severe trial, it would appear as if themselves were the criminals, and therefore durst not bring the affair to a judicial determination.

Agrippa endeavours to dissuade the Jews from

On the one hand it was evident that a refusal of this liberty would be attended with danger to Agrippa; and on the other, he thought it would have the ap-

taking offenſive meaſures againſt the Romans.

pearance of malice to permit, under the name of an embaſſy, ſuch an immenſe multitude to attack their governor in an inveterate manner. Reflecting on the courageous and martial diſpoſition of the Romans, and on the danger of provoking the Jews to an inſurrection, Agrippa ſummoned an aſſembly to meet in a large gallery, and having placed his ſiſter Berenice in a chair of ſtate in the Aſmonæan palace, which overlooked that gallery from the upper part of the town (a bridge uniting the temple with the gallery), harangued the multitude in a pathetic ſpeech, which tended to diſſuade them from violent and ſeditious practices.

The momentary effect of Agrippa's ſpeech.

Agrippa and his ſiſter Berenice were ſo affected, that they both wept; and the violent paſſions of the multitude were abated: but they ſaid one to another that they had no complaint againſt the Romans; they only reſented the indignities offered them by Florus. In anſwer to this, Agrippa ſaid, "You have acted as the profeſſed enemies of Rome would have done. You broke down the Antonian galleries, and refuſe the tribute due to Cæſar. Your buſineſs, then, if you would prevent any farther complaint of your conduct, is to rebuild the galleries, and pay the taxes: for this is neither the fort or tribunal of Florus."

The furious zeal of the Jews moderated.

The paſſions of the people now ſubſiding, they attended the king and Berenice to the temple, immediately began to rebuild the galleries, and diſpatched officers and agents through the province, to collect ſuch duties as were yet unpaid. Theſe duties, amounting to forty talents, were immediately collected and paid.

On Agrippa's adviſing a temporary ſubmiſſion to Florus, their rage is re-inflamed; he is inſulted, and obliged to quit the city.

The inſurrection having now, in a great degree, ſubſided, Agrippa adviſed the people to a patient ſubmiſſion to Florus, till another governor ſhould be appointed by Cæſar. This again inflamed the paſſions of the people, who treated him with the moſt opprobrious language, and pelted him with ſtones, till he was compelled to abandon the city. This contemptuous treatment had a very diſagreeable effect on the mind of the king, who, finding the people ungovernable, diſpatched ſeveral men of rank to Florus at Cæſarea, deſiring he would chuſe collectors for the province among them; and Agrippa departed when he had diſcharged his duty.

CHAP. XV.

The JEWS ſurpriſe MASSADA, and ſlay the Garriſon. The Faction headed by ELEAZAR. The Quality agree to ſend to AGRIPPA and FLORUS for Aſſiſtance. A Force ſent to JERUSALEM by AGRIPPA. A War commenced in the City. Great Slaughter enſues. ANTONIA aſſaulted and taken. The King's Servants obtain Permiſſion to depart.

Maſſada ſeized by the Jews.

BY this time, many of the factious Jews had privately got into the Roman garriſon named Maſſada, where they ſurpriſed the ſoldiers, killed every one of the Romans, and in the room of them ſubſtituted a guard of their own people.

Eleazar heads the faction, rejects the Roman ſacrifices, and provokes a war with them.

About this juncture, there likewiſe happened another commotion in the temple of Jeruſalem. A bold and enterpriſing young man, named Eleazar (ſon of Ananias, the high-prieſt), who was at that time a military officer, urged a number of his friends among the prieſts, that no offering or ſacrifice might be accepted but from the Jewiſh people. This ſingle circumſtance was the foundation of a war with the Romans; for, in conſequence of this requeſt of Eleazar, when the ſacrifices of Cæſar were preſented, according to cuſtom, to be offered up for the ſucceſs of the people of Rome, they were rejected. This new and extraordinary proceeding gave offence to the high prieſts and perſons of diſtinction, who proteſted againſt it, and earneſtly recommended the continuance of ſo reaſonable a cuſtom as that of offering prayers for princes and governors. But the inſurgents were obſtinate for obedience to their orders, relying on the ſtrength of their numbers; for every one was of their ſide who wiſhed for innovation; and they conſidered Eleazar, who was a man of courage and in office, as the head of their party. On this occaſion, the princes and high-prieſts, and the moſt eminent of the Phariſees, aſſembled to deliberate on the moſt proper mode of proceeding; for they apprehended that the preſent tumult in the city muſt be attended with the moſt fatal conſequences. Having conſulted for ſome time, they at length reſolved to try what could be done to appeaſe the paſſions of the multitude; and for this purpoſe aſſembled the people before the braſen gate, on the inſide of the temple to the eaſtward. Here they repreſented to them the raſhneſs of the enterpriſe in which they had engaged, which would involve their country in a ruinous war. They then adverted to the unreaſonable ground of the diſpute, and the evident injuſtice in which it was founded: they ſaid that their anceſtors were ſo far from refuſing or forbidding the oblations of ſtrangers (which they would have deemed a kind of impiety), that they conſidered them as, in ſome degree, a part of their own worſhip. They likewiſe mentioned the preſents which they had from time to time made, which were ſtill preſerved as ornaments in the temple, and in remembrance of thoſe who gave them.

Moderation recommended by perſons of eminence.

Injuſtice and danger of the prohibition.

They repreſented that the provoking a war with the Romans would be diſgraceful, if not ruinous to Jeruſalem; ſince new modes of religion would be adopted; as nothing

leſs

leſs could be imported by the interdiction of every ſort of people, except Jews, from offering oblations and prayers to God in his holy temple. It was urged that this was ſuch an inhuman injunction as could not be excuſed in the caſe of a private perſon; but that it was utterly unpardonable to extend it to the whole people of Rome, and, eventually, excommunicating the emperor himſelf. It was aſked what would be the conſequence if this contempt ſhould be returned, and that thoſe who had refuſed others the liberty of offering their prayers and oblations, ſhould themſelves be denied the privilege of public worſhip. It was urged that the city would be left void of diſcipline; and every ill conſequence would happen, unleſs they repented of all the uncharitable things they had done, and made ſatisfaction, before Cæſar was appriſed of their tranſactions.

Sacrifices of ſtrangers allowable among the Jews

Thus much having been advanced, ſeveral perſons well read in the laws and ceremonies of the Jews produced precedents and authorities from the practice of ancient times, reſpecting the point in diſpute; and they were unanimous in their opinion and declaration, that the oblations of ſtrangers had never been refuſed by their anceſtors: but the innovators, who wiſhed for war rather than peace, paid no attention to their authorities; and even the Levites abandoned the altar, as a war was likewiſe the firſt wiſh of their hearts.

The leading men apply to Florus and Agrippa for relief.

The people of rank, finding the populace deſpiſed obedience to law, and that themſelves would probably be the firſt to be cenſured by the Romans, conſulted together, and agreed to ſend deputies to Florus and Agrippa, to repreſent their conduct in its true light. Simon, ſon of Ananias, was the principal of the deputies to Florus; and Saul, Antipas, and Coſtobarus, the chief of thoſe who went to Agrippa; Coſtobarus being a relation of that king. They were commiſſioned to ſolicit forces to be ſent to Jeruſalem, to put a ſpeedy end to the rebellion.

This news was highly agreeable to Florus, whoſe diſpoſition led him to inflame the war, how ruinous ſoever the conſequence might be to himſelf or others. This was evidently evinced by his delay in giving an anſwer to the deputies, on purpoſe to afford the rebels an opportunity of augmenting their forces.

Agrippa ſends troops to Jeruſalem.

On the contrary, Agrippa conſulted only the general welfare, being willing to do all in his power to ſave both parties; the offenders and the offended; and by this means to ſecure Jeruſalem in the poſſeſſion of the Jews, and bind the Jews in ſubjection to the Romans. But as his own intereſt was likewiſe at ſtake in this general confuſion of affairs, he diſpatched two thouſand auxiliary horſe, with Darius at their head, and having Philip, the ſon of Joachim, alſo for a general. The people ſent on this expedition were inhabitants of Auranitis, Trachonitis, and Batanæa.

Bloody ſkirmiſhes in the city between the Romans and Jews.

The high-prieſts, with the princes of the people, and thoſe in general who were diſpoſed for peace, received theſe deputies into the upper town; the inſurgents being already in poſſeſſion of the lower town and the temple. A ſkirmiſh with darts and ſtones now commenced, and then the combatants on both ſides made uſe of their bows and arrows, with which they galled each other inceſſantly; and occaſionally they made ſallies and excurſions on each other, and frequently fought hand to hand. The inſurgents made attacks in the moſt deſperate manner: but the royal forces appeared to have a ſuperior knowledge of the military art. The principal operation they had in view was to compel the ſacrilegious faction to abandon the temple; while, on the contrary, Eleazar and his adherents laboured with equal zeal to get the upper town into their poſſeſſion. The conteſt continued, without intermiſſion, for ſeven days, in all which time, though there was great ſlaughter on both ſides, not even the leaſt ſhadow of advantage was obtained by either.

The king's troops routed by the ſeditious, who quit the upper town, lay all in aſhes, and deſtroy the records.

At this period a feſtival approached, which is named Xylophoria, and acquires that denomination from the cuſtom of carrying wood to the temple, to keep the fire throughout the year. Advantage was taken of this circumſtance to exclude the inſurgents from their worſhip: but while a number of the Jews were engaged in this office, the Sicarii (a band of murderers, ſo called from their cuſtom of carrying their daggers privately) broke in upon theſe people, and improved the advantage they had gained to ſuch a degree, that the royal troops, equally overcome by ſuperior numbers, and more determined reſolution, were obliged to abandon the upper town; of which immediate poſſeſſion was taken by the rebels. After this exploit they broke into the houſe of Ananias, the high-prieſt, and reduced to aſhes the palaces of Agrippa and Berenicè. This being done, they reſolved, in the next place, to ſet fire to the offices of record, and conſume both them and all their contents; thinking that if they deprived the people of fortune of thoſe papers which might prove their riches, they ſhould bring over to their intereſt the whole body of debtors and beggars; and by that means change the quarrel into a direct war between the rich and the poor, under pretence of aſſerting the liberties of the people. In fact, the perſons who had the care and ſecurity of the public records, were ſo terrified as to abandon their truſt, each man ſeeking his own ſecurity in flight; on which both offices and records were burnt to aſhes. This fatal ſtroke being given to the credit and ſafety of the city, the inſurgents began to conſider the proſecution of the war as the principal object worthy their attention.

The men of rank ſecrete themſelves.

While things were in this unhappy ſtate of confuſion and diſorder, the high-prieſts and many of the nobility were compelled to fly for their lives, and ſeek for ſafety in vaults and other ſecret places; while others got into the upper palace, among the royal troops, bolting the door after them, and making the paſſage ſecure from aſſault: and of this number were Ananias, the high-

prieſt,

prieſt, his brother Hezekias, and the deputies who had been ſent from Agrippa.

Antonia taken and burnt by the inſurgents.

The victory being thus obtained, the inſurgents ſeemed to be contented, for that day, with the miſchief they had done; and pauſed a while, to reflect on what was paſt: but on the following day, which was the fifteenth of the month of Lous, they made an attack on the caſtle of Antonia, which reſiſted no longer than two days, and was then carried by aſſault; on which the rebels burnt the caſtle, and put all the garriſon to the ſword. They now proceeded to the palace, in which the troops of Agrippa had taken ſanctuary: having divided their force into four bodies, they made an attempt to undermine the walls; while thoſe within were under the neceſſity of remaining inactive, as their ſtrength was inſufficient for them to ſally forth with hope of ſucceſs. In the mean time the aſſailants continued their operations; and ſeveral of them periſhed under the walls of the caſtle, among whom were ſome of the Sicarii. The operations were continued night and day without intermiſſion, the aſſailants hoping to ſtarve the beſieged into a compliance; and the latter, by a conſtant and vigilant attendance to their defence, flattering themſelves that the inſurgents would be fatigued with the attack, and abandon the enterpriſe.

Account of Manahem, who heads the ſeditious Jews.

Among the rebels was a man named Manahem, the ſon of Judas, of Galilee: he was a perſon of great cunning, and an artful orator. He was the ſame perſon who formerly reflected on the Jews under Cyrenius, for acknowledging themſelves as ſubject to the Romans, and at the ſame time profeſſing to worſhip only one God. Now Manahem had formed a deſign on the arſenal of Herod, at Maſſada; on which he induced ſeveral men of quality to join him, and taking them with him, he ſeized the place by force; and then arming a number of low vagabond fellows, whom he found there, he took them with him as his guard, and marching to Jeruſalem entered that city like a petty ſovereign. When he arrived there, he put himſelf at the head of the inſurgents, and iſſued out his orders for beſieging the palace in form.

His artful device fruſtrated

The aſſailants were principally in want of machines; for they found it impracticable to work at the foot of the wall, while they were annoyed by an enemy directly over their heads. Hereupon they began to break the ground at a conſiderable diſtance from the caſtle, and having carried on a covered way to the foundation of one of the towers, they ſupported its weight as they worked, by ſeveral props of timber. This being done, they retreated, having firſt ſet fire to the props, which being conſumed, the turret fell to the ground. Now the royal troops, having been appriſed of what was going forward, had run up a wall behind the turret, to ſupport the reſt of the building. The aſſailants had reckoned their work almoſt complete; but when one of the towers only fell, the diſcovery of what had been done cauſed an aſtoniſhment and confuſion among them that is not to be deſcribed.

The king's people ſuffered to depart.

Notwithſtanding the ſucceſs of this counter-ſcheme, the royaliſts who were in the palace, ſent a meſſage to Manahem, and the other chiefs of the oppoſition, requeſting that they might have leave to depart: which requeſt was immediately complied with, as far as it related to the king's people, and others who were of the ſame religion; who accordingly departed without loſs of time.

The Romans quit their camp, and retire to the royal towers.

The Romans who were left behind were quite diſpirited by this circumſtance; for they found themſelves unable to cope with the ſuperior number of the enemy; thought it inconſiſtent with their character to ſubmit to treat with rebels; and dreaded the hazard they ſhould run, when expoſed to the mercy of men totally deſtitute of all faith and honour. Reduced to this extremity, they abandoned the place as not being defenſible, and retired with all expedition to the royal forts of Hippon, Phaſael, and Mariamne. No ſooner did the ſoldiers begin to quit the place, than the rebels under the command of Manahem broke in, murdered every perſon they could ſeize on; and ſtripped the places of all the valuable furniture; and concluded the outrage by ſetting fire to the camp. It was on the ſixth day of the month Gorpiæus that this circumſtance took place.

The rebels firſt pillage, and then burn the camp.

CHAP. XVI.

ANANIAS and HEZEKIAH put to Death. The Vanity of MANAHEM. He is put to Death. METILIUS, a ROMAN General, capitulates with ELEAZAR on Terms. The Treaty ratified on Oath, and the Articles ſigned. ELEAZAR's horrid Perfidy, and its fatal Conſequences.

The Sicarii murder Ananias and Hezekiah.

ANANIAS, the high-prieſt, and his brother Hezekiah, were found together, on the day ſucceeding the abovementioned events, in one of the vaults adjoining to the court, where they had ſecreted themſelves; and being brought forth, they were both put to death by a band of the Sicarii. The rebels now placed ſtrong guards about the forts, ſo that it was impoſſible for any of the ſoldiers to effect their eſcape.

The pride, inſolence, and tyranny of Manahem remonſtrated againſt.

The ſucceſs which had attended the ranſack of the fortified places, added to the death of Ananias, the high-prieſt, gave Manahem ſo advantageous an opinion of his own importance, that he grew moſt inſufferably vain, ſuppoſed himſelf an oracle in all affairs of government, and became more inſupportable and inhuman than any other tyrant exiſting. The inſolence of his behaviour became the ſubject of converſation between Eleazar and a number of his ſelect friends, among whom one of them ſpoke to the following purport: "Any man who has once

aſſumed

aſſumed courage to aſſert his liberty againſt the tyranny of the Romans, ought to bluſh at the idea of betraying that liberty again to any private man. He ought particularly to deſpiſe the thought of ſubmitting to ſuch a maſter as Manahem, who, if his wanton cruelties had not diſqualified him for government, would have been abſolutely incapacitated by the meanneſs of his extraction. If there ſhould be an unavoidable neceſſity of advancing one man above his companions, Manahem is certainly the laſt man that ſhould be thought of."

He is aſſaulted in the temple, dragged from his retreat, and ſlain, by Eleazar's party.

When they had converſed together till they had formed their reſolutions and inflamed their paſſions, they loſt no time in repairing to the temple, where they found Manahem at his devotions, dreſſed in royal robes, with all the pomp of a prince, attended by a train, and having armed guards for his protection. While he was thus enjoying himſelf in all the pride of his newly-aſſumed dignity, ſome of the people who had accompanied Eleazar made a ſudden and violent aſſault on his perſon. Hereupon the people began to pelt him with ſtones, convinced that if he was deſtroyed, things would go on in their proper channel. For ſome little time after the firſt attack, his guards made a faint ſhew of reſiſtance; but when they ſaw that the people in general were his enemies, every man of them ſought his own ſafety by a ſpeedy flight. The adherents of Eleazar deſtroyed as many as they could get into their cuſtody, and purſued the reſt till they effected their eſcape. Some few of them retired in a private manner to Maſſada, among whom was Eleazar, the ſon of Jairus, who was nearly related to Manahem, and lived to exerciſe a tyrannical government in that place afterwards. With regard to Manahem, he was ſculking about for ſhelter; and being dragged from his lurking-place, he was firſt expoſed to the public view, and then put to death with circumſtances of aggravated torture. His aſſiſtants, and thoſe who acted by his immediate direction, were treated in the ſame manner; among whom was Abſalom, who had been a principal fomenter of the ſedition.

The two factions oppoſe each other.

They who were in the oppoſition to Manahem found themſelves ſupported by the people in general, who (as hath been heretofore obſerved) thought that this would be a ready method to the bringing about of an accommodation: whereas, in fact, one faction was but acting as an oppoſite to the other, ſince the opponents of Manahem, whoſe view was to eſtabliſh themſelves, did not conſider that they were erecting a new tyranny on the ruins of the old. The people in general were at this time extremely ſolicitous with thoſe perſons who had the direction of the faction, not to act with ſuch ſeverity towards the Romans, but rather to raiſe the ſiege, and permit them to depart; but the more this matter was urged on the one ſide, the more obſtinately it was refuſed on the other. The Roman general, Metilius, and they who accompanied him, having exerted themſelves to the utmoſt of their power for the defence of the place, and being now reduced to the greateſt extremity, propoſed terms of capitulation to Eleazar, and offered to deliver up the place, together with every thing contained in it, on the ſingle condition that their lives might be ſpared.

Treaty between the Roman general and Eleazar, which he violates by a barbarous act of perfidy.

Theſe terms were too moderate to be rejected; whereupon Goriah the ſon of Nicodemus, Ananias the ſon of Saddaca, and Judas the ſon of Jonathas, were fixed on as commiſſioners to ratify the treaty on oath, and give validity to the articles, by ſigning and ſealing. No ſooner were the formalities ended, and the agreement properly ratified, than Metilius, fully confiding in the honour of his opponent, drew off his ſoldiers, while they were under arms, equally without interruption, and without ſuſpicion of any: but no ſooner, in conformity to the agreement that had been made, had the ſoldiers delivered up their ſwords and ſhields, than the troops of Eleazar broke in upon them, ſeized them, and moſt inhumanly murdered them; the latter neither ſupplicating for their lives, nor making any reſiſtance; only reflecting on their barbarous foes by the pronunciation of the words *oaths* and *articles*. Metilius alone was mean enough to ſolicit his life, which was at length granted to his earneſt prayers, on the condition of his ſolemnly promiſing to turn Jew, and ſubmit to the ceremony of circumciſion. The above-mentioned aſſaſſination of the Romans took place on the ſabbath-day, which was deemed a great aggravation of the crime; ſince, on that day, all labour whatſoever, even the moſt ſacred, is totally forbidden to the Jews, by their law.

Prelude to the deſtruction of the Jews, who, by their atrocious crimes, ſeem to call for the vengeance of Heaven.

The Roman power, however, was very little injured by this atrocious outrage, ſince the loſs of the troops that were thus deſtroyed was inconſiderable, proportioned to the vaſt armies of which they were poſſeſſed: but this circumſtance was an evident prelude to the deſtruction of the Jews; for an inevitable war was actually in view, and that founded on a good cauſe: the city, which had taken the principal ſhare in the diſpute, was ſo corrupted by perfidy and rebellion, that, admitting it might eſcape the vengeance of the Romans, it was not reaſonable to ſuppoſe but that it muſt fall a ſacrifice to divine juſtice. The face of affairs was now more mournful, melancholy, and deſponding, than it had been at any former period: they who were innocent dreaded to ſhare the fate of the guilty, and feared that they ſhould be made anſwerable for the crimes they had not committed.

CHAP. XVII.

A Slaughter of Twenty Thouſand JEWS at CÆSAREA. The miſerable Situation of SYRIA. The

Men of SCYTHOPOLIS deſtroy Thirteen Thouſand JEWS. The Exploits of SIMON, Son of SAUL, a Man of remarkable Courage and Strength.

Maſſacre of 20,000 Jews at Cæſarea.

DIVINE Providence ſo directed affairs, that on the very day, and at the ſame hour of the above-recited maſſacre, there was a ſlaughter of the Jews at Cæſarea, in which above twenty thouſand perſons fell a ſacrifice, not a ſingle Jew in the town being left alive. With regard to the few who ſought to eſcape by flight, Florus took care to have them apprehended, and ſent them to the gallies in chains. The whole nation of the Jews became outrageous, on occaſion of this horrid ſlaughter, and dividing themſelves into diſtinct bodies, diſperſed into different quarters. They

Dreadful ravages of the Jews in Syria.

firſt laid waſte a number of villages of Syria, and then deſtroyed ſeveral of the adjacent cities, among which were Philadelphia, Gibonitis, Geraſſa, Pella, and Scythopolis. This being done, they made their attacks on Gadara, Hippon, and Gaulonitis, proceeding from thence to Ptolemais, Gaba, Cæſarea, and the Tyrian Cedaſa, ſome of which places they burnt, and levelled others with the ground. In the next place, they attacked Sebaſte and Aſkalon, which ſurrendered without oppoſition. When they had effectually reduced theſe places, and laid them in ruins, they deſtroyed Anthedon and Gaza, and continuing their ravages, laid waſte a number of villages on the frontiers, putting to death as many of the inhabitants as they could get into their cuſtody.

The Syrians deſtroy great numbers of the Jews.

On the other hand, the Syrians wreaked their vengeance on all the Jews they could find in country places, whom they put to the ſword; and extended the perſecution againſt the inhabitants of the ſeveral cities. This was done not only from motives of policy, in the weakening of a determined enemy, but from thoſe of revenge on an ancient animoſity. At this time, the condition of Syria was far more deplorable than language can deſcribe; ſince, in fact, there were in every city two armies; nor was any ſafety to be expected for the one, but in the deſtruction of the other. The whole day was ſpent in ſpilling of blood, and, on the advance of the night, the fears of the parties were worſe than the reality. The Syrians aſſerted, that they meant only to deſtroy the Jews; but there being a number of people whom they only ſuſpected to be of the Jewiſh faith, they knew not how to act with regard to them: they were afraid to leave them unpuniſhed, leſt they ſhould be Jews, and yet thought that the deſtroying them on ſurmiſe only would have the appearance of cruelty.

Baneful effects of avarice.

At this period, many perſons who had been heretofore diſtinguiſhed by their benevolence, became of ſavage and cruel diſpoſitions, from the mere luſt of gain; for thoſe they killed they plundered, and the booty was allowed them as a reward of their courage; that man being accounted moſt valiant who obtained moſt pillage; for in this caſe, the terms victory and robbery were confounded. It was a dreadful ſpectacle to behold the ſtreets filled with the bodies of men, women, and children, who had been murdered, ſtripped, and left, not only unburied, but uncovered. But ſtill more melancholy events were yet to take place.

The infatuated Jews enemies to each other.

To this period the Jews had only made war on ſtrangers; but when they approached the confines of Scythopolis, they found the Jews themſelves of that diſtrict to be their enemies; ſo much had the latter preferred the conſideration of their own intereſt to that of their king and country: the Jews of Scythopolis having actually combined with the inhabitants of that place againſt their own countrymen. But the Scythopolitans were ſuſpicious of the good faith of their new allies, who had entered into the agreement with an eagerneſs for which they could not account. They reflected what might be the conſequence, if theſe people ſhould unite againſt them with the other Jews, ſurpriſe the town by night, and then aſſert that what they had done aroſe from the neceſſity of their ſituation, or was in revenge of their own ſufferings. On this occaſion, the citizens propoſed to the Jews of their confederacy, that if they were willing to give a proof of their integrity, and love of juſtice towards ſtrangers, they would, for the preſent, withdraw with their families, into a grove adjacent to the town. The Jews complied with this requiſition, and every thing remained in peace at Scythopolis during the two following days; but on the third night, intelligence being brought of the defenceleſs ſituation of the Jews; that ſome of them were aſleep, others in careleſs poſtures, and all of them off their guard; the people of Scythopolis attacked them unawares, deſtroyed them all to the number of thirteen thouſand; and departed, having firſt ſeized every thing of value in the camp.

13,000 Jews treacherouſly ſlain by the Scythopolitans.

Particulars relating to Simon, who firſt deſtroyed his family, and afterwards ſlew himſelf.

Having thus given a general account of this tranſaction, it will be proper particularly to mention the death of Simon, the ſon of Saul, who fell a ſacrifice on the occaſion. He was a man of a diſtinguiſhed family, and very remarkable for the ſtrength of his body, and the firmneſs of his mind; and theſe advantages he had made uſe of in behalf of the Scythopolitans, to the injury of his own countrymen. The Jews living in the neighbourhood of Scythopolis were almoſt daily the objects of his vengeance; and he would often put whole troops to the rout, for his courage was ſuch that an army ſeemed combined in his perſon. But at length his crimes were puniſhed by an adequate vengeance. Obſerving how the Jews in the grove were ſurrounded by the people of Scythopolis, who plied them inceſſantly with arrows and darts, Simon drew his ſword, and without offering to attack any one (which, indeed, would have been a fruitleſs attempt amidſt ſuch a multitude), he addreſſed the Scythopolitans, and, with many lamentations,

tations, ſpoke to the following purpoſe: "Behold in me an inſtance of juſt puniſhment for the evils I have done, in ſeeking to obtain your confidence and eſteem, by ſacrificing ſo many of my unhappy countrymen. Why ſhould I have expected a greater degree of faith from ſtrangers than from my own friends and fellow-citizens? My death is now approaching; and it would ill become the man who has boaſted of his honour to fall by the hands of the enemy. He ought rather to ſacrifice himſelf: this will be the puniſhment I have juſtly merited, and conſiſtent with the heroic character I have aſſumed. It ſhall not be ſaid that I have put it in the power of an enemy to triumph over me in my calamity, and glory in my deſtruction." Having ſaid thus much, he caſt his eyes, in which were an equal mixture of rage and tenderneſs, on his ancient parents, his wife, his children, and all his family, who now ſurrounded him. Having gazed awhile, as in ſuſpenſe how to act, he ſeized his father by the hair, and placing his foot on him, ſtabbed him through the body: then approaching his mother, who appeared willing to become a devoted ſacrifice, he killed her alſo: he next advanced to his wife and ſons, on whom he likewiſe did execution, while they ſeemed rather to meet than avoid that weapon, which, by putting a ſpeedy end to their lives, would prevent their being ſacrificed by the enemy. Having thus put all his relations to death, he laid their bodies one on another, and then ſtanding upon the deceaſed, he extended his right hand, that he might be generally noticed, and then plunged the ſword into his body. If we reflect on the ſtrength and courage of this extraordinary young man, we ſhall be tempted to lament his fate: but when we conſider how faithful he was to ſtrangers, and how ſeverely inhuman to thoſe of his own nation, it muſt be acknowledged that his fate was ſuch as he had well deſerved.

CHAP. XVIII.

The JEWS maſſacred in ſeveral other Places. Seventy Men, ſent by the Province of BATANÆA, to ſolicit for a Garriſon, are intercepted and ſlain by a Party ſent by VARUS, who is removed from his Government by AGRIPPA. The Rebels get Poſſeſſion of the Caſtle of CYPROS.

Further ſlaughter and calamities of the Jews.

THE example of the maſſacre at Scythopolis had ſpirited up the people in ſeveral other places, where alſo the Jews were maſſacred. In Aſkalon two thouſand five hundred fell a ſacrifice; in Ptolemais two thouſand; and many of them were put to death at Tyre, where, likewiſe, ſeveral were impriſoned. All thoſe who were moſt active at Hippon and Gadara were deſtroyed, and the reſt thrown into priſon. In other towns, where they were either dreaded or hated, they were treated with ſimilar ſeverity; but the Jewiſh inhabitants of Antioch, Sidon, and Apamia, remained in the peaceable enjoyment of their lives and liberties. It is doubtful whether this lenity aroſe from an apprehenſion that they were too weak to be dreaded, or from a generous view to ſpare a body of people who did not appear to harbour any ſiniſter deſign againſt the ſtate; but, in fact, this latter idea ſeems to have the beſt foundation. Thoſe Jews who choſe to remain with the Geraſenes were permitted ſo to do; and thoſe who declined ſtaying were ſafely conducted to the borders of the country.

Varus, the viceroy of Agrippa, murders ſeventy reſpectable Jewiſh deputies, and commits other enormities, for which Agrippa deprives him of his truſt.

At this period, a ſingular and unprecedented misfortune attended the Jews in the kingdom of Agrippa. This prince, having reſolved to make a viſit to Ceſtius Gallus, at Antioch, commiſſioned a friend of his, named Varus, who was related to king Sohemus, to tranſact the public affairs in his abſence. It happened at this juncture that ſeventy perſons of the province of Batanæa, diſtinguiſhed by their rank and wiſdom, were ſent to requeſt the favour of a garriſon, with a view that they might be enabled to ſuppreſs any tumult or commotion, if ſuch circumſtance ſhould ariſe. Varus, being informed of this circumſtance, ſent out a party of the king's troops to deſtroy them on their approach; which he was raſh enough to do, not only without the knowledge, but, as it afterwards appeared, greatly againſt the opinion of Agrippa. Varus was ſtimulated by an exceſs of avarice to this infamous outrage on his countrymen; and having thus begun his depredations, he proceeded to debauch the manners of the whole kingdom, by all poſſible degrees of vice and tyranny. When Agrippa came afterwards to be informed of the depredations that had been made by Varus, he was unwilling to put him to death, on account of his regard to Sohemus; but he gave orders that he ſhould be immediately deprived of his government.

The ſeditious take the citadel of Cypros, and Machærus ſurrendered to the Jews.

In the interim, the poſſeſſion of the caſtle of Cypros, on the frontiers of Jericho, was obtained by the rebels, who deſtroyed the place, after firſt putting the garriſon to the ſword. About the ſame period, the Romans of Machæras were treated with by another large body of the Jews, for the ſurrender of their garriſon; and they accordingly agreed to the terms on which it ſhould be given up, thinking it was better to yield it by capitulation, than to be driven out of it by force.

CHAP. XIX.

A violent Conteſt in ALEXANDRIA between the JEWS and GREEKS. Two Roman Legions, and Five Thouſand LIBYANS commiſſioned to deſtroy at Plea-

Pleaſure. Fifty Thouſand JEWS killed on the Spot, and the reſt ſpared on Submiſſion.

Favours formerly conferred on the Jews by Alexander and the Cæſars.

FROM the time of Alexander the Great the natives of Alexandria were very averſe to the Jews reſiding in that city. That commander, in conſideration of the ſervices they had done him againſt the Egyptians, had granted them the freedom of the city, and beſtowed on them all thoſe privileges of citizens which were poſſeſſed by the Greeks. The ſucceſſors of Alexander continued theſe privileges to them, and allotted them a particular quarter of the town for their own reſidence, where they lived in a great degree ſeparate from all other people; and they were likewiſe indulged with the favour of bearing the name of Macedonians. In proceſs of time, when the Romans came into poſſeſſion of Egypt, Cæſar and his ſucceſſors continued to the Jews their former privileges; but there was a perpetual diſagreement between the Jews and Greeks; and although either party was indiſcriminately puniſhed for miſbehaviour, this ſerved only to inflame the rage that rankled in their breaſts.

Tumult at Alexandria between the Jews and Greeks.

At this time, the general ſtate of the country was extremely confuſed; but the diſorder at Alexandria was greater than at any other place. The Greeks having aſſembled together, on the ſubject of diſpatching embaſſadors to Nero, on a matter of importance, a number of Jews and Greeks ruſhed together into the amphitheatre. Hereupon the Greeks called out, that the Jews were enemies and ſpies; and had no ſooner ſpoken thoſe words than they immediately attacked them, when all of them made their eſcape but three, whom they ſeized, and dragged them away, with an intention of burning them alive. The whole body of the Jews, inflamed by this circumſtance, fled to their re[illegible]ue, and began the attack by throwing ſtones at the Greeks; after which they ran to the amphitheatre with flambeaux in their hands, threatening to burn the building and all that were in it: and this would have been certainly done, if Tiberius Alexander, the governor of the city, had not found means to allay the ferment of their rage. This he did not effect by any violent methods; but engaged ſome of the Jews who were held in the greateſt eſtimation, to uſe all poſſible arguments to reduce the people to reaſon; to adviſe them to moderate meaſures, and caution them againſt provoking the reſentment of the Roman ſoldiers. In the mean time, many of the Jews ridiculed this interpoſition of their friends, and made ſarcaſtic remarks on Tiberius for ſending them on ſuch an errand.

Tiberius gives full commiſſion to the ſoldiery to deſtroy the Jews at pleaſure.

Tiberius, finding that the tumult could not be ſuppreſſed without miſchief, commiſſioned two Roman legions, which were at that time in the city, and five thouſand Lybian ſoldiers, who happened to arrive at the critical juncture, to bear down on the inſurgents. They were commanded not only to deſtroy all who oppoſed them, but likewiſe to ſeize their goods, plunder their houſes, and ſet them on fire. Theſe orders were no ſooner iſſued than the troops marched to a quarter of the town named Delta (where the Jews had then aſſembled in great numbers), and executed their orders with the ſtricteſt attention to military ſeverity. Thoſe among the Jews who were beſt armed were placed in the front, and for ſome time they made a valiant reſiſtance; but when the ranks were once broken they were ſoon routed and cut to pieces; and upon the whole, the victory had a moſt bloody appearance. Never did death and deſtruction aſſume a greater variety of forms: all ages and both ſexes fell a ſacrifice to fire and ſword; the whole place ſtreamed with blood, and plunder prevailed in every part. No leſs than fifty thouſand dead bodies lay at once on the ſpot, and the reſt of the Jews would have been reduced to a ſimilar ſituation, if they had not ſubmitted to beg their lives. Thus ſituated, Alexander gave orders to the ſoldiers to ſtop their depredations; which were immediately complied with, through a ſtrict regard to military diſcipline: but, on this occaſion, the animoſity of the Alexandrians was ſuch, that it was with difficulty they were prevented from inſulting the bodies of the dead.

Fifty thouſand Jews ſlain.

CHAP. XX.

CESTIUS, on his March to PTOLEMAIS, is reinforced by the Country Troops. He is joined by AGRIPPA. The Deſertion, pillaging, and burning of ZEBULON. The Return of CESTIUS to PTOLEMAIS. The JEWS deſtroy near Two Thouſand of the SYRIANS. CESTIUS proceeds from PTOLEMAIS to CÆSAREA. The Inhabitants of JOPPA deſtroyed without Diſtinction.

Vigorous proſecution of the war againſt the Jews, by Ceſtius, and the forces of Agrippa.

CESTIUS, remarking the antipathy in which the Jews were every-where held, took advantage of this circumſtance to proſecute the war with vigour. On this occaſion, he aſſembled his troops, and marched towards Ptolemais; taking with him the whole twelfth legion, which he commanded at Antioch; two thouſand ſelect men from the other legions, and four diviſions of horſe, excluſive of the royal auxiliaries; and theſe laſt conſiſted of two thouſand horſe, and three thouſand foot, belonging to Antiochus, all armed with bows and arrows; one thouſand horſe, and three thouſand foot, of the troops of king Agrippa; and a body of king Sohemus's troops, conſiſting of four thouſand men, about a third part of which were horſe, and the reſt foot, and the greater number of them archers. As Ceſtius continued his march towards Ptolemais, the country people flocked to him as he paſſed. It is not to be ſuppoſed that theſe

theſe ſoldiers were equal in ſkill to his own; but their antipathy to the Jews, and their zeal in the cauſe, amply compenſated for what they wanted in judgment and experience.

The city of Zebulon plundered and burnt by Ceſtius.

Ceſtius was aſſiſted by Agrippa both with ſoldiers and inſtructions; and being thus provided, the general proceeded, with part of his army, towards Zebulon (otherwiſe called Andron), the moſt defenſible city of Galilee, and by which Judæa is divided from Ptolemais. On his arrival at the place, he found that it was amply ſtored with proviſions of all kinds, but not a ſingle perſon was viſible in the town, all the inhabitants having fled to the mountains: on which he gave his ſoldiers permiſſion to plunder the city. The general was aſtoniſhed at the beauty and elegance of the buildings, which bore a great reſemblance to thoſe of Tyre, Sidon, and Berytus: yet, notwithſtanding his amazement, he cauſed them to be burnt, and levelled with the ground. This being done, he proceeded to ravage the adjacent country, laying waſte where-ever he came. When he had made all poſſible depredations, and burnt the adjacent villages, he left them in that ſituation, and then returned to Ptolemais. On this occaſion, the Syrians were ſo intent on the obtaining of plunder, that they could not prevail on themſelves to retire in time; but many of them remained behind: and, on the retreat of Ceſtius, the Jews taking courage, fell on theſe plunderers, and deſtroyed near two thouſand of them.

The Jews kill 2000 Syrians.

Ceſtius proceeded from Ptolemais to Cæſarea, whence he diſpatched a diviſion of his army to Joppa, with directions that, if they could get an eaſy poſſeſſion of the place, they ſhould preſerve it; but if they found that the inhabitants made preparation to defend it, in that caſe they ſhould wait for the arrival of the reſt of the army. However, the Romans attacked the place both by land and ſea, and became maſters of it with very little difficulty: for the inhabitants were ſo far from being able to reſiſt the attack, that they had not even an opportunity of making their eſcape; but all of them, men, women, and children, maſters and ſervants, were indiſcriminately put to the ſword; the number of perſons ſlain being reckoned at eight thouſand four hundred; and the city was plundered and reduced to aſhes. A body of Roman horſe made ſimilar deſtruction in the toparchy of Narbatane, not far from Cæſarea, where they ravaged the country, killed great numbers of the inhabitants, took poſſeſſion of their effects, and burnt their cities to the ground.

Joppa taken and deſtroyed by the Romans, and 8,400 inhabitants ſlain.

The twelfth legion was now ſent into Galilee by Ceſtius, under the command of Cæſennius Gallus, and as many other troops were ſent in their aid as were deemed ſufficient for the reduction of that province. The ſtrongeſt city in this country was Sepphoris, the gates of which were immediately opened to the commander, and the other towns copied the example of Sepphoris. The inſurgents and diſaffected people retired to the mountain of Aſamon, which croſſes Galilee, and is directly oppoſite to Sepphoris. While they were thus ſituated, Gallus approached them; but as long as they were able to maintain the higher ground, they were more than a match for the Romans, about two hundred of whom they killed in the attack; but at length the Romans, making a compaſs, ſo as to act on equal terms, the oppoſite party was ſoon put to the rout; ſince the men, being ill-armed, were unable to withſtand the aſſault, and the fugitives were ſoon cut to pieces by the horſe. Some few of them ſaved their lives by hiding in crags of the rock; but above two thouſand of them were ſlain on this occaſion.

Gallus ſent into Galilee, which he reduces.

By this time Gallus being convinced that there was no farther neceſſity for his attendance in Galilee, retired with his troops to Cæſarea; and Ceſtius departed with his army to Antipatris; where, when he arrived, he was informed that a great number of Jews had got into the tower of Aphec, whither he ſent a number of his troops to rout them. The Jews finding themſelves totally unable to ſuſtain the ſhock, abandoned the place to the Romans, who firſt ſtripped it of every thing of value, then ſet fire to all the villages in its neighbourhood, and departed as ſoon as they were deſtroyed.

He diſlodges the Jews from Aphec, which he plunders, and afterwards deſtroys.

From Antipatris, Ceſtius proceeded to Lydda, where he found no more than fifty men, all the reſt of them having gone to Jeruſalem, on occaſion of the feaſt of tabernacles. Theſe fifty Ceſtius cauſed to be deſtroyed, ſet fire to the town, and then proceeded, by the way of Bethoron, to a place named Gabaoh, about fifty furlongs from Jeruſalem, where he encamped.

Ceſtius ſets fire to Lydda, and kills the inhabitants.

Convinced of the exceſſive dangers of the war, the Jews abandoned their former ſcruples with regard to their ſacred days, and applied themſelves ſtrictly to their arms. Imagining that their force was now ſufficient to cope with the Romans, they made a deſperate ſally on the ſabbath-day, regardleſs of their ancient prejudices, and, with a furious uproar, attacked their enemies. The rage which on this occaſion inflamed them ſo as to induce them to forget their duty, was advantageous to them in the execution of the projected enterprize: for, on the firſt charge, they put the front of the Romans into great diſorder, and penetrated ſo far into the main body of the army, that if a body of foot had not yet remained entirely unbroken, and a party of horſe arrived to their relief in this critical juncture, it is probable that Ceſtius and all muſt have been cut to pieces. On this occaſion four hundred of the Roman cavalry were ſlain, and one hundred and fifteen of the infantry; while of the Jews there fell no more on the ſpot than two and twenty men. Thoſe who were moſt eminently diſtinguiſhed in this action were Monobaſus and Cenedæus, two relations of Monobaſus, king of the Adiabenians:

The Jews make a furious ſally on the Romans, of whom they deſtroy ſeveral hundreds, with little loſs on their ſide.

benians: and the valour of these chieftains was well seconded by Niger of Peræa, and Silas the Babylonian, the last of whom had gone over to take part with the Jews, after having been formerly in the service of king Agrippa.

The Jews retreat; and a part fall upon the rear of the Romans, and seize their carriages, &c.

The main body of the Jews now retreating in good order, went back into the city; and in the mean time the Romans retiring towards Bethoron, they were followed by Gioras, the son of Simon, who destroyed several of them, and seized a number of carriages, and a quantity of baggage, which he found in the course of his pursuit, and which he conveyed to Jerusalem. Cestius remained in the field three days after this action, during all which time a party of the Jews was stationed on the adjacent hills to watch his movements; and it is probable that the Jews would have attacked the Romans, if they had offered to depart during that period.

CHAP. XXI.

AGRIPPA proposes an Alliance with the ROMANS. PHŒBUS killed, and BORCÆUS wounded by the People. The JEWS pursued to the Walls of JERUSALEM by CESTIUS, who advances to the City with his whole Army. The Walls defended by the JEWS, the ROMANS repulsed, and the Siege abandoned. The miserable Situation of the ROMANS, and unhappy Condition of CESTIUS. He makes his Escape by a Stratagem.

Agrippa endeavours to bring about an accommodation.

AGRIPPA observing that the Jews made their appearance in amazing numbers on the hills, and on every elevated situation in the neighbourhood, did not think that even the Romans themselves were safe within the reach of an enemy so powerful; wherefore he came to a resolution to try if fair words might not obtain him some advantage, flattering himself that the opposing parties might be reasoned into a better opinion of each other than they at present held; or, at least, that if he should not be able to bring them to terms of perfect friendship, he might abate something of their enmity by promoting a change of opinion on either side.

He sends two friends to treat with the Jews

Impressed with these sentiments, Agrippa dispatched two of his friends and officers, named Borcæus and Phœbus, men of unsullied honour and reputation, to offer his opponents a league of alliance with the Romans, and full pardon and indemnity for all that was past, on the single condition that they should henceforth entertain new sentiments, and immediately lay down their arms.

One of them killed, and the other wounded by the faction.

This proposal was no sooner made, than the leaders of the opposition, apprehensive that the people in general might entertain thoughts of going over to the party of Agrippa, in hopes of the promised pardon, resolved on the immediate destruction of the embassadors. Phœbus they killed without permitting him to say a word in his justification; but Borcæus made his escape, after being wounded. The atrocious wickedness of this action so incensed the multitude, that they pursued the offenders with clubs and stones, and in this manner they drove them into the town.

Agrippa attacks and routs the Jews, pursuing them to the walls.

In consequence of this disturbance Agrippa was furnished with the fairest opportunity imaginable of making his attack on the faction; and hereupon he advanced towards them with his whole army; attacked and routed them, and pursued them even to the walls of Jerusalem. This being done, he retired to a place named Scopus, at the distance of about seven furlongs from the city, where he pitched his camp, and remained three days and nights, without attempting to make any attack upon the city, flattering himself with the expectation that the people would be induced to change their sentiments. In this interim he did nothing but send into the adjacent country for a supply of corn, and other necessaries.

Cestius advances to Jerusalem with his whole army.

On the following day, which was the thirtieth of the month Hyperberetæus, Cestius advanced with his whole army, in a regular manner, to the borders of the city, where the people in general were so terrified by the faction, that they were afraid to take any step of consequence; while the principal promoters of the sedition were so alarmed by the conduct and discipline of the Romans on their march, that they retired from the extremities of the city, and took refuge in the temple. Cestius proceeded by the way of Bezetha, and as he passed forwards burnt Cœnopolis, and a place which was denominated the wood-market. Hence he advanced to the upper town, and pitched his camp at a small distance from the palace.

He lets slip a favourable opportunity of taking the place.

If, at this critical juncture, he had made a vigorous attack, he might, with the greatest ease, have made himself master of the place, and put a period to the war: but he was diverted from this purpose by the mediation of two generals named Tyrannus and Priscus, and several other officers, with the prevailing argument of some of Florus's money: and this unhappy proceeding was the occasion of the present misfortunes of the Jews, and the source of many of their future calamities.

When affairs were in this situation, Ananus, the son of Jonathas, and several other men of distinction among the Jews, called aloud to Cestius, making an offer to open the gates to him: but either through diffidence or fear, he was so long in considering whether he should comply with the offer, that the intention was discovered, and the people compelled Ananus and his companions to retreat from the walls of the city, and retire to their houses for protection.

The Romans are repulsed in several assaults.

After this the Jews, with a view to defend the walls of the city, repaired to the different turrets, and, for five successive days, defended them against all the efforts of the Romans, though they urged the attack with the utmost impetuosity. Cestius, on the sixth day, made

made an assault on the north side of the temple, with a select force chosen from his troops and bowmen; but he was received with such a violent shower of shot and stones from the porch and galleries, that the Romans were not only repeatedly compelled to retire from the severity of the charge, but finally obliged to abandon the enterprize. Having been thus repulsed, the Romans had, at length, recourse to the following singular invention. Those in front placing their bucklers against the wall, and covering their heads and shoulders with them, they who stood next closed their bucklers to the former, till the whole body was covered, and made the appearance of a tortoise: the bucklers being thus conjoined, were proof against all the darts and arrows of the enemy; so that the Romans could now sap and undermine the walls without being exposed to danger; and the first thing they now did was to attempt setting fire to the gates of the temple. This circumstance amazed and terrified the faction to such a degree, that they considered themselves as ruined; and many of them absolutely abandoned the town: nor were the honest party less elevated with joy, than the rebels depressed by despair. The people now demanded that the gates might be opened to Cestius, whom they considered in the light of a friend and preserver. Matters having proceeded thus far, the general had nothing more to have done, but to have maintained the siege for a very little time longer, and the town must have submitted: but the providence of God would not permit a war which had been undertaken with so little provocation to end in such a manner: for Cestius, without considering the good disposition of the people in general in the town, or reflecting on the despair into which the rebels were thrown, as if he had been infatuated, drew off his men all at once, and, contrary to all common sense and reason, abandoned the siege, at the time when his prospects were better than they had been at any former period. The revolters were so much encouraged by this unexpected departure of Cestius, that they attacked him in the rear, and destroyed a number both of his cavalry and infantry. On the first night he took up his residence in a camp which he had fortified at a place named Scopus; and on the following day he continued his march, but was closely pursued by the enemy, who annoyed him as he went, and destroyed a considerable number of his troops. A trench, with pallisadoes on both sides of the way, having been thrown up by the Romans, the Jews annoyed them exceedingly with their darts and arrows during their march across the passage, while the Romans did not offer to revenge this insult, nor even to look back in the face of their enemies. This was partly in consideration of their being unable to secure their flanks, as their numbers were very considerable, and partly in the apprehension that the order of their march might be broken, as they were themselves burthened with very heavy arms, and those of the Jews were remarkably light, so that they were enabled to make excursions and surprises without any difficulty. On the whole this was a very disastrous attack to the Romans, and not attended with any loss on the part of the Jews. In fact, the roads were covered with dead and wounded bodies in this retreat. Great numbers of the common soldiers were slain; and among those of superior rank were Priscus, commander of the sixth legion; a tribune, named Longinus; and Emilius Jucundus, a distinguished officer of horse. The Romans likewise lost great part of their baggage; but at length they arrived at Gabaoh, where they had encamped on a former occasion.

Cestius was now greatly distressed how to act; and, during two days, employed his thoughts on his next operation. On the third day he found that the Jews were so greatly increased in numbers, that the whole face of the country was covered with them. He was now sensible that danger, as well as hindrance of time, had arisen from his delay; and that as his enemies still increased in number, more danger would arise from a farther delay. Hereupon he issued orders that the army should be eased of all their incumbrances, that they might march with the greater expedition: he likewise directed that all the mules, asses, and other beasts of burden, should be killed, except only as many as might be necessary to carry such weapons and machines as would, probably, be hereafter wanted: and this was done likewise from motives of policy, to prevent their coming into possession of the enemy, and being employed to his disadvantage. This was the situation of the army during its approach towards Bethoron, Cestius marching at their head. While the troops continued in the open country they did not receive the least interruption from the Jews; but as they advanced into hollow ways and defiles, the enemy charged them in front and rear, to separate some divisions of them from the rest of the army, and force them farther into the valley: and in the interim the Jews discharged shot on the heads of the Romans, from the rocks and craggs. While the infantry were thus distressed, and in doubt how they should act, the situation of the cavalry was still more deplorable; for it was impossible for them to advance against the Jews in the mountains, or secure themselves in the vallies: nor could the order of the troops be maintained amidst such a shower of arrows as descended on them. Many perished by falling from precipices, and by other accidents: in fact, they were in such a distressful situation, that they could neither fight nor fly. Reduced to this shocking extremity, the Romans gave vent to their passion by tears, groans, and lamentations; while, on the other hand, the Jews made the rocks and vallies resound with their transports of joy, triumph, and exultation. In fact, such was the situation of affairs, that if daylight had continued some time longer, the whole army of Cestius must have been cut to pieces; but the

Method of securing the pioneers.

The Romans attempt to burn the gates

Imprudent conduct of Cestius in raising the siege without just cause.

The faction harrass him in his retreat.

The Romans sustain a disgraceful check

Cestius, in great perplexity, eases himself of useless incumbrances, by killing the mules, &c.

Miserable condition of the Romans during their flight.

the Romans with difficulty crept to Bethoron, under cover of the night; all the paſſes near which place were immediately ſecured by the Jews, to prevent the retreat of their adverſaries.

Stratagem deviſed by Ceſtius to effect his eſcape.

Ceſtius finding in what a diſagreeable manner he was ſurrounded, and that it would be impoſſible to retreat within ſight of the enemy, deviſed a ſcheme to favour his eſcape. Having ſtationed near four hundred of his moſt gallant troops on the tops of the houſes, he ordered that they ſhould act the part of centinels, calling as loud as they were able to the watches and guards, as if the army was ſtill in its encampment. While this plan was going forward Ceſtius collected his troops, and, during the night, marched to the diſtance of about thirty furlongs. In the morning, when the Jews came to find that the place had been deſerted by the main body of the army during the night, they were ſo enraged that they immediately attacked the four hundred Romans who had acted as centinels, ſlew every one of them, and then inſtantly marched in purſuit of Ceſtius: but his troops having obtained a whole night's march on them, and proceeding with the utmoſt rapidity on the following day, it was not poſſible to overtake them. Such were the hurry and confuſion in which the Romans had fled, that they dropt in the road all their ſlings, machines, and other inſtruments for battery and attack: and theſe being ſeized by the purſuers, they afterwards made uſe of them againſt the Romans.

The Jews carry the Roman engines to Jeruſalem, and exult on their ſucceſs.

The Jews purſued their enemies as far as Antipatris: but finding it in vain to continue the chace, they carefully preſerved the engines, ſtripped the dead, collected all the booty they could, and then returned towards Jeruſalem, ſinging ſongs of triumph for ſo important a victory, obtained with a loſs perfectly inconſiderable. In this conteſt there fell, of the Romans and their auxiliaries, three hundred and eighty cavalry, and four thouſand infantry. This event took place in the twelfth year of the reign of Nero, and on the eighth day of the month Dius.

CHAP. XXII.

CESTIUS ſends an Account of his Misfortune to NERO, and attributes the Fault to FLORUS. The People of DAMASCUS confederate to deſtroy the JEWS. JOSEPH, the Son of MATTHIAS, Governor of the TWO GALILEES. He chuſes a Council of Seventy, builds Walls round the defenſible Cities, and adopts the Roman Mode of Diſcipline.

Many of the Jews retire from Jeruſalem.

AFTER the above-mentioned misfortune had happened to Ceſtius, the principal of the Jews in Jeruſalem abandoned the city, as a place devoted to deſtruction. The two brothers, Coſtabarus and Saul, with Philip the ſon of Jacimus, who had formerly been general to Agrippa, privately withdrew to Ceſtius; but Antipas, who was impriſoned with them in the palace, diſdaining to owe his ſafety to flight, received his death from the hands of the faction. The mode of his execution will be hereafter related. At this period Ceſtius commiſſioned Saul and his aſſociates to repair to Nero, in Achaia, with a recital of his miſcarriage, the whole of which he attributed to the bad conduct of Florus. Ceſtius proceeded in this manner, by way of directing on the head of another, the ſtorm which might otherwiſe have fallen on himſelf.

Ten thouſand Jews ſlaughtered at Damaſcus.

Intelligence of this defeat had no ſooner arrived at Damaſcus, than the inhabitants of that place combined to deſtroy all the Jews reſident there; which they thought they might eaſily effect, if they could meet with them in a body at the baths, or any other public place: but they were in fear leſt their wives, moſt of whom were Jews, ſhould get intelligence of this intention. The inhabitants, however, ſeized a proper opportunity, when the Jews were ſo aſſembled, in a confined place, and unarmed; and, in the ſpace of an hour, cut the throats of ten thouſand of them, almoſt without oppoſition.

The factious Jews appoint civil and military officers.

By this time the Jews who had obtained ſo complete a conqueſt over Ceſtius were returned to Jeruſalem; and uſed every means to bring over to their intereſt as many of the Romans as they poſſibly could. On this occaſion they held a meeting in the temple for the election of officers for the management of the war: and they made Joſeph, the ſon of Gorion, and Ananas, the high-prieſt, governors in civil affairs, and to ſuperintend the city; particularly deſiring that they would pay a proper attention to the re edification of the walls. With regard to Eleazar, the ſon of Simon, though he was poſſeſſed of an immenſe booty which had been taken from the Romans, and had obtained a large ſum of money from Ceſtius, excluſive of a vaſt public treaſure which he had appropriated to his own uſe; yet they did not think proper to confer any honour or employment on him, as they deemed him a man of a haughty and tyrannical diſpoſition; and thought thoſe who aſſociated with him were rather guards than friends and companions. But Eleazar was not prevented by this from ingratiating himſelf into the affections of the people, which by means of complaiſance, money, and popular management, he did ſo effectually, that they thought him the moſt proper man to act as governor.

Eleazar, though at firſt ſlighted, at length renders himſelf popular.

Commanders ſent into Idumea, and other parts.

The people now ſent Jeſus, the ſon of Sapphas, one of the high-prieſts, and Eleazar, the ſon of the new high-prieſt, as commanders into Idumæa: directing that their orders ſhould be ſtrictly obeyed by Niger, the preſent governor of that province. This Niger was likewiſe denominated Peraites, becauſe he came from beyond Jordan.

Similar care was likewiſe taken by the people with regard to the other governments. To Jericho they ſent

ſent Joſeph, the ſon of Simon; Manaſſes went beyond the river, and John, the Eſſene, was diſpatched to Thamna. To theſe governments were added Lydda, Joppa, and Emmaus, which were to be held as toparchies. The government of Gophnitis and Acrabatene was given to John, the ſon of Ananias, and that of the Two Galilees to Joſephus, the ſon of Matthias, to whom was likewiſe ſubmitted the government of Gamala, the ſtrongeſt place in the country.

Joſephus, the writer of this hiſtory, made governor of the Two Galilees.

His prudent conduct.

Each of theſe governors diſcharged his truſt with pleaſure, and managed with great prudence. With regard to Joſephus, as ſoon as he arrived in Galilee, he ſought to ingratiate himſelf into the affections of the people, as an intereſt which would amply atone for any trivial errors he might fall into. He alſo reflected that the admitting perſons of rank to a ſhare in the government was the ready way to make them his friends; and that the moſt effectual method of obliging the people at large, would be the employing ſuch of the natives as were popular in all public buſineſs. The method Joſephus took was as follows: he ſelected a council of ſeventy from among the oldeſt and wiſeſt men of the nation. To this council he deputed the government of Galilee, reſtraining them in a few particulars only. Theſe ſeventy judges were diſtributed, ſeven in each city, and impowered to hear and determine all common affairs, agreeable to a plan which was preſcribed to them: but the determining in capital caſes, and matters of great conſequence, Joſephus reſerved to himſelf.

He chuſes a council of ſeventy.

He provides for the ſecurity of the cities.

The council of ſeventy thus diſpoſed of, and domeſtic affairs regulated, Joſephus began to conſider how moſt effectually to ſecure himſelf from foreign attacks. He had no kind of doubt but that the Romans would make irruptions into Galilee, and therefore immediately cauſed walls to be built round the defenſible cities, viz. Jotapata, Berſabee, Selamis, Pereccho, Japha and Sigoh, Tarichæa and Tiberias, and alſo the mountain called Itabyr. In the lower Galilee he fortified the caves near the lake of Geneſareth: in the upper Galilee, Petra, of the Achabarians; Seph, Jamnith and Mero; with Seleucir, Soganes and Gamala, in Gaulanitis. But the Sepphorites, who were a rich people, and naturally of a martial turn, were permitted to build their own walls. Giſchala was walled in by Joſephus's command, by John, the ſon of Levi. All the reſt of the caſtles were fortified by Joſephus's immediate aid and direction.

His wiſe plan of policy and diſcipline.

Having obtained upwards of one hundred thouſand men in Galilee, he ſupplied them with old arms which he had collected in various places. He next reflected on the amazing power of the Romans, and what it was that contributed to render thoſe people ſo invincible; and he was of opinion that it was owing to their ſtrict diſcipline and regular obedience. As it was not in his power at preſent to diſcipline his people as he wiſhed, he determined to ſecure their obedience in the beſt manner he could; and for this purpoſe he thought the Roman method of multiplying officers would be effectual, dividing and ſubdividing offices of command beneath each other; and this method he adopted. He appointed officers over tens, hundreds, and thouſands, all of them ſtill ſubject to the ſuperior command of others. He cauſed his forces to be inſtructed to underſtand ſignals; to know the points of war by the ſound of trumpet; diſtinguiſhing an alarm, a charge, or a retreat, by the different ſounds; to comprehend the mode of fighting, and the form of battle; the method of attack and retreat; and how to ſecond the diſtreſſed, and relieve thoſe that might be fatigued. He inſtructed them in the virtues of fortitude, to ſuſtain mental or bodily diſtreſs, admoniſhing them to ſhew themſelves equally proof againſt trouble and danger. He made uſe of the Roman diſcipline in all his warlike inſtructions, as what might produce an equal force of authority and example. He told his ſoldiers, that if their wiſh was to obtain his good opinion of their obedience in time of war, it would become them previouſly to decline every act of unlawful violence; to avoid all fraud, pilfering, and robbery: that they ſhould be ſtrictly juſt in their dealings with every one; and not think that what aroſe from the defraud of another, could produce any advantage to themſelves. "Is it poſſible (ſaid he) for a war againſt the rights of conſcience to proſper, when it is evident that both God and man muſt be our profeſſed enemies?" In this manner did Joſephus continue to admoniſh and inſtruct his people, till he had formed an army agreeable to his own wiſh. He was now at the head of ſixty thouſand infantry, two hundred and fifty cavalry, and ſix hundred ſelect men for his body guard, excluſive of four thouſand five hundred mercenaries, on whom he placed the utmoſt reliance. The expence of theſe men to the country was not conſiderable; for all of them, except the mercenaries, were ſupported by cities. Theſe cities, while one half of the men were engaged in the wars, employed the other half to provide neceſſaries for their aſſociates; ſo that the men were mutual aſſiſtants to each other, as thoſe who were in arms ſerved to protect thoſe who provided for them.

He adopts the military diſcipline of the Romans.

An account of the army of Joſephus.

CHAP. XXIII.

The Revolt of TIBERIAS, which is recovered by a ſingular Device, executed by JOSEPHUS and Seven unarmed Men. CLITUS blamed for the whole Procedure, and ſentenced to cut off one of his own Hands.

THE citizens of Tiberias having revolted, and acknowledging Agrippa for their king, invited him to come and take poſſeſſion of the city. The time of appointment arrived; but Agrippa did not make his appearance; and ſome

Revolt of the Tiberians.

Roman cavaliers only coming, the inhabitants abandoned the intereſt of Joſephus. Information of this circumſtance arriving at Tarichæa, at a time when Joſephus had ſent his troops on a foraging party, he was at a loſs how to act; for he was afraid to venture alone amidſt the whole number of deſerters, nor did he dare to truſt himſelf in the town, leſt the king's ſoldiers ſhould ſurpriſe him; beſides, as their ſabbath would fall on the following day, no public buſineſs could be tranſacted.

Joſephus's device for recovering the city

Joſephus had now no other mode of conſulting his ſecurity, but by an artful deception of the revolters, and on this occaſion he planned a ſcheme which ſucceeded as he could have wiſhed. He gave directions that the gates of Tarichæa ſhould be ſhut and guarded, to prevent the Tiberians receiving any information of what was going forward. This being done, he ordered all the boats on the lake, amounting to two hundred and thirty, to be aſſembled, and that each boat ſhould be manned by four perſons. Thus provided, the veſſels ſailed early in the morning towards Tiberias: and when they were come ſo near the place that the people therein might eaſily judge of the number of the fleet, without diſtinguiſhing how many men were on board, he commanded that all the veſſels ſhould be brought to an anchor, and remain in their preſent ſtation; while himſelf, attended only by ſeven of his guards, and all of them unarmed, rowed up almoſt cloſe to the town. At this juncture there were numbers of men on the walls, venting exclamations againſt him after their accuſtomed manner: but when they beheld him in the ſituation above deſcribed, they had no doubt but that all the ſhips they beheld were filled with ſoldiers. Terrified by this idea, they immediately threw down their arms, and behaving in the moſt ſubmiſſive manner imaginable, humbly intreated him to have mercy on a wretched city and people. Joſephus paid a proper attention to what they ſaid, and then addreſſed them to the following purpoſe: "Is it not enough that you are engaged in a war with the Romans, but you muſt ſeek, at the ſame time, the injury of each other, by the devaſtations of civil war? What your enemies wiſhed to befal you ſeems to be accompliſhed; and you are now anxious to deſtroy even him who has been your preſerver. Do you not bluſh to engage thoſe walls which I cauſed to be erected for your defence to my deſtruction? Yet this crime, aggravated as it is, ſhall not prevent my inclination to pardon all your paſt faults, nor my engaging in a ſincere and laſting friendſhip with you, provided you will agree to ſend ſuch deputies as I may approve to requeſt the favour."

The people ſubmit, and ſurrender the place.

Hereupon the citizens commiſſioned ten of their principal people to wait on Joſephus on this buſineſs; and theſe he immediately directed to be put on board a fiſhing veſſel, and conducted to a little diſtance from the ſhore. In the next place he demanded fifty of the principal ſenators to be delivered to him, as a farther ſecurity for the performance of conditions; and thus proceeded, with one pretence after another, till he had all the ſenate in his hands, and of the whole number of inhabitants about ſix thouſand. Theſe were ſent in boats to Tarichæa, and there detained priſoners.

Clitus charged with being the chief author of the tumult, and ſentenced to cut off one of his hands.

The people in general now exclaimed againſt Clitus, ſaid that he was the principal promoter of the tumult, and requeſted that Joſephus would make an example of him, and accept his puniſhment as an atonement for what had happened. Joſephus was unwilling to take away any man's life; but, on the requeſt of the people, directed Levi, one of his guards, to cut off both the hands of Clitus. The ſoldier was afraid to execute this ſentence amidſt ſuch a number of enemies, which ſo enraged Joſephus, that he was on the point of going on ſhore to be himſelf the executioner. This coming to the knowledge of Clitus, he applied to Joſephus, requeſting that one hand only might ſuffice; which Joſephus complied with, on condition that he ſhould cut off his own hand: whereupon Clitus drawing his ſword, chopped off his left hand with his right: ſuch was the influence Joſephus had over theſe people. Thus was Tiberias recovered by Joſephus and ſeven ſoldiers only, with a number of boats almoſt unmanned.

Sepphoris and Giſchala revolt, and are puniſhed.

A few days after this Sepphoris and other cities revolted; on which Joſephus gave permiſſion to his ſoldiers to plunder Sepphoris and Giſchala: but, on the petition of the inhabitants, he gave orders that all which could be recovered ſhould be reſtored; for it was his wiſh to puniſh and oblige them at the ſame time.

The inhabitants of Jeruſalem prepare for war.

During theſe tranſactions, all was peaceable in Galilee: but the people of Jeruſalem were no ſooner at peace with each other, than they concerted the means of freſh contentions with the Romans. The high-prieſt Ananias, and other men of rank who were enemies to the Romans, hurried the rebuilding the walls, the procuring military machines and weapons, with darts, arrows, &c. while every hand was engaged in martial preparations, and the youth trained to the exerciſe of arms. Affairs were now in great confuſion: moderate and thoughtful men wept at the ſuppoſed approach of public calamities. The melancholy proſpect afflicted every one of a peaceable diſpoſition, while the incendiaries triumphed in the general confuſion. In a word, the city bore a moſt diſmal aſpect, even before the Romans approached it. At this time, Simon, the ſon of Gioras, headed a band of free-booters, who ſubſiſted on their plunder in the toparchy of Acrabatane, where they not only pillaged the houſes of all the men of eminence; but likewiſe made perſonal attacks on them, aſſaulting them with cudgels, and treating them more ignominiouſly than ſlaves: thus exerciſing their tyranny in the moſt open manner. Simon proceeded in this way, till Ananus and the magiſtrates ſent troops, which compelled him and his ſmall party to take refuge among the thieves

Ravages committed by Simon.

of

of Maſſada; and with them he continued till the deſtruction of Ananus and ſome other of his enemies. His ravages in Idumæa and its neighbourhood were ſuch, and his bloody outrages ſo enormous, that the government was obliged to garriſon even the villages, for the protection of the country. Thus were affairs ſituated in Judæa at that period.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

A powerful Army raiſed by VESPASIAN and TITUS. The JEWS proceed towards ASCALON, and ſuffer a Defeat. Eight Thouſand JEWS ſlain in a ſecond Engagement.

Nero alarmed at the ſucceſſes of the Jews.

THE emperor, on receiving intelligence of the defeat of Ceſtius in Judæa, was thrown into the moſt terrible conſternation; but he diſſembled his alarm, oſtentatiouſly aſſerting, that it was to the miſconduct of his general, and not to their own valour, that the Jews were indebted for victory; for he imagined that it would be derogatory to the ſovereign ſtate of the Roman empire, and to his ſuperiority to other princes, to betray a concern at the common occurrences of life. During this contention between his fear and his pride, he induſtriouſly ſought for a man qualified to aſſume the important taſk of chaſtiſing the revolted Jews, preſerving the eaſt in tranquillity, and the allegiance of ſeveral other nations who had manifeſted a diſpoſition to free themſelves from the power of the Romans. Upon mature deliberation,

Veſpaſian appointed to act againſt the Jews.

Nero, at length, judged Veſpaſian to be the only man poſſeſſed of abilities adequate to the important enterpriſe. Veſpaſian was now arrived to an advanced age, and from his early years he had been engaged in a continued ſucceſſion of military exploits. The empire was indebted to him for the eſtabliſhment of a peace in the weſt, where the Germans had revolted; and he completed the conqueſt over Britain, attributing to the emperor the glory of triumphing over that country, which had not before been entirely ſubdued. The years and experience of Veſpaſian, and his approved courage and fidelity, his having ſons for hoſtages of his loyalty, who, being in the vigour of youth, might execute their father's commands, and his appearing to be favoured by the providence of the Almighty, determined the emperor to appoint him to the command of his army in Syria. Immediately upon receiving the commiſſion from Nero, who accompanied it with the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of friendſhip, he commanded his ſon Titus to lead the fifth and the tenth legions into Alexandria, and he himſelf departed from Achaia, and croſſing the Helleſpont, proceeded by land into Syria, where he aſſembled all the Roman forces, and the auxiliaries which the princes adjacent to that province had ſupplied.

They march to the attack of Aſcalon.

Mean time, the Jews, being tranſported to the moſt exceſſive degree of extravagance, by the conqueſt they had gained over the Roman army under the command of Ceſtius, determined to proſecute the war with the utmoſt vigour. They formed their beſt troops into a body, and marched againſt the ancient city of Aſcalon, ſituated at about the diſtance of five hundred and twenty furlongs from Jeruſalem, determining firſt to attempt the reduction of that place, againſt the inhabitants of which they had ever entertained an implacable enmity. The Jewiſh army was under the command of Niger, of Peræa; Silas, a Babylonian; and John, an Eſſene; who were men equally celebrated for valour and ſkill in the management of war.

Aſcalon was ſurrounded by a wall of ſurpriſing ſtrength; but the whole garriſon conſiſted only of a troop of cavalry and a company of foot, under the command of Antony. Being impatient to encounter the Romans, the Jews marched with great expedition, intending to attack them by ſurpriſe: but Antony, gaining intelligence of this deſign, ſtationed his cavalry without the town, in order to repulſe the enemy. The Roman army was compoſed of veteran troops, completely armed, well diſciplined, and perfectly obedient to order. The Jews had conſiderably the ſuperiority in point of numbers: but they were precipitate and wholly ungovernable, alſo indifferently equipped for, and by no means expert in the art of war; and the army conſiſted intirely of infantry. Antony received the charge with great reſolution: his troop of horſe broke the firſt ranks of the adverſe army, which was immediately put to the rout; great numbers being cruſhed to death by their own people, and others diſperſed over the plain, and where-ever they fled they were oppoſed by the Romans. The Jews exerted their utmoſt endeavours to rally their forces; but this the Romans prevented; for during the greateſt part of the day they, without intermiſſion, purſued the advantage they had gained, till ten thouſand of the enemy were ſlain; in

State of the two armies.

The Jews are defeated, with the loſs of 10,000 men.

which

which number were the two generals, John and Silas: Niger, the ſurviving general, with the reſt of the Jews, moſt of whom were wounded, eſcaped to a town in Idumæa, named Salis. In this action the Romans ſuſtained no other injury than that of having an inconſiderable number of men wounded.

The reſolution of the Jews was not abated by the terrible defeat they had ſuſtained: but, founding the hopes of ſucceſs on the recollection of former victories, they were animated to a more violent deſire of vengeance. Without allowing time for the wounded men to recover, they collected a much more numerous army than before, and determined to make a ſecond attempt againſt Aſcalon, notwithſtanding their want of military ſkill and diſcipline; the fatal effects of which they had already experienced. They were ſurpriſed by an ambuſh which Antony had ſtationed on the way they were to paſs, and intirely routed, without being able to form themſelves into the order of battle: eight thouſand Jews were ſlain upon the ſpot; and the reſt, with Niger, their general, put to flight. On this occaſion, Niger afforded many proofs of his being a courageous and ſkilful ſoldier. Being cloſely purſued, the Jews ſought refuge in a caſtle belonging to the village of Bezedel, which was ſuppoſed to be impregnable; and, therefore, as the only effectual means of deſtroying both Niger and the caſtle, the Romans ſet fire to the fort; and after this departed, triumphing in the idea that the leader of the Jews muſt inevitably periſh in the flames. Niger threw himſelf from the top of the caſtle into a vault of conſiderable depth, where, after three days, he was found alive by his friends, who were ſearching for his remains, in order to give them interment. This happy and unexpected event tranſported the Jews from a ſtate of deſpondency into the contrary extreme of joy; and the preſervation of their general, whom they conſidered as an inſtrument eſſentially neceſſary in the proſecution of the war, they attributed to an interpoſition of Divine Providence.

They are routed in a ſecond engagement, and 8000 ſlain.

Niger's providential eſcape.

Upon the arrival of Veſpaſian with his army at Antioch, the metropolis of Syria, which, on account of its extent, beauty, ſituation, and other advantages, was conſidered as one of the three principal cities of the Roman empire, he found the king Agrippa, attended by his troops, waiting to receive him. Hence he proceeded to Ptolemais, where the people of Sepphoris, a city in Galilee, had aſſembled on occaſion of his expected arrival. Theſe were a well-diſpoſed people; and being conſcious of the great power of the Romans, and deſirous of making proviſion for their own ſafety, they acknowledged Ceſtius Gallus as their governor, previous to the arrival of Veſpaſian, binding themſelves to act in perfect obedience to his commands, even againſt their own countrymen, and at the ſame time declaring their allegiance to the ſtate of Rome. They received a garriſon from Ceſtius Gallus, and ſolicited Veſpaſian to grant them a number of cavalry and infantry ſufficient for their defence, in caſe of being attacked by the Jews: with this requeſt he readily complied; for Sepphoris being the moſt extenſive and the ſtrongeſt city of Galilee, he judged it expedient to keep ſo important a place in a proper ſtate of defence.

The inhabitants of Sepphoris friendly to the Romans.

CHAP. II.

Deſcription of Upper and Lower GALILEE, and SAMARIA. The Situation of JERUSALEM. The Diviſion of JUDÆA.

THE Upper and the Lower Galilees are ſurrounded by Phœnicia and Syria: on the weſt they are bounded by the city and territory of Ptolemais, and by Mount Carmel, which place was formerly the property of the Galileans, but is now in poſſeſſion of the Tyrians; and adjoining to this is Gaba, which received the name of the City of Horſemen, on occaſion of Herod, upon the diſmiſſion of his horſemen, having appointed that place for their reſidence. The ſouthern boundaries are formed by Samaria and Scythopolis, extending as far as the river Jordan; thoſe on the eaſt by Hippene, Gadaris, and the borders of the kingdom of Agrippa; and the city of Tyre and the Tyrian frontiers form the limits on the north.

Geographical deſcription of Upper and Lower Galilee.

The Lower Galilee extends, in length, from Tiberias to Zebulon, near Ptolemais on the coaſt, and in breadth from Zaloth, which is ſituated on the great plain, to Berſabe; from which place, to the village of Bacca, is the breadth of the Upper Galilee; the length of which is from a village near the Jordan, called Thelta, to Meroth. The Galilees are exceedingly populous, and the inhabitants being naturally of intrepid diſpoſitions, and trained from their infancy to the practice of arms, they have, on all occaſions, bravely defended themſelves againſt the ſurrounding nations. They contain a great number of cities and villages, and the ſmalleſt of the former is computed to have fifteen thouſand inhabitants. The lands being ſurpriſingly fertile, prove a moſt powerful incentive and encouragement to the practice of huſbandry. Though theſe provinces are not ſo extenſive as the country beyond the Jordan, they are greatly ſuperior to it both in ſtrength and riches; for, excluſive of the natural fertility of the ſoil, the grounds are cultivated to the utmoſt advantage: but the moſt conſiderable part of the immenſe tract of land beyond the Jordan is dry and barren: at Peræa, however, and ſeveral other parts of this country, the earth is exceedingly prolific, abounding in vines, olive-trees, palm-trees, and divers other articles in the greateſt perfection; and theſe places are refreſhed by the waters which fall in torrents from the mountains, and in the exceſſive heats continually watered

Their populouſneſs, ſtrength, fertility, &c.

watered by innumerable ſprings. This country extends, in length, from Machærus to Pella, and in breadth from Philadelphia to the Jordan; and the boundaries are formed by Pella on the north, the river Jordan on the weſt, the country of the Moabites on the ſouth, and Arabia, Philadelphia, and Geraſa on the eaſt.

Situation, extent, and produce of Samaria.

Samaria is ſituated between Judæa and Galilee; it extends from the village of Ginæa, upon the plain, to the toparchy of Acrabatane. This country, like that of Judæa, is mountainous and rich; the grounds are eaſily cultivated, and they produce abundance of both wild and domeſtic fruits; the land is naturally dry, but that diſadvantage is compenſated for by frequent rains; no part of the globe is ſupplied with more excellent water; and the paſtures are ſo remarkably fine that no other country affords ſo great an abundance of milk: but the moſt important advantage of theſe two provinces is the ſurpriſing number of their inhabitants: they are both terminated by the village of Annath, otherwiſe called Borcæus.

Particular deſcription and diviſion of Judæa.

Judæa is bounded on the north by the ſame village: the length of this province runs from the ſouth-ſide to a village called Jardan, ſituated upon the borders of Arabia; and the breadth is from the river Jordan to Joppa. Jeruſalem is ſituated in the middle; and it is therefore by many not improperly diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of the navel, or the centre of the province. This delightful country is remarkably prolific, and all the way to Ptolemais there is a moſt pleaſing proſpect of the ſea. It is divided into eleven diſtricts, the principal of which is Jeruſalem; the other ten are the toparchies of Gophna, Acrabatane, Tamna, Lydda, Emmaus, Pella, Idumæa, Engedi, Herodion, and Jericho. Jamnia and Joppa, which have juriſdiction over the neighbouring counties, are not included in the above account, nor are Gamalitis, Gaulanitis, Batanæa, and Trachonitis, which are compriſed in the kingdom of Agrippa. This country is inhabited in common by the Syrians and Jews; the breadth is from Mount Libanus and the ſources of the river Jordan to the lake of Tiberias; and it ſtretches in length from the village of Arphas to Julias.

CHAP. III.

VESPASIAN ſends PLACIDUS with an Army to the Relief of SEPPHORIS. Devaſtation in GALILEE. Martial Diſcipline of the ROMANS. Limits of the ROMAN Territories.

The Sepphorites relieved by order of Veſpaſian.

VESPASIAN diſpatched a thouſand cavalry and ſix thouſand infantry, under the command of Placidus, the tribune, in order to afford relief to the people of Sepphoris. After theſe troops had been drawn up on the great plain, the foot, for the ſecurity of the city, were quartered within the walls, and the horſe were ordered into the camp. The Roman troops made daily excurſions into the neighbourhood, whereby, though they committed no actual hoſtilities, they greatly incommoded Joſephus and his friends: not ſatisfied with ravaging the country, they made booty of whatever they could obtain from the towns, and treated the inhabitants with ſo much ſeverity that they were under the neceſſity of remaining within their walls.

Joſephus miſcarries in his attempt on Sepphoris.

Matters being thus circumſtanced, Joſephus exerted his utmoſt efforts to render himſelf maſter of Sepphoris; but he found that before his deſerting the Galileans he had ſo ſtrongly fortified the city that it now appeared to be impregnable; and deſpairing of ſucceſs, either by ſtratagem or force, he abandoned all further thoughts of the enterpriſe. This conduct ſo violently irritated the Romans, who have naturally an averſion to every ſpecies of treachery, that they ſubjected the people to the moſt terrible calamities of fire and ſword, putting thoſe who attempted reſiſtance to inſtant death, reducing the reſt to ſlavery, and making booty of all the property they could find. In this deplorable ſituation, the people of Galilee had no ſecurity but the towns which had been fortified by Joſephus.

Galilee miſerably haraſſed by the enemy.

Titus joins his father Veſpaſian with a great reinforcement.

In the mean time Titus repaired to Veſpaſian, his father, at Ptolemais, with much greater expedition than it was ſuppoſed a winter march would permit; and he there joined the fifteenth, the fifth, and the tenth legions, which were eſteemed to be the beſt diſciplined and moſt courageous of the Roman troops. Theſe were followed by eighteen companies, beſides five companies, and a troop of horſe, from Cæſarea, and a troop of Syrian cavalry. Ten of theſe cohorts were compoſed of a thouſand men each, and the reſt of ſix hundred and thirteen foot, and an hundred and twenty horſe; and the army was ſtrengthened by auxiliaries ſupplied by neighbouring princes; Antiochus, Agrippa, and Sohemus, furniſhed each two thouſand infantry and a thouſand cavalry; Malichus, king of Arabia, ſent five thouſand foot, moſt of whom were provided with bows and arrows, and a thouſand horſe. The army amounted to ſixty thouſand horſe and foot, excluſive of the train of baggage, and a great number of domeſtics, moſt of whom, having been trained to the practice of war, were but little inferior to their maſters in courage and dexterity.

Wiſe policy of the Romans, in training their ſervants to the uſe of arms.

We cannot ſufficiently admire the wiſe policy of the Romans in ſo managing their domeſtics as to make them uſeful in the common offices, and, at the ſame time, capable of rendering very eſſential ſervice in times of war: and if we conſider their admirable military diſcipline, it will appear that it is not to fortune, but to their natural courage and excellent policy, that they are indebted for the ſovereignty of the world. In peaceable

times the Romans are kept in the continual practice of the art of war; ſo that they are ever expert in the management of their arms, and prepared to engage in hoſtilities. It is the daily and invariable cuſtom for the ſoldiers to go regularly through their exerciſes; and their very trials of ſkill have the appearance of actual combats. Though no blood is ſpilt in theſe exerciſes, they effectually ſerve to preſerve the martial ſpirits of the men, and to enable them to bear fatigue. Thus are they rendered ſo familiar to the art of war, that an undiſciplined enemy cannot withſtand them. Upon entering the territories of an enemy, their firſt precaution is to guard againſt ſurpriſe. They pitch their tents in an advantageous ſituation, level the uneven ground, and form the camp in the figure of a quadrangle. The army is attended by ſmiths, carpenters, and other artificers. The interior part of the camp is divided into quarters for the officers and ſoldiers; and the outſide reſembles the walls of a fortified city, turrets being erected at equal diſtances, and the intermediate ſpaces being ſupplied with machines for caſting ſtones, darts, and arrows. Within the camp, which has four doors, ſufficiently large for foot and horſe to paſs with eaſe, there are regular ſtreets, and in the middle of them are lodgements for the principal commanders, and a tent, bearing the appearance of a little temple, for the general; there are alſo ſhops for artificers and traders, and tribunals for determining military and civil cauſes. The orders are given with ſo much preciſion, and executed by great numbers of experienced men with ſuch quickneſs, that the forming a Roman camp affords an idea of a city being erected in the ſpace of a few hours. If any further ſecurity is judged to be neceſſary, the work is completed by ſurrounding the camp with a line of circumvallation, and a trench of four cubits in depth, and of an equal meaſure in breadth. Unanimity and good order prevail among the ſoldiers, who live in a kind of brotherhood: they have their weapons continually at hand; and for ſupplying the camp with forage, wood, and water, they go out in detachments: they are not permitted to take refreſhments as they might be promiſcuouſly inclined, but regular hours are eſtabliſhed for their meals; and the times of going to reſt, of riſing, and of ſetting the watch, are ſignified by the ſound of the trumpet: and, in ſhort, rules are eſtabliſhed for regulating the conduct of the ſoldiers in every reſpect, whereby the camp is kept in the moſt perfect order. Every morning the ſoldiers wait upon the captains, and the captains upon the tribunes, and then the captains and the tribunes repair to the general, who gives to them the word or ſignal, and all neceſſary orders, which it is their buſineſs to communicate to their ſubordinates, ſo that all the ſoldiers are inſtructed when they are to attack and when retreat, and in every other part of their duty. The ſignal for decamping is given by the ſound of the trumpet; and when this is heard they take up their tents, and pack up their baggage convenient for removal; upon the ſecond ſound of the trumpet, they take up their baggages, and wait the ſignal for marching with as much attention as it is uſual for people to ſhew when they expect the ſignal for horſes ſtarting at a race; and they now ſet fire to the camp, leſt it ſhould be made advantage of by the enemy. When the trumpet ſounds a third time, the ſoldiers begin their march, and the utmoſt care is obſerved that none are left behind, and that the men preſerve their ranks and proceed with regularity.

Their order and mode of encamping.

Their harmony and regularity.

Exactneſs in their mode of decamping.

The herald is ſtationed on the right hand of the general, and with an audible voice he proclaims, "Are you prepared for battle?" The ſoldiers reply, "We are prepared for battle." By ſtretching forth their right-hands, and other ſigns, intimating their impatience to engage, they frequently prevent the queſtion from the herald. The army now advance with manly gravity, reſolution, and compoſure. The ſoldiers are provided with helmets and breaſt-plates; and each man has two ſwords, that worn on the right ſide being about the ſize of a dagger, and therefore rather deſerving to be called a poniard. Thoſe who are ſelected for the general's guards carry javelins and targets; and the others have pikes and long bucklers, beſides which each man is provided with a baſket, a pick-ax, a hatchet, a ſaw, a rein, a ſcythe, a chain, and a quantity of bread ſufficient for three days; ſo that each ſoldier carries a burthen nearly ſufficient for a horſe. Each of the horſemen bears a lance in his hand, a long ſword on his right ſide, and acroſs the horſe's ſide hangs a buckler in a ſcarf containing three or more broad-pointed darts, rather ſhorter than the uſual length of a javelin: the breaſt-plates and helmets of the cavalry reſemble thoſe of the infantry. The company appointed to attend on the perſon of the general enjoys a right of precedence; but they are armed in the ſame manner as the other troops.

The herald's word before engaging.

Order of marching and accoutrements

The Romans are exceedingly careful to avoid all raſh and inconſiderate proceedings; and all their martial operations are the conſequence of deliberate conſideration; and therefore their miſcarriages are leſs frequent, and thoſe that happen are redreſſed with greater eaſe than they would otherwiſe be. They are more ſatisfied with the failure of a well-concerted enterpriſe than with a caſual advantage; for in the firſt caſe they enjoy the conſolatory reflection of having done all that prudence required, and in the other they are inſtructed to make proviſion againſt ſimilar misfortunes.

Cool and deliberate in their conduct.

The bodies of the Roman ſoldiers are rendered more athletic, and their minds more firm and intrepid, by the continual practice of arms; and the dread of puniſhment keeps them in the moſt exact regularity and order; for deſerters and all others who are not rigidly obſervant of their duty, are conſigned to death

Enured to war by conſtant practice.

death by the martial law. This inexorable law is moſt rigidly enforced by the officers, who imagine that by conferring honourable rewards upon men of merit they make ample compenſation for inflicting a ſeverity of puniſhment upon criminals. The military diſcipline is obſerved with ſo perfect an obedience, that the troops perform their operations with the moſt exact regularity; and from the harmony of their motions they all appear to act under the influence of the ſame mind. Their ears and eyes are continually attentive to the word of command, and to the ſignals given by their ſuperiors; and regardleſs of every danger and difficulty, they are ever prepared to execute their orders with the greateſt alacrity. Having once formed the reſolution to engage, neither the ſuperior number and ſtrength of the enemy, nor any other obſtacle, can depreſs their ſpirits: they cut paſſes through foreſts, croſs rivers and mountains, and vigorouſly endeavour to ſurmount every impediment to victory, in deſpite even of the malice of fortune, which would prove ſufficiently diſcouraging to people of leſs determined and enterpriſing minds.

Strict diſcipline.

If the policy of their counſels, and vigour with which they are carried into effect, be taken into conſideration, it will not appear extraordinary that the Romans have obtained the ſovereignty of the univerſe, and that they have extended the boundaries of their empire to the Euphrates on the eaſt, the ocean on the weſt, Africa on the ſouth, and the Rhine and the Danube on the north. But notwithſtanding their great extent of territory, it is ſtill too ſmall for the capacious ſouls of the people.

The Roman ſucceſſes aſcribed to their wiſe counſels.

My deſign was not to write a panegyric upon the Romans; but what I have aſſerted I meant as a conſolation to thoſe who have been ſubdued by, and as a means of diverting factious innovators from revolting againſt that enterpriſing and unconquerable people. And this diſcourſe will, perhaps, gratify the curioſity of thoſe who are deſirous of gaining a knowledge of the particular government and diſcipline of the Romans.

CHAP. IV.

An Incurſion into GALILEE by PLACIDUS, who afterwards leads his Army againſt JOTAPATA; but he is repulſed. VESPASIAN heads an Army into GALILEE. JOSEPHUS retreats to TIBERIAS. GADARA ſubdued. Purport of JOSEPHUS's Letter to the Council.

Placidus overruns Judæa, but is repulſed.

WHILE Veſpaſian reſided with his ſon Titus at Ptolemais, he ordered every neceſſary meaſure to be purſued for the regulation and proper ſupply of his army: and in the mean time Placidus made an incurſion into, and over-ran the whole province of Judæa, where he took a great number of priſoners, moſt of whom he put to death: theſe were people deſtitute of courage, and conſequently incapable of making a ſucceſsful reſiſtance: ſuch of the inhabitants as poſſeſſed a greater ſhare of intrepidity took ſhelter in the cities and other places of ſtrength which had been fortified by Joſephus. Placidus determined to direct his arms againſt thoſe places where the Galileans had fled for ſanctuary; and Jotapata being the ſtrongeſt hold they poſſeſſed, he reſolved that his firſt exploit ſhould be to attempt the reduction of that place; and he flattered himſelf in the full confidence of ſucceſs, the expectation of acquiring great fame among the other generals, and of ſpreading terror and conſternation in the reſt of the cities, the conqueſt of which would thereby be rendered leſs difficult. The inhabitants of Jotapata, however, gaining intelligence of the deſign of Placidus, and that he was already upon his march, ſallied from the town, in order to give him battle: they attacked the Romans by ſurpriſe, and as the fate of their wives, children, and country, depended on the iſſue of the conteſt, they fought with aſtoniſhing bravery, and effectually repulſed the enemy; the Romans, being well armed, and preſerving a proper diſcipline in their retreat, only ſeven of them were ſlain. The Jews not being ſo well armed as their adverſaries, declined a cloſe combat, but at a diſtance annoyed the Romans with lances and darts: only three of the Jews were ſlain, and a ſmall number were wounded. After this defeat, Placidus drew off his army.

Veſpaſian leads an army into Galilee. Order of his march.

Having formed the reſolution of making an incurſion into Galilee, Veſpaſian iſſued marching orders to his troops, according to the military diſcipline of the Romans, and departed from Ptolemais. The auxiliary forces, being more lightly armed than the reſt of the troops, were ordered to march firſt, in order to reconnoitre the woods and other places where it was ſuppoſed ambuſhes were ſtationed, and prevent ſurpriſes from the enemy: they were followed by a party of infantry and cavalry, to which ſucceeded a detachment formed of ten men from each company: next came pioneers, to level and make good the ways, cut down trees, and remove other obſtructions; and then followed the general's baggage, and that of his principal officers, under the convoy of a ſtrong company of horſe; after theſe, Veſpaſian marched, attended by a choſen body of cavalry and infantry, a number of men provided with lances, and an hundred and twenty of his own men, ſelected from the ſame number of ſquadrons of horſe: the next in courſe were the engineers, with their various implements and machines of aſſault; and they were followed by the tribunes and other officers, eſcorted by a ſelect body of troops: the imperial eagle, preceding the reſt of the Roman enſigns, came next: the figure of the eagle was conſidered as an omen of ſucceſs in war, and as an emblem intimating that, as the eagle was the

ſove-

ſovereign of all other birds, ſo were the Romans ſuperior to the reſt of mankind: the enſigns of the Romans, which were deemed ſacred, were followed by the performers on martial inſtruments of muſic, to whom ſucceeded the body of the army, drawn up ſix in front, the officers attending, to keep the men in rank and file, and preſerve a regular diſcipline in every other reſpect: the domeſtics belonging to the ſeveral legions marched with the infantry, and it was their buſineſs to take the neceſſary care that the baggage was ſafely conveyed; and the proceſſion was cloſed by artizans, purveyors, and other mercenaries, who were eſcorted by a company of infantry and cavalry.

Veſpaſian encamps near Galilee, and Joſephus's men deſerting him, he is obliged to retreat.

Having marched in the above order to the frontiers of Galilee, Veſpaſian there encamped his army: he might have advanced farther, but his deſign was to inſpire the enemy with terror by the formidable appearance of his army, and, by affording time for their paſſions to operate, to render them leſs capable of reſiſtance before proceeding to an encounter: and in the mean time he cauſed every neceſſary preparation to be made for a ſiege. Veſpaſian was not deceived in his conjecture; for the news of his approach threw the Jews into the moſt terrible conſternation; and Joſephus's followers, who were encamped in the neighbourhood of Sephoris, deſerted their leader, even before the enemy came in ſight. Being thus abandoned, and finding that the ſpirits of the Jews were entirely depreſſed, that the majority of the people had already joined the enemy, and that the reſt ſeemed inclinable to follow their example, he declined all thoughts of proſecuting the war, and retreated to Tiberias, accompanied by a few of his people who ſtill maintained their fidelity.

Gadara taken by the Romans, and the inhabitants ſlaughtered.

Veſpaſian attacked Gadara, and as that city did not contain a ſufficient number of inhabitants to make a ſucceſsful defence, he, with little difficulty, ſubdued it on the firſt aſſault. The enmity they entertained againſt the Jews, and a principle of revenge for the defeat of Ceſtius, induced the Romans to put the inhabitants of the town promiſcuouſly to the ſword: and, not ſatisfied with ſetting fire to the conquered city, they burnt and utterly laid waſte the neighbouring ſmall towns and villages, and ſubjected the inhabitants to ſlavery.

Joſephus deliberates on meaſures moſt proper to be taken, and writes to the Jewiſh council.

The appearance of Joſephus greatly alarmed the people of Tiberias, who were convinced that he would not have fled to them for ſanctuary had not his caſe been deſperate. Joſephus was now convinced that ſubmitting to the power of the Romans, and acknowledging their faults, were the only means by which the Jews could inſure their ſafety. As to himſelf, he was conſcious that, if he ſhould ſolicit it, the Romans would readily grant him a pardon: but he would with greater ſatisfaction have ſuffered the moſt terrible death than have violated the confidence repoſed in him, by ſeeking his ſafety among the people againſt whom he was intruſted to proſecute the war. He tranſmitted to the principal people of Jeruſalem a plain narrative of the caſe; neither repreſenting the power of the Romans greater or leſs than it was in reality, leſt, on the one hand, he ſhould incur the charge of cowardice, or, on the other, increaſe the raſhneſs and temerity of the Jews. Joſephus diſpatched his letter by an expreſs to Jeruſalem; ſubmitting the matter entirely to the council; requeſting that if they ſhould reſolve to negotiate a treaty, they would ſend him immediate advice thereof, or ſufficient reinforcements, to enable him to encounter the enemy, if they ſhould determine to proſecute the war.

CHAP. V.

JOSEPHUS eſcapes to JOTAPATA. A Battle continued for five ſucceſſive Days. Account of the Situation of JOTAPATA. The Siege and Defence. The ROMANS diſappointed by a Stratagem invented by JOSEPHUS.

Veſpaſian's expedition againſt Jotapata.

VESPASIAN determined that his next expedition ſhould be againſt Jotapata, which was the ſtrongeſt city in Galilee, and the place where the Jews, in their utmoſt diſtreſs, fled for refuge. Preparatory to the intended exploit, he diſpatched a company of horſe and foot, and pioneers, to croſs the mountains and form a paſſage, the road being at that time wholly impaſſable for horſe, and extremely difficult for foot. In the ſpace of four days, a paſſage was cut ſufficient to admit the whole army to march without obſtruction or inconvenience.

Eſcape of Joſephus related to Veſpaſian by a deſerter.

Joſephus eſcaped from Tiberias on the fifth day, being the twenty-firſt of the month Artemiſius, and retreated to Jotapata, which proved an encouraging circumſtance to the Jews. Joſephus's retreat was ſoon communicated to Veſpaſian by a deſerter, who adviſed the beſieging Jotapata, urging that if Joſephus could be taken in the ſnare he had fallen into, the war muſt inevitably terminate to the diſadvantage of the Jews. The information of the deſerter ſo rejoiced Veſpaſian, that he attributed to the providence of Heaven the circumſtance of delivering into his power the moſt formidable of his enemies: and he diſpatched Placidus with a thouſand cavalry, and Æbutius (one of the moſt celebrated men of the army for bravery and military ſkill), commanding them to environ the city with all poſſible expedition, and prevent the eſcape of Joſephus.

The Roman army arrive at Jotapata.

The following morning Veſpaſian iſſued orders for his whole army to march; and in the afternoon he arrived at Jotapata. He eſtabliſhed his camp on a hill at about ſeven furlongs to the north of the city, intending to

alarm the enemy by the formidable appearance of his army. The people of Jotapata were ſo terrified, that they dared not venture beyond the city walls. The Romans being greatly fatigued by their march, attempted no exploit on the day of their arrival. Veſpaſian ordered two ſtrong companies to inveſt the city, and he ſtationed another troop at ſome diſtance, thereby effectually precluding the enemy from all opportunity of communication. The deſperate ſituation to which they were reduced, ſerved to inſpire the Jews with additional courage.

The place beſieged, and great military ſkill and courage diſplayed on both ſides.

On the following morning the Romans began to aſſault the city, which was defended with great bravery: but when Veſpaſian ordered the bow-men and ſlingers to compel the Jews to deſert the walls, and he himſelf with a body of infantry began an aſſault from an eminence convenient for battering the city, Joſephus, at the head of the Jews, made a furious aſſault upon the enemy, and compelled them to retreat; and the loſs on each ſide was nearly equal. The preſſing neceſſities of the Jews provoked them to deſperate acts of valour, and the Romans were no leſs enraged to find the defence ſo reſolutely maintained. On one ſide courage and military ſkill were oppoſed to a ferocious and ungovernable rage on the other. The battle continued till night, when the combatants were neceſſarily obliged to ſuſpend the conteſt. The Romans loſt thirteen men, and ſeveral were wounded; and ſeventeen of the Jews were ſlain, and about ſix hundred wounded.

An obſtinate conteſt during five ſucceſſive days.

The next day the beſiegers renewed the aſſault; and in this action both parties diſplayed ſtill more extraordinary inſtances of valour than in the preceding encounter. The Jews were encouraged by the undaunted firmneſs and reſolution with which, contrary to their moſt ſanguine expectations, they had ſuſtained the firſt aſſault; and the ſhame of having been repulſed invigorated the ſpirit of the Romans, who conſidered the delay of victory almoſt as fatal as a defeat. Notwithſtanding the great danger and difficulty of the enterprize, the Romans continued to purſue their attacks with ſtill increaſing vigour; and the Jews did not act merely the defenſive part, but made frequent ſallies againſt the aſſailants, regardleſs of their great numbers and ſtrength. Thus was the conteſt obſtinately maintained for five ſucceſſive days.

Situation and natural ſtrength of Jotapata.

The city of Jotapata is built on a rock, and on three ſides are vallies of ſuch ſurpriſing depth that a man cannot look down from the precipices without being ſeized with giddineſs. It is abſolutely inacceſſible but upon the north, where a part of the city ſtands upon the brow of the mountain; but this quarter Joſephus cauſed to be ſtrongly fortified and taken into the city, thereby precluding the enemy from taking advantage of another mountain, by which it is overlooked, and which, with other mountains, ſo entirely incloſe the place that it can be ſeen but at a very ſmall diſtance.

Veſpaſian prepares for making a vigorous attack on the city.

Finding the place ſo admirably ſituated for defence, and that he had to contend with an intrepid and determined enemy, Veſpaſian aſſembled a council of his principal officers to debate on the means of obtaining victory. The iſſue of the deliberations was that a large terrace ſhould be raiſed on that ſide of the city which appeared to be leaſt capable of reſiſtance. Immediately upon this reſolution being taken, Veſpaſian ordered his whole army to employ themſelves in procuring materials for the intended work. Immenſe quantities of timber and ſtone were conveyed from the adjacent mountains: and hurdles were formed to protect the Romans from the darts and other weapons that were thrown from the city. Thus defended, they continued to proſecute their deſign, in defiance of the innumerable darts, arrows, lances, and large ſtones which were continually thrown from above. What earth they had occaſion for was procured in the neighbourhood, and handed from one man to another. The whole army being engaged, the work was continued without intermiſſion, and advanced with ſurpriſing rapidity; and the utmoſt efforts of the Jews to annoy the enemy proved ineffectual.

Extraordinary efforts and operations of the Roman army.

The Roman army had now ſixty machines employed in throwing lances, excluſive of larger engines for caſting arrows, javelins, ſtones, fire, &c. and theſe were managed by Arabian and other ſkilful engineers. The operations were purſued with ſo much vigour that the ſpace between the city wall and the mount could be no longer occupied. The Jews, however, made frequent ſallies by ſurpriſe, deſtroyed the defences, ſet fire to all the combuſtible materials they could find, and, in ſhort, did all poſſible damage to the works of the enemy. To remedy the inconvenience that he ſuſtained from the repeated ſallies made by the Jews, Veſpaſian cauſed his works to be advanced upon the interval between the walls and the terrace, and connected his troops into a cloſe body, which anſwered the deſired end.

Invention of Joſephus for defeating the effects of the enemy's batteries, while the Jews erected a ſtrong and high wall.

The terrace being now raiſed nearly to a level with the city-wall, Joſephus conſidered that it would reflect diſhonour upon him if he ſhould omit to engage in as arduous a taſk for the defence of the place as the enemy had undertaken for its deſtruction; and therefore he ordered the wall to be raiſed in proportion to the advancement of the enemy's work, and to be kept at a ſufficient height above the ſummit of the mount. The workmen declined the undertaking, urging the impoſſibily of purſuing their buſineſs, ſince they ſhould be continually expoſed to the enemy. However, Joſephus ſuggeſted the following invention as a defence againſt fire, ſtones, and other weapons: he cauſed large ſtakes to be fixed into the ground, and the raw hides of beaſts lately killed to be ſtretched upon them: on account of the yielding quality of the ſkins, they ſcarcely received any impreſſion from

the lances and ſtones, and their moiſture damped the fire of the enemy. The workmen being perfectly ſecured through the contrivance of Joſephus, continued indefatigably induſtrious both by day and night; and they ſoon erected a wall twenty cubits high, on which were formed towers and ſtrong embattlements. The Romans, who had entertained the utmoſt confidence of ſubduing the city, were equally aſtoniſhed and confounded by the depth of policy and invincible reſolution of their adverſaries.

CHAP. VI.

JOTAPATA being diſtreſſed by a Scarcity of Water, JOSEPHUS adopts a Stratagem to conceal the Want of that Article; and at length contrives a Means of Supply. JOSEPHUS aſſaults the Enemy. VESPASIAN orders his Troops to decline the Conteſt.

Veſpaſian hopes to reduce the people to a ſurrender by famine.

GREATLY encouraged by the ſucceſs of Joſephus's ſtratagem, the Jews ſuffered not a day to eſcape without making incurſions upon the enemy, and ſeizing all the property they could find. Veſpaſian now relinquiſhed the hopes of ſubduing the place by ſtorm, and entirely blocked it up, flattering himſelf in the expectation that by cutting off all communication, the conſequent neceſſities of the people would perform the buſineſs of the ſword, or, at leaſt, render them incapable of reſiſtance. There was an abundant ſupply of corn and all other neceſſaries in the town, excepting only water and ſalt. There being neither ſpring nor fountain about the city, the people had no water for their common uſes but what deſcended in rain. The proſpect of a ſcarcity of water proved exceedingly alarming in that hot country: but having a plentiful ſtock of other neceſſaries, and the men being in good ſpirits, Joſephus was determined not to abandon himſelf to deſpair: in order, as long as poſſible, to procraſtinate the threatened danger, he limited each man to a daily allowance of water. Hereupon the people became outrageous, and abſolutely refuſed to continue their work. The diſcontent now prevailing among the Jews could not be concealed from the Romans, who, from an adjacent hill being able to diſcover all that paſſed in the city, obſerved the people aſſembled to receive their reſpective portions, and the diſſatisfaction that they expreſſed; and at this time ſeveral of the Jews were deſtroyed by the weapons diſcharged from the quarters of the enemy. The pit-water being nearly exhauſted, and Veſpaſian being in continual expectation of becoming maſter of the town; in order to amuſe the Romans, Joſephus adopted the following ſtratagem: he cauſed great numbers of wet cloths to be hung upon the battlements; whence, concluding that a ſcarcity of water could not prevail in the town, ſince that element was uſed in ſo profuſe a manner, the Romans no longer entertained the hope that the enemy would ſurrender through a want of the neceſſaries of life: and therefore Veſpaſian had again recourſe to arms; which proved a circumſtance highly agreeable to the Jews, who, being reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs, entertained the moſt terrible apprehenſions of falling miſerable ſacrifices to famine, to which they infinitely preferred a glorious death in the field.

Great diſtreſs for want of water.

Joſephus's ſtratagem to deceive the enemy.

Joſephus recollected that on the weſt-ſide of the city there was a hollow or gutter in a place ſo little frequented that it was not likely to have been obſerved by the enemy. He wrote to the Jews without the city, to cauſe water and other neceſſaries to be conveyed to him through this paſſage, enjoining them to be careful that the meſſengers were covered with the hides of beaſts, and inſtructed to walk upon their hands and feet, that, in caſe of being obſerved by the watch, they might be miſtaken for dogs or other brutes. An intercourſe was maintained till the Romans diſcovered and blocked up the paſſage.

His device to procure water

Joſephus now conceived that it would be fruitleſs to attempt a longer defence of the city, and therefore he joined with ſeveral of the principal men in ſuggeſting the means of eſcape. Suſpecting on what ſubject they had met to deliberate, the people repaired in great multitudes to Joſephus, earneſtly ſupplicating that, as he was the only man from whom they could expect relief, he would not deſert them in their preſent extremity; urging that while he was ſecure they could not deſpair of ſucceſs, and declaring that they could not die more honourably than while acting in obedience to his commands: they ſaid that if it ſhould prove their misfortune to fall into the power of the Romans, he would acquire the immortal fame of having equally ſcorned to fly from the enemy, or deſert the people under his protection; that by now leaving them, he would manifeſt a conduct ſimilar to that of a man aſſuming the command of a ſhip in temperate weather, and abandoning it in a ſtorm; they added, that after loſing the only man in whom they could place a confidence of ſucceſs, they could no longer cheriſh the hope of relieving their country. Being unwilling to have it believed that his intention was confined to the means of providing for his own ſafety, Joſephus, in a public addreſs, repreſented, that if they were compelled to ſurrender, his remaining could not poſſibly operate in their favour; whereas if he obtained his liberty he might be able to draw an army out of Galilee ſufficiently early to raiſe the ſiege; and that his continuing in the city would be productive of unfortunate inſtead of happy conſequences, ſince the expectation of making him a priſoner would induce the Romans to continue a vigorous proſecution of the ſiege, which they might probably decline, if he could effect an eſcape.

Joſephus meditates an eſcape; and they intreat him to continue with them.

Inſtead of reconciling the multitude to the meaſure he had propoſed, Joſephus's diſcourſe

After much importunity,

Josephus complies with the request of his countrymen, and makes a furious attack for several days and nights on the Romans, whose works he in part destroys.

discourse rendered them still more importunate: people of all ages and both sexes threw themselves at his feet, and with the most bitter lamentations urgently supplicated that he would still continue his protection to them. Impressed with tenderness and gratitude towards the people, Josephus considered that if he remained in the town they would attribute his compliance with their request to the influence they had over him, and that if he persisted in a refusal they might probably detain him by force; and therefore, resolving to share the common danger, he thus addressed the multitude: "My dear friends and faithful countrymen, the period is arrived when we are required to exert our utmost bravery, since in that alone we can place our hopes of safety. If we lose our lives, our rewards will be a large share of honour, and our names will be endeared to the latest posterity." Immediately after this address, Josephus, at the head of the most courageous of the Jews, assaulted the enemy's guards, whom he compelled to desert their trenches, and retreat to the camp; he then destroyed the skins put up for defending their works, to which he set fire; the same conduct was pursued with invincible bravery and indefatigable labour for three or four successive days and nights.

The desperate bravery of the Jews induces Vespasian to decline the assault by the soldiery.

When the Jews gained advantage, the Romans possessed too high a spirit to retreat, and the weight of their arms prevented them from pursuing when the Jews retired. Vespasian observing the disadvantages under which the Romans laboured, commanded them to decline a further contest with an enemy driven to desperation and wholly regardless of life, whose rage, like flames wanting a supply of fuel, must necessarily subside: he remarked that the Romans engaged in war for the purpose of extending their empire, and therefore it was necessary that discretion should temper their valour. The Arabian and Syrian archers, slingers, engineers, &c. were, however, constantly employed, and their weapons made great havock among the Jews, who resolutely defied all danger, and continued to fight with astonishing bravery.

CHAP. VII.

The JEWS defeat the Effect of the Roman Battering-Ram. The Works of the ROMANS destroyed by Fire. A remarkable Exploit performed by Samæas. Heroic Behaviour of NETIRAS and PHILIP. VESPASIAN is wounded.

Description of the battering engine.

THE siege being so long protracted, with the repeated sallies of the Jews, rendered Vespasian's situation nearly as bad as if he had been actually besieged himself. The terrace being now raised almost to the height of the city-wall, he determined to make use of the battering-ram, which is an engine of immense size, resembling the mast of a ship; it has an iron head formed like that of a ram, and when used, its motion is somewhat similar to the butting of the animal whose name it bears. It is suspended by large cables affixed to cross-timbers cramped together and strongly supported; it bears on the middle, and hangs on the balance like a scale-beam; and when put in a swinging motion it strikes with such surprising violence that the strongest wall must inevitably yield to its repeated attacks.

Manner of ordering it.

Conscious that the longer the siege was delayed, the difficulty of conquest would be increased, since the enemy would be afforded leisure to make preparations of defence; Vespasian ordered the slingers, archers, &c. to advance with their several machines nearer the town, in order to beat off the Jews who defended the walls. This business being executed, the ram was brought forward, being covered with hurdles and the hides of beasts, for the purpose of preserving the machine from damage, and defending the men who were appointed to conduct its operations. The first stroke of the engine threw the Jews into a most terrible consternation: and Josephus knowing that the wall could not possibly long withstand repeated batterings in the same place, ordered a number of sacks filled with chaff to be lowered by means of ropes; and though the assailants frequently changed the direction of the machine, its intended effects were constantly defeated by means of the chaff-sacks which were interposed to defend the wall. At length the Romans affixed sharp curving-irons to the ends of long poles, and therewith cut the ropes which suspended the sacks. The wall being newly repaired, had not yet acquired a hard consistence sufficient to resist the ram, which now performed its office without impediment. The Jews, who had now a most alarming prospect of speedy destruction, collected a quantity of pitch, sulphur, and other combustibles, which they set fire to in three several parts of the enemy's works, and the flames instantly commnicating to the habitations, implements of war, &c. of the Romans, the whole were consumed in a very short time.

Contrivance of the besieged to repel its force.

The Jews destroy the Roman works by fire.

Brave exploit of Samæas.

An heroic exploit performed by Samæas, who was a native of Paab in Galilee, and the son of Eleazar, deserves to be transmitted to posterity. He cast down a stone of great bulk with such surprising force as to break off the head of a ram, and then leaping into the midst of his enemies, he seized the head of the machine, which he carried to the foot of the wall, where he remained till five arrows were fixed in his body; in this condition he remounted the wall, and without betraying the least symptom of an abatement either of constancy or courage, he remained some time an object of public admiration, till at length he fell, still grasping the trophy he had so heroically acquired.

Netiras

Diſtinguiſhed heroiſm of two brothers, and more of the enemy's works burnt.

Netiras (otherwiſe called Neritas) and his brother Philip, of Ruma, in Galilee, diſplayed a degree of intrepidity that could not poſſibly be exceeded. They attacked the tenth legion, and fought with moſt irreſiſtible fury, diſperſing all who oppoſed them. At the ſame time Joſephus, with a numerous company of men provided with firebrands, burnt the works and engines of the tenth and fifth legions.

The Romans having repaired the ram, towards the evening of the ſame day employed it againſt that part of the wall which had already received damage; and at this time Veſpaſian was ſtruck on the ancle by an arrow diſcharged from the town. The force of the arrow being nearly exhauſted before it reached the general, his wound proved but ſlight: the officers, however, quitted their ſtations, and repaired to the head-quarters, to learn whether the rumour of the general's being wounded was founded in truth; and among the firſt of theſe was Titus, who was greatly apprehenſive for his father's ſafety. The diſorder among the multitude ſubſided upon Veſpaſian's convincing them that the injury he had received was of little conſequence. Veſpaſian expoſed his wound to the ſoldiers, who were thereby inflamed with additional courage, each man conſidering it his particular duty to avenge his general, in deſpite of all oppoſition and danger.

Veſpaſian wounded by an arrow.

Great numbers of the Jews fell by the arrows and ſtones thrown by the enemy; but they ſtill continued to defend the walls with undaunted bravery. However, they fought under great diſadvantages; for the town being illuminated by the fire which they uſed to annoy the enemy, they were expoſed to open view, while they could not diſcern even the engines from which the Roman weapons were diſcharged. The ſtones, &c. thrown by the machines, at length made breaches in the battlements and the corners of the towers, and committed great ſlaughter among the Jews. A judgment may be formed of the dreadful effect of the engines by conſidering the havock that was made on this occaſion. A ſtone thrown by one of the machines ſtruck off the head of one of Joſephus's friends, who was fighting upon the wall, and carried it to the diſtance of three furlongs with as much velocity as if it had been caſt by a ſling. Another ſtone ſtruck a woman, and carried the infant with which ſhe was pregnant a furlong from her body. The violent noiſe occaſioned by the engines, the dead and wounded falling from the walls, the ſhrieks and diſmal lamentations of men and women both within and without the town, were rendered ſtill more horrible by the continual echo of the mountains: the town ditch was running with human blood, and crouded with carcaſes heaped high enough for an enemy to have mounted thereon and make an aſſault.

Terrible ſlaughter of the Jews by the engines.

Particular inſtances of their execution.

An immenſe number of the Jews were killed and wounded; notwithſtanding which the defence was ſuſtained during the whole night with aſtoniſhing bravery, in defiance of the enemy's machines, which were kept inceſſantly at work: at break of day the wall gave way: but even in this dreadful extremity the Jews perſevered in their generous endeavours to preſerve the liberties of their country, by expoſing themſelves in the breach to prevent the enemy croſſing the ditch and purſuing the advantage they had obtained. To give an adequate idea of the horrors of the night ſurpaſſes every power of deſcription.

Gallant defence and undaunted bravery of the Jews, after the deſtruction of the wall.

CHAP. VIII.

JOSEPHUS gives Inſtructions to the People. A terrible Engagement. The Enemy having advanced to the Walls, have ſcalding Oil poured upon them by the JEWS. The JEWS quit the Breach, but make a vigorous Reſiſtance.

THE Romans having received ſome refreſhment after the extreme fatigue of the night, early on the ſucceeding day Veſpaſian iſſued orders for every preparation to be made neceſſary for renewing the ſiege, and for purſuing meaſures for deterring the Jews from appearing in the breach. He cauſed a party of the moſt courageous cavalry to diſmount, and drew them up in three diviſions; theſe men, being completely armed, and carrying pikes in their hands, were firſt to enter the town; and they were ſeconded by a choſen body of foot. The reſt of the horſe were ordered to inveſt the mountainous parts of the city, to prevent the eſcape of the Jews after the conqueſt of the place. The archers with their bows and arrows, and the ſlingers and engineers were the next in order. A number of men provided with ladders were ordered to attempt ſcaling parts of the wall which had not been injured, with a view, by making a diverſion, to weaken the force by which the breach was defended.

Veſpaſian prepares to renew the aſſault.

Being appriſed of the enemy's deſign, and conſcious that litle danger was to be apprehended from the Romans employed with the ſcaling-ladders, Joſephus oppoſed to them only ſuch men as were either enfeebled by age, or ſuch as had not recovered from the fatigue of the preceding night: but in places where the wall had ſuffered even in but a ſmall degree, he ſtationed ſuch ſoldiers only as were of approved fidelity and reſolution; and he put himſelf, with five of his moſt intrepid followers, at their head, in order to receive the firſt aſſault. He enjoined his people to diſregard the ſhouts of the enemy, and either to defend themſelves from the arrows ſhot by the Romans, by means of their ſhields, or to retire a little till their quivers were exhauſted. He informed them, that if the enemy ſhould proceed to advance their bridges, every poſſible effort of valour muſt be exerted, ſince all conſiderations for preſerving the country muſt then give place to the noble

Meaſures of defence purſued by Joſephus.

His inſtructions to his men.

noble ardour of wreaking vengeance upon the conquerors: he added, that if the Romans proved ſucceſsful, it muſt be expected that the fathers, wives, children, and the other deareſt friends and relations of his ſoldiers, would fall miſerable victims to their cruelty and rage.

Great conſternation of the inhabitants.

The common people, women, and children, obſerving the adjacent mountains glittering with arms, the town ſurrounded by three armies, the enemy marching with drawn ſwords to the weakeſt part of the wall, and the archers preparing to diſcharge their arrows, joined in lamentations that could not have been exceeded had the place been actually ſubdued. The outcries of theſe people greatly affected Joſephus; and leſt they ſhould diſpirit the ſoldiers, he ordered them to their reſpective habitations, under a ſtrict injunction of ſilence. He then repaired to the ſtation he had choſen, totally regardleſs of the ſcaling-ladders, his attention being engroſſed on the manner of the enemy's aſſault.

Obſtinate reſiſtance of the beſieged, who laboured under great diſadvantages.

Upon the trumpet being ſounded, the Roman troops united in martial ſhouts, and no ſooner was the ſignal given than ſuch an immenſe number of arrows was diſcharged as to obſcure the ſky. In obedience to their inſtructions the Jews gave no attention to the clamours of the enemy, and defended themſelves with their ſhields. When the enemy brought their bridges forward, the Jews attacked them with ſurpriſing fury, with equal ſkill and intrepidity throwing them off as faſt as they mounted, and they became more undaunted in proportion as the danger increaſed. They were under a great diſadvantage by being kept to hard duty without any intervals of relief; while the Romans had a conſtant ſupply of reinforcements to take the places of thoſe who were either fatigued or repulſed. The Romans collected themſelves as cloſe as poſſible together, and throwing their long bucklers over them, they proceeded to the wall of the town, appearing to be an intire and impenetrable body.

The Jews annoy and repel the aſſailants by pouring ſcalding oil upon them.

The extremity to which Joſephus was now reduced, ſuggeſted to him a new means of defence. He cauſed a large quantity of oil, of which there was a plentiful ſupply in the town, to be boiled, and with the veſſels in which it was heated, caſt from the walls upon the Roman ſoldiers beneath. The ſcalding fluid paſſing through the interſtices of their armour occaſioned the Romans moſt exquiſite torture, it having the quality of long retaining heat, and threw them into the greateſt diſorder. This armour being buckled and braced, they were unable to relieve themſelves, and the oil flowing from head to foot conſumed their fleſh like fire. Some were thrown into the moſt violent contortions, others were drawn nearly double by their pains, and many fell from the bridge to the ground, and thoſe who attempted to eſcape were prevented by the Jews.

Another expedient for annoying the beſiegers, and retarding their progreſs.

During the above calamity, the Romans diſplayed a wonderful degree of intrepidity, nor was the policy of the Jews leſs remarkable. The former, notwithſtanding their miſerable condition, engaged in a competition for ſurpaſſing each other in preſſing upon their adverſaries, who availed themſelves of another project for impeding their progreſs. They poured boiled fenugreek upon the bridge, which rendered the boards ſo ſlippery that the Romans were neither able to ſtand to their arms or retreat: ſome of them fell upon the planches, and were trampled to death by their own people; and others, falling ſtill lower, were expoſed to the weapons of the Jews. Many of the Romans being ſlain and a great number wounded, towards evening Veſpaſian ſounded a retreat. Only ſix of the Jews were killed, but the number of wounded amounted to upwards of three hundred. It was on the twentieth day of the month Deſius that this action took place.

Veſpaſian raiſes his platforms, and erects turrets on them.

The Roman general was deſirous of complimenting his ſoldiers for the bravery they had ſhewn, and conſoling them for the ill ſucceſs they had experienced: but inſtead of finding their ſpirits depreſſed, as he expected, they expreſſed the utmoſt anxiety for proceeding again to action; and therefore he ordered his platforms to be raiſed ſtill higher, and towers fifty feet in height to be erected thereon, and, forthe purpoſe of keeping the towers ſteady by their weight, and defending them againſt fire, that they ſhould be intirely covered with iron. The moſt ſkilful markſmen and engineers, provided with machines, darts, and other implements, were ſtationed in the turrets, whence they greatly annoyed the enemy, who were clearly expoſed to their view.

The Jews quit the breach.

The Jews being unable either to avoid the weapons, or diſcern the people by whom they were diſcharged, were under the neceſſity of quitting the breach: but they ſtill continued to maintain a moſt reſolute defence, though the loſs they daily ſuffered conſiderably exceeded that of the Romans.

CHAP. IX.

VESPASIAN diſpatches TRAJAN againſt the City of JAPHTHA. The Inhabitants quit the Town in order to engage TRAJAN, who puts them to Flight. TITUS diſpatched to JAPHTHA. The ROMANS ſcale the Walls, and put all the People, except Women and Children, to the Sword. Revolt and Slaughter of the SAMARITANS.

Trajan ſent by Veſpaſian to beſiege Japhtha.

THE reſolute defence made by the people of Jotapata encouraged thoſe of an adjacent city, called Japhtha, to reſiſt the power of the Romans. Upon gaining information of this deſign, Veſpaſian diſpatched Trajan, the commander of the tenth legion, with an army of a thouſand cavalry and two thouſand infantry, to aſſault the place. Japhtha was fortified with

uncommon ſtrength, ſurrounded by a double wall, and ſo advantageouſly ſituated that it appeared to be wholly impregnable. The inhabitants quitted the town in order to encounter Trajan, who, after a ſlight reſiſtance, put them to flight, and purſued them into the firſt incloſure. The people within the town now cloſed the gates of the inward wall, leſt the Romans, as well as their own people, ſhould gain admittance. Thus were the Galileans, as if by the providence of Heaven, delivered into the power of the Romans. The Romans kept one gate, and the people in the city the other; and the Jews confined in the incloſure, earneſtly, but in vain, ſupplicated to be admitted into the town; but being refuſed, many deſtroyed themſelves, and great numbers fell by the hands of the enemy, without having power to offer the leaſt reſiſtance, ſo aſtoniſhed were they at being deſerted by their friends. On this occaſion twelve thouſand periſhed, venting imprecations againſt their cruel and treacherous countrymen.

The inhabitants defeated by Trajan in the field.

Trajan, imagining that the majority of the military people were deſtroyed, and that thoſe who remained would not venture to make a reſiſtance, ſent to Veſpaſian, requeſting that Titus might be diſpatched to reap the honour of finally conquering Japhtha. Suppoſing that ſome important exploit was yet to be performed, Veſpaſian ſent a force of five hundred cavalry and a thouſand infantry, under the command of his ſon. Upon his arrival, Titus divided his army into two wings, giving that on the left-hand to Trajan, himſelf retaining the command of that on the right. The Romans, by means of ſcaling-ladders, mounted the walls on all parts, and, after a ſlight reſiſtance, deſcended into the town, where a deſperate ſtreet-battle enſued. The moſt reſolute and powerful of the Galileans attacked the Romans from ambuſhes and in the narrow paſſes, and even the women annoyed them from the tops of the buildings. The conteſt was maintained for the ſpace of ſix hours: but, at length, the moſt courageous of the Galileans being cut off, a terrible ſlaughter enſued, all the male inhabitants who were able to bear arms being put to death, either in their houſes or in the ſtreets, the women and infants being only ſpared, and they were carried away captives, being in number two thouſand one hundred and thirty. The ſlain in the firſt encounter, added to thoſe who fell by the Romans when they entered Japhtha, on the twenty-fifth of the month Decius, amounted to fifteen thouſand.

The Romans enter the town by eſcalade.

The place taken, and a horrid ſlaughter made of the Galileans.

The terrible calamities of the war were extended to the Samaritans, who aſſembled upon Mount Gerizim, which they held in high veneration, eſteeming it to be a holy mountain, and meditated a revolt againſt the Romans. Their meeting and general behaviour ſeemed to indicate their intention. Without properly reflecting on their inferiority to the great and increaſing power of the Romans, they were haſtening to a rebellion; and Veſpaſian judged it neceſſary to oppoſe their proceedings at an early period; for though great numbers of garriſons were eſtabliſhed in Samaria, he conſidered that there was ſufficient reaſon to apprehend danger from a conſpiracy formed by ſo numerous a body of diſaffected people; and therefore, to prevent the conſequence that he feared might enſue, he diſpatched a tribune of the fifth legion, named Cerealis, with ſix hundred cavalry, and three thouſand infantry.

Revolt of the Samaritans, and its conſequences.

Upon his arrival at the mountain, Cerealis found the Samaritans collected in an immenſe body; and judging it not prudent to attack them in their preſent ſituation, he environed them with a retrenchment at the foot of the mount. Some days having elapſed, the Samaritans were greatly diſtreſſed for want of water, it being the height of ſummer, and a remarkably hot ſeaſon, and they having neglected to provide for a ſupply of that element: their drought increaſed to ſo intolerable a degree, that ſome periſhed daily, and others deſerted to the Romans, preferring ſlavery to the miſerable ſituation to which they were reduced. The deſerters having communicated to Cerealis that the Samaritans who remained were wholly diſpirited, he advanced his troops up the mountain, and after ſurrounding the enemy, offered to grant them life and liberty, on the condition of their laying down their arms, earneſtly exhorting them to return to their duty, and giving the ſtrongeſt aſſurances that, if they complied, the propoſed indemnity ſhould be fully ratified and confirmed. The Samaritans rejected all terms of accommodation; and therefore, on the twenty-ſeventh of the month Decius, Cerealis attacked them, and not one eſcaped the ſword. The number of ſlain was eleven thouſand and ſix hundred.

They are greatly diſtreſſed thro' want of water.

Favourable terms offered them by the Romans, and rejected.

They are all put to the ſword.

CHAP. X.

The ROMANS raiſe their Platforms above the Wall of JOTAPATA. They enter JOTAPATA, and commit terrible Havock. A Slaughter of Forty Thouſand Men. The City laid in Ruins.

THE people of Jotapata continued to defend themſelves againſt the power of the Romans with aſtoniſhing conſtancy and reſolution. The platforms were now raiſed higher than the city wall; and on the forty-ſeventh day of the ſiege a deſerter communicated to Veſpaſian the ſtate of the town, repreſenting that, through the loſs of men, and the hard duty which the ſurvivors were obliged inceſſantly to perform, the garriſon was ſo reduced that it muſt neceſſarily ſurrender to a vigorous attack, and more eſpecially if advantage was to be taken of a favourable opportunity for making the aſſault

Jotapata gallantly defended, and the Roman platforms raiſed above the wall of the place.

affault by ſurpriſe; and he adviſed the Roman general to attempt the enterpriſe about day-break, when the Jews would be unapprehenſive of danger, and unprovided for defence, and the vigilance of the guard abated by fatigue and an inclination to ſleep. Being ſenſible that the Jews poſſeſſed a remarkable fidelity to each other, which the moſt excruciating torments could not force them to violate, Veſpaſian put no confidence in what the deſerter had related. He had been witneſs to a recent inſtance of the amazing conſtancy and reſolution of the Jews, in the caſe of one of Joſephus's people, who being made a priſoner and interrogated reſpecting the ſtate of the city, refuſed to divulge a ſingle circumſtance, and perſiſted in that reſolution till his death, notwithſtanding the application of crucifixion, and other exceſſive torments. Conſidering, however, that the information of the deſerter might poſſibly be founded in truth, and that no ill conſequences were likely to enſue from his appearing to believe that to be the caſe, he ordered the man to be ſecured, and every neceſſary preparation to be made for the attack.

By the advice of a deſerter, Veſpaſian makes a violent aſſault on the city, and enters it.

The Roman army began a ſilent march at the appointed hour, and proceeded to the walls of the town, being led by Titus, accompanied by Domitius Sabinas, and ſome choſen men from the fifteenth legion. They put the centinels to death, cut the throats of the guards, and entered the city: they were followed by the tribune Sextus Cerealis and Placidus, with the troops under their command. Notwithſtanding it was open day when the Romans gained poſſeſſion of the fort and made themſelves maſters of the town, the garriſon was ſo exhauſted and fatigued by inceſſant labour and watching, that they entertained no idea of their danger till the enemy had actually gained their point; and even thoſe who were awake were almoſt equally ſtrangers to the misfortune; for they could not clearly diſtinguiſh objects on account of a thick fog which then prevailed, and continued till the whole Roman army had gained admittance to the city. The recollection of their ſufferings in the ſiege ſuppreſſed every ſentiment of humanity and compaſſion in the breaſts of the conquerors, who threw many of the Jews from the top of the fort; others, who had courage and inclination to offer reſiſtance, were either preſſed to death by the immenſe crowds of the enemy, or forced down precipices, and killed by the ruins which fell from above. Many of Joſephus's particular friends being unwilling that the Romans ſhould acquire the reputation of taking away their lives, retired to a remote part of the city, where they died by the hands of each other.

Many of the Jews deſtroy each other.

Such of the guards as firſt obſerved the city to be taken fled to a turret towards the north, where they were attacked by the enemy, againſt whom they for ſome time made a good defence; but being oppreſſed by numbers, they offered to capitulate: their propoſals, however, were rejected, and they died with great reſolution. The Romans might have valued themſelves on gaining the victory without the loſs of blood on their ſide, had it not been for the fate of Antony, a centurion, who was treacherouſly murdered in the following manner: a number of Jews having fled for refuge to the caves, one of them called to Antony for quarter; the centurion immediately ſtretched forth his right-hand, thereby indicating his compliance, when the Jew baſely ſtabbed him in the groin with a dagger, and cauſed his death.

Antony, a Roman centurion, treacherouſly and baſely murdered.

Every Jew who was met by the Romans on that day was put to inſtant death; and during ſome following days they carefully ſearched the ſubterraneous and other ſecret places for the ſurvivors, all of whom, excepting women and children, they deſtroyed. The whole number of Jews ſlain amounted to forty thouſand, and the priſoners were twelve hundred. In obedience to the orders of Veſpaſian the caſtles were burnt, and the city was intirely laid in ruins. The Romans became maſters of Jotapata on the firſt day of the month Panemus, in the thirteenth year of the reign of Nero.

40,000 men ſlaughtered, and the city demoliſhed.

CHAP. XI.

VESPASIAN ſends Meſſengers to induce JOSEPHUS to ſurrender. JOSEPHUS expoſtulates with his Companions, who are irreclaimable. He is conducted to VESPASIAN. A private Interview between JOSEPHUS and him. JOSEPHUS predicts the Succeſſion of VESPASIAN and his Son TITUS. The Prophecy verified.

PARTLY induced by perſonal enmity, and partly by an officious zeal to ingratiate themſelves into the favour of their general, the Romans aſſiduouſly employed themſelves in ſearching every part of the country, where it ſeemed probable that a man might be concealed, and among the carcaſes of the ſlain, in order to find Joſephus, either dead or living. He had, however, the good fortune to eſcape through the midſt of his enemies, and to find a deep pit, having a paſſage leading to a ſpacious cavern, wherein he found forty diſtinguiſhed Jews had taken ſanctuary, having a ſupply of the neceſſaries of life ſufficient for ſeveral days. The enemy being in poſſeſſion of the whole adjacent country, Joſephus judged it unſafe to venture abroad by day, and therefore he left his retreat only by night, with a view to diſcover if there remained a probability of effecting an eſcape: but finding the guard extremely vigilant, he returned to the cavern, deſpairing of ſucceſs. Upon the third day he was betrayed by a woman; immediately

The Romans ſearch diligently after Joſephus.

He is betrayed by a wo-

man, and offered quarter by Vespasian, which he declines accepting.

ately upon which Vespasian dispatched Paulinus and Gallanicus, two tribunes, authorising them to assure Josephus that, on condition of his leaving his retreat, he should experience a kind and honourable reception. Conscious that the injuries the Romans had sustained at his hands intitled him to punishment rather than reward, Josephus deemed it unsafe to rely on Vespasian's word of honour, and therefore declined the proposal. Hereupon, Vespasian sent another tribune, named Nicanor, the ancient friend and acquaintance of Josephus. Nicanor expostulated with Josephus, representing the generosity and benevolence of the Romans towards those they conquered; that so far from entertaining an enmity towards him, they highly esteemed him as being a man of singular intrepidity and other eminent virtues; that the Roman general must indisputably have favourable views, since he condescended to propose terms to a man who was already subject to his power. "Can you imagine (said Nicanor) that Vespasian would employ a friend in an office of treachery; or that I would accept from him so dishonourable a commission?" Josephus still declined a compliance; which so enraged the Roman soldiers that they would have set fire to the cave, but Vespasian prevented them, by representing that he was determined to take Josephus alive. Nicanor continued his endeavours to prevail upon his friend, and the rage and menaces of the soldiers became more violent in proportion to the increase of their numbers. Certain dreams now occurred to the recollection of Josephus, wherein the Almighty had communicated the success and grandeur which the Romans should experience, and the miseries which should oppress the Jews. Now Josephus possessed a remarkable faculty of interpreting dreams, and of explaining many things which the Lord had been pleased to signify under the veil of mystery. Being himself a priest, and of the sacerdotal line, he was consequently versed in the writings of the holy prophets. At this instant, as if possessed with the Divine Spirit, he perfectly recollected, in due order, the several visions he had seen: and he thus rapturously addressed himself to Heaven: "Blessed and Almighty God! since it is thy pleasure to terminate the prosperity of the Jews, and exalt the people of Rome, I, humbly resigning myself to thy providence, consent to live, and surrender my person to the Romans: but, before thy sacred throne, I pronounce that I act not as a traitor to my country, but as the minister of thy gracious pleasure." But his companions, observing that he had surrendered to the Romans, exclaimed bitterly against him. Immediately after which, they all unsheathed their weapons, and threatened, that if Josephus surrendered they would put him to instant death. Apprehending that they might put their threats into execution, and that by delay he might lose the opportunity of communicating to the nation of Jews the charge he had received from the Almighty, he a second time addressed his countrymen in a sensible and animated speech, wherein he endeavoured, in the most urgent manner, to persuade them to submit to the Romans, and accept their proffered mercy, and not to act contrary to the laws of God and nature, by becoming their own executioners.

Nicanor's expostulation with him, and rage of the Roman soldiery at his hesitation.

Josephus recollects former dreams and revelations. His address to Heaven.

His companions inveigh against him, threatening to take away his life.

Josephus now imagined that the arguments which he inforced would have induced the Jews to relinquish the determination of putting an end to their lives; but he was deceived in this conjecture; for, instead of being appeased by what he advanced, they were provoked to the utmost extravagance of rage; and approached him with their swords drawn, upbraiding him, in the most severe terms, as being of a contemptibly irresolute disposition, and threatening him with instant death. Thus situated, Josephus addressed his companions in a style of authority, which seldom fails to gain respect from those who have been accustomed to obey, called one by his name, took another by the hand, and endeavoured to engage the attention of the rest by argument and such other means as he conceived to be best adapted for obtaining the end he had in view. Thus, by a singular address in applying to the various humours and dispositions of his companions, did Josephus avert the danger that threatened him; as a wild beast, surrounded by huntsmen, still turns towards him who is prepared to strike. Notwithstanding the rage to which the Jews were transported, when they attempted to put their threats in execution, their esteem and veneration of their general revived, and their weapons dropped from their uplifted hands.

They draw lots for their lives, and Josephus, with another of his companions, escape.

Josephus conducted himself with great temper and judgment, and, resting his hopes on the providence of Heaven, he thus addressed his companions: "Since you are determined to die, let it be decided, by casting lots, who shall first lose his life, and by this method let every man's fortune be known; so shall we avoid self-murder, and die by the hands of each other." This proposal was joyfully accepted, and presently carried into execution; and Josephus's companions derived great satisfaction from the consideration of dying in company with their general; to share a common fate with him being an event that of all others they most anxiously desired. The persons to whom the lots had fallen being successively put to death, it happened, either through accident or the care of Providence, that Josephus was one of the only two surviving men: he expostulated with his companion, and, at length, prevailed on him to decline the resolution of dying, engaging himself to provide for his safety. Being relieved from the extremity to which he was reduced by the Romans on one hand, and by his own countrymen on the other, Josephus surrendered himself to Nicanor, who conducted him to Vespasian.

The

Different ſentiments in the army reſpecting their priſoner.

The deſire of ſeeing Joſephus appear before the Roman general cauſed immenſe numbers of people to aſſemble; ſome were extravagantly rejoiced at his being made a priſoner; others vented menaces and the moſt bitter execrations againſt him; while thoſe at a diſtance endeavoured to obtain a more perfect view, and called for public juſtice to be executed on the enemy to the ſtate of Rome; and, in ſhort, the greateſt variety of ſentiments and their different operations were obſervable in the midſt of the tumult. They who were ſufficiently near to obſerve the perſon of Joſephus, recollected the many extraordinary incidents of his life, and reflecting on his preſent ſituation, were perfectly aſtoniſhed on the compariſon. Notwithſtanding the inveteracy which the Roman generals had entertained againſt Joſephus, they now tenderly compaſſionated him in his captivity; but Titus was moſt particularly affected; for, on account of his advanced age, and the unconquerable dignity of his mind in the moſt extreme dangers and diſtreſſes, he entertained a great veneration towards Joſephus, whoſe former elevated ſtation and great exploits, and the humiliating condition to which he was now reduced, he conſidered, and then proceeded to make ſome reflections on the chance of war, and the mutability of human affairs. They who heard Titus, adopted his ſentiments, and he greatly contributed towards the preſervation of Joſephus, by influencing Veſpaſian in his favour.

The Roman generals diſpoſed to pity him, and Titus in particular.

Veſpaſian ſeeming inclined to ſend Joſephus to Nero, he foretells the ſucceſſion of him and his ſon Titus to the empire.

Veſpaſian intimated that he meant to ſend Joſephus to Nero, and ordered him to be kept a cloſe priſoner. Hereupon, Joſephus requeſted a private audience with the Roman general, who ordered all preſent, excepting Titus and two friends, to quit the apartment. Joſephus ſpoke to the following pupoſe: "You ſee me here, Sir, your priſoner; and perhaps you conſider me in no other character: but I am a meſſenger from the Almighty, commiſſioned to impart to you a matter of the higheſt importance. Had I not been charged with this commiſſion, I ſhould have acted conſiſtent with the character of a Jewiſh general, and have died, rather than have ſubmitted to be made a priſoner. It is unneceſſary to ſend me to Nero, ſince Veſpaſian is ſo near ſucceeding to the empire, which, upon his deceaſe, will devolve to his ſon Titus. Let me be kept a priſoner, and guarded with unremitting circumſpection: I only requeſt to remain the priſoner of Veſpaſian, who, by the right of conqueſt, is become the maſter of my life and liberty, and will, in a ſhort time, be advanced to the ſovereignty of the univerſe. If it ſhall hereafter appear that I have made uſe of the ſacred name of the Almighty to induce you to repoſe confidence in an impoſtor, you will perform an act of juſtice in ſubjecting me to the moſt ſevere of exemplary puniſhments."

At firſt Veſpaſian conſidered Joſephus's addreſs as a mere fiction, adopted for the purpoſe of obtaining his favour: but, upon experiencing certain impulſes, and conſidering other indications, and finding them exactly to correſpond with what Joſephus had related, his doubts gradually ſubſided, and he gave full confidence to the prediction. One of the perſons who were permitted to be preſent at the interview ſaid to Joſephus, that, ſince he pretended to a knowledge of future events, he requeſted to be informed by what means it happened that he remained ignorant of the approaching deſtruction of Jotapata, and of his own captivity. To this Joſephus replied, he had predicted to the inhabitants that the town would be conquered and deſtroyed on the forty-ſeventh day of the ſiege, and himſelf would be made a priſoner by the enemy. Hereupon, Veſpaſian cauſed a ſecret inquiry to be made amongſt the Jewiſh priſoners, and they fully confirmed every particular that Joſephus had aſſerted, which induced him to judge more favourable of what had been foretold reſpecting himſelf. Joſephus continued to be guarded with the greateſt circumſpection; but the irkſomeneſs of confinement was, in ſome degree, relieved by his being allowed every accommodation and convenience, and the particular reſpect and kindneſs that he received from Titus.

Confirmation of part of his prophetic ſpeech.

Veſpaſian returns to Ptolemais, and thence repairs to Cæſarea.

Veſpaſian returned to Ptolemais on the fourth of the month Panemus, and thence proceeded to Cæſarea, on the ſea-coaſt, which is the moſt conſiderable city of Judæa. The majority of the inhabitants being Greeks, Veſpaſian's army met with a chearful reception; for they held the Romans in high eſtimation, and were ſuch inveterate enemies to the Jews, that Veſpaſian was ſolicited in the moſt importunate manner to ſacrifice the life of Joſephus to their deſire of vengeance. Veſpaſian diſmiſſed the petition without an anſwer, deeming it the act of an inconſiderate and outrageous multitude. Cæſarea is extremely hot in ſummer, but being temperate in the winter, and ſituated upon a plain adjacent to the ſea, Veſpaſian judged it to be a convenient place for winter quarters, and therefore appointed two legions to remain there; and, that he might not overburthen the city, he ſent the fifth and tenth legions to Scythopolis.

CHAP. XII.

JOPPA ſurpriſed and taken by VESPASIAN, who fortifies the Caſtle, and eſtabliſhes a Garriſon in it.

Joppa a refuge for robbers and revolters.

A Great concourſe of people, compoſed of revolters from the Romans and fugitives from the conquered cities of the Jews, had now aſſembled, and were employed in rebuilding Joppa, which had been deſtroyed by Ceſtius. The banditti being unable to procure

the means of subsistence, on account of the desolate state in which Cestius had left the country, constructed a number of vessels for the purpose of perpetrating robberies on the sea; and by their piratical practices they proved a great obstruction to commerce on the Syrian, Phœnician, and Egyptian coasts. Vespasian being apprised of their proceedings, dispatched a body of cavalry and infantry to Joppa; and the troops found but little difficulty in gaining admittance by night to the city, it being but indifferently watched and guarded. The inhabitants were so greatly astonished by being thus surprised, that they had not power to attempt the least resistance, but fled with great precipitation to their vessels, and remained that night at sea beyond the reach of the enemy's weapons.

The city taken by the Romans, without opposition.

Though Joppa is a sea-coast town, it has no port; the shore is exceedingly craggy and steep; on each side of the town stands a pointed rock, projecting a considerable space into the sea; these rocks forming a kind of crescent, occasion so violent an agitation of the sea, when the wind prevails, that a more dangerous and terrible situation for shipping cannot be imagined. Here is the impression of Andromeda's chains, which were, perhaps, cut in the rock with a view of giving credibility to the ancient fable.

Description of it.

At break of day the wind, called by the people of the country the black north, arose, and caused the most terrible tempest that had been known: the vessels of those who had escaped from Joppa, by being thrown against the rocks, or dashed with great violence against each other, were broken to pieces; some who, by dint of rowing, endeavoured to avoid being foundered by keeping in the open sea, were tossed upon mountainous billows, and then precipitated into the most profound abyss of waters, and great numbers of the vessels sunk. During this violent contention of the elements, the noise occasioned by the dashing of the vessels, and the lamentations and outcries of the miserable people, were dismal and terrifying beyond description. Many of the people were washed away by the billows, and dashed against the rocks; some were drowned; others fell upon their swords, and several perished on board the wrecks: and, in short, the water was coloured with the blood of the deceased, whose carcases were dispersed upon the coast. During this shocking scene, the Roman soldiers waited to destroy those who should be driven ashore alive. It was computed that four thousand two hundred bodies were cast upon the shore by the waves.

Account of a violent and destructive tempest.

The Romans having obtained possession of Joppa, without being under the necessity of proceeding to a battle, they soon laid the place intirely in ruins. It was the fate of this city to be twice subjected to the Roman power in a short space of time. Lest Joppa should again be inhabited by pirates, Vespasian fortified the castle, and established a garrison therein sufficient for its defence: he also left a strong body of horse, to set fire to and destroy the towns and villages, and lay waste the adjacent country; which, in obedience to the command of their general, they punctually executed.

Joppa destroyed by the Romans, who fortify the castle, and place a garrison in it.

A report prevailed in Jerusalem respecting the fate of Jotapata, but it was deemed too improbable to be founded in fact; for it was not supported by authority sufficient to give it confidence, the massacre having been so general that not an individual of the city remained to convey intelligence to Jerusalem of the important loss the Jewish nation had sustained. In a short time, however, the report was received as authentic; for, as it is usual for the news of unfortunate events to circulate with rapidity, the reduction of Jotapata was soon published in the adjacent places. The fact was, at length, aggravated by a report of Josephus being among the number of slain, which proved the source of infinite affliction to the people of Jerusalem. Private individuals were lamented by their respective friends and relations, but the mourning for Josephus was universal, his supposed death being considered as a public and irreparable loss. The funeral solemnities in honour of Josephus were continued, without intermission, for the space of forty days, and no expence was spared on the occasion.

The Jews discredit the destruction of Jotapata.

General lamentation for Josephus's supposed death.

When the report of Josephus's death was found to be premature, and that he was in high esteem among the Romans, and so far from being treated as a slave, honoured, by Vespasian, with every possible mark of respect and distinction, the most inveterate hatred took place of the regret and veneration they had expressed while under the supposition of his being deceased. The public indignation was so general and violent, that there was not a man in Jerusalem who did not vent the most bitter execrations against Josephus, upbraiding him as a traitor and a coward, who had infamously deserted the cause of his country. A prudent and wise man will derive advantage from a present misfortune, by making it a precaution whereby he may be enabled to guard against similar events; but when these people are in the wrong, it is their disposition to persevere in error, and consequently increase their afflictions. In short, the Jews were now more furiously irritated against the Romans than ever, seeming to imagine that giving way to their rage against them was to wreak revenge upon Josephus.

He is universally detested when found to be alive, and in favour with the Romans.

CHAP. XIII.

AGRIPPA entertains VESPASIAN and his Army. TITUS leads a Body of Troops to SCYTHOPOLIS. VALERIAN is attacked by Surprise; but effects an Escape. Through AGRIPPA's Mediation, VESPASIAN pardons the People of TIBERIAS.

RIAS. VESPASIAN proceeds to the City, where he is received as the common Benefactor of the Inhabitants.

Vespasian and his army entertained for twenty days by king Agrippa.

IN consequence of an invitation from king Agrippa, Vespasian departed from Cæsarea upon the sea-coast for Cæsarea Philippi, where, with his whole army, he was entertained for the space of twenty days; during which time, by feastings and rejoicings, he gave thanks to the Almighty for his victories and various other blessings. Agrippa had invited Vespasian into his country partly from motives of generosity and affection, and partly from the hope that through his means the malecontents of his kingdom would be compelled to return to their allegiance. Upon learning that Taricheæ had actually revolted, and that Tiberias was disposed to a like conduct, Vespasian judged that a more favourable opportunity would scarcely occur for manifesting the great esteem he entertained towards the king; and therefore he determined to lead an army against the refractory cities, both of which were dependant upon the kingdom of Agrippa. He dispatched his son Titus to Cæsarea, with orders to conduct the troops quartered in that city to Scythopolis, which is the most considerable town in the canton of Decapolis, and situated near Tiberias. Vespasian repaired to Scythopolis, where he waited for Titus, upon whose arrival, he advanced to about thirty furlongs from Tiberias, and encamped his army within view of the enemy, at a place called Emmabris.

Titus ordered to march with some troops to Scythopolis.

Insulting behaviour of the Jews to Valerian.

He now dispatched a captain, named Valerian, attended by a company of fifty horse, to expostulate with the insurgents, and endeavour to restore them to obedience. Valerian was instructed to represent that the Roman general believed the majority of the people to be naturally of peaceable and loyal dispositions, though they had suffered themselves to be induced to engage in a rebellion by the artful practices of a few malecontents. When Valerian had nearly reached the town, he dismounted his horse, and ordered his people to do the same, thereby intimating that he came not with an hostile design. The rebels were headed by the chief of a band of robbers, named Jesus, who was the son of Tobias; and, without permitting him to speak, they furiously attacked Valerian, who, though greatly astonished and provoked by their audacity, would not have presumed to engage contrary to the order of his general, had he been sure of victory, which, indeed, he had no probability of obtaining over an enemy of such superior force. In short, Valerian and five of his people escaped on foot; and their horses were seized by Jesus and his companions, who conducted them into the town with as much parade as if they had been trophies fairly obtained in war.

A deputation of respectable persons from Scythopolis ask pardon for the affront, which, at the instance of Agrippa, is granted.

The above conduct of Jesus and his associates proved highly offensive to all the considerate people of the town, who, being alarmed by the apprehension that the enemy would seek revenge, presently repaired to the Roman camp, under the conduct of king Agrippa, and humbling themselves at the general's feet, supplicated for mercy and forgiveness; and that he would not attribute the offences committed by certain individuals to the people at large, who had ever entertained the greatest veneration for the people and state of Rome; they concluded with a request that the innocent might be spared, and the promoters of the sedition punished according to their demerits. Though highly offended by the seizure of the horses and the insult offered to Valerian, Vespasian attended to the petition of the deputies, and through the mediation of Agrippa, granted their request. Jesus and his adherents now escaped to Taricheæ, deeming it unsafe longer to remain in Tiberias.

Trajan takes possession of the castle, and Vespasian, entering the city, is joyfully received by the inhabitants.

Trajan, with a company of cavalry, was dispatched the next day to possess himself of the castle, and discover whether the inhabitants of Tiberias were inclined to revolt, or if they held the peaceable disposition represented by the deputies. Upon learning that the people were disposed to preserve their allegiance, Vespasian marched his whole army towards the city, and being met on the way by the citizens, they expressed their gratitude by loud acclamations, attending him to the town, the gates of which they threw open, that the troops might enter, hailing Vespasian as their benefactor and protector. The gates not being sufficiently wide to admit the troops to march with convenience, the general ordered a part of the south wall to be beaten down; and he enjoined his soldiers not to offer the least injury or insult to the people of the town, on the penalty of very severe punishment. Vespasian's regard for Agrippa induced him to be thus favourable to the inhabitants, and to do no farther injury to the wall of the city.

CHAP. XIV.

TARICHEÆ inhabited by turbulent Malecontents. JESUS and his Companions damage the ROMAN Works. TITUS assaults and disperses the JEWS. TARICHEÆ subdued by TITUS, who orders the Town to be strictly watched and guarded.

Account of the situation and strength of Taricheæ.

HAVING departed from Tiberias, Vespasian encamped his army between that city and Taricheæ; and conceiving that the intended siege would occupy a considerable time, he fortified the camp by erect-

erecting a wall. Taricheæ, like Tiberias, is ſituated upon a mountain, and Joſephus had conſtructed a wall encompaſſing it on every ſide except on that where it is fortified by the lake Genneſareth, and the circuit of this wall was nearly equal to that of Tiberias. Nature and art had contributed to render the place exceedingly ſtrong; and it was inhabited by the moſt deſperate of the revolters. At the commencement of the inſurrection the people collected great quantities of proviſions, and being ſufficiently provided with men and money, they were under little apprehenſion of being ſubdued. They had a numerous fleet of armed veſſels on the lake, in which they meant to embark in caſe of being repulſed on ſhore.

The Jews damage the Roman works; but are themſelves purſued to the lake of Genneſareth.

Jeſus and his aſſociates, regardleſs of the force and diſcipline of the enemy, made a violent aſſault upon them while they were employed in forming intrenchments and other fortifications, and diſperſed the pioneers, and did conſiderable injury to the Roman works. The Romans purſued them to the lake, where they took ſhipping, and having proceeded beyond the reach of the Roman darts and arrows, they caſt anchor, and ranged their veſſels in order of battle.

Titus ſeat to make diſcovery of a large aſſembly of Jews in a plain.

In the interim Veſpaſian received intelligence that a great number of Jews had aſſembled on a plain adjacent to the city; in conſequence whereof he diſpatched a body of ſix hundred choſen cavalry, under the command of his ſon, to make diſcoveries. Titus marched to reconnoitre the ſituation of the Jews, and finding them to be much more numerous than the troops under his command, he ſent intelligence thereof to Veſpaſian. Though many of the troops under Titus were greatly alarmed by the ſuperior force of the Jews, the majority of them ſtill preſerved an undaunted reſolution.

Vaſt deſtruction of the factious people by the Roman horſe.

Antonius Sil[illegible] was at the ſame time diſpatched by Veſpaſian with orders to lead a body of two thouſand archers to occupy a mountain facing the town, and aſſault the Jews who were appointed to defend the walls; and this order was punctually obſerved. Being deſirous of rendering his army more formidable in appearance than it was in reality, Titus arranged his men in a line anſwering the front of the enemy's forces; and he himſelf made the firſt aſſault, being followed by his people with loud exultations and military ſhouts. The Jews, who were aſtoniſhed at the intrepid manner of the charge, made a faint reſiſtance; but being ſoon thrown into diſorder, many were beat down and trampled to death by the cavalry, and others fled towards the city. The fugitives were cloſely purſued by the Romans, who, through the ſwiftneſs of their horſes, being enabled to attack them again in front, drove back many who were endeavouring to take refuge within the walls. Great numbers were ſlain, and but few, if any, eſcaped, excepting thoſe who were ſo fortunate as to get into the city.

An inſurrection in the city, which incident is improved by Titus.

At this period a violent inſurrection took place between the natives of Taricheæ and the ſtrangers who inhabited the city. The natives urged that they had ever been averſe to engaging in the war: but the advantage gained by the Romans was the principal cauſe of their diſcontent. The ſtrangers, of whom there were great numbers, oppoſed the citizens in the moſt outrageous manner. Titus being near the wall, ſoon underſtood that outrage and diſſenſion prevailed in the town, and determining to take advantage of ſo favourable an opportunity, he delivered the following ſpeech to his people. "Let us not delay, my friends and fellow-ſoldiers, to purſue the advantage that Providence has given us over our enemies. The clamours which now prevail in the city plainly indicate a domeſtic war, and that thoſe who eſcaped our vengeance are now diſpoſed to effect the deſtruction of each other. Victory muſt infallibly be ours if we are quick in determination and reſolute in action. Let us attempt the enterprize before the deſperate ſituation of the Jews reſtores them to unanimity. Let us not wait for the arrival of reinforcements, but rather perform the exploit ourſelves, than admit ſharers in the honour and profit of the victory." Immediately after this ſpeech, Titus mounted his horſe, and being followed by his troops, rode with great ſpeed to that quarter of the town which is towards the lake; and he was the firſt man who entered the city. So aſtoniſhed were the Jews at the intrepid behaviour of Titus, that they had not power to offer the leaſt obſtruction to his progreſs. Jeſus and his aſſociates eſcaped into the fields; ſome of the people fled towards the lake, and fell into the power of the Romans, others were ſlain while endeavouring to get into their veſſels, and many were drowned in the attempt to ſave themſelves by ſwimming. Some reſiſtance was made by the ſtrangers who were not able to eſcape with Jeſus, but the natives of the town readily yielded to the Romans, from whom they expected favour from the conſideration that they had diſapproved of engaging in the war, and been compelled to take up arms.

The city taken by the Romans.

Favour extended to the natives; and the town ſtrictly watched and guarded.

The faction being ſubdued, Titus granted quarter to the natives of Taricheæ. The inſurgents who had embarked upon the lake proceeded to as great a diſtance as they poſſibly could from the enemy. Titus diſpatched intelligence of the enterprize to Veſpaſian, to whom it afforded great ſatisfaction; for the reduction of Taricheæ was conſidered as a moſt material point towards a termination of the war in favour of the Romans. Titus now ordered a guard to inveſt the city, leſt any of the Jews ſhould effect an eſcape: and he went to the lake of Genneſareth on the following day, and commanded a number of veſſels to be conſtructed for the purpoſe of purſuing thoſe who had made a retreat by water. There being a great number of workmen, and a plentiful ſupply of materials, the veſſels were completed in a few days.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

VESPASIAN embarks upon the Lake, and gains a complete Victory over the Fugitive JEWS. He condemns a great Number of Priſoners to ſuffer Death, and others to be ſold for Slaves.

A ſea-fight upon the lake between the Romans and Jews.

THE veſſels being prepared, Veſpaſian embarked in purſuit of the Jews who had eſcaped on the lake of Genneſareth. The fugitives had now no probable view of eſcaping the vengeance of the enemy; for the ſhore being wholly occupied by the Romans, they could not diſembark without meeting inevitable deſtruction, and, beſides being too ſmall, their boats were ſo ſlightly built and manned that they could not expect to prove victorious in a naval engagement. The Jews endeavoured to annoy their adverſaries by caſting ſtones, and by other means, which proved equally ineffectual; for the weapons they diſcharged ſerved only to cauſe a noiſe by meeting the veſſels or arms of the Romans, who were well defended againſt every aſſault they could make: when they attempted a cloſe encounter they were either put to death by the ſword, or their veſſels overſet and the men drowned. Some of the Romans fought at a diſtance, and made great havock with their darts and arrows; others boarded the veſſels of the Jews, and cut the men to pieces with their ſwords. Several of the Jewiſh boats were conquered by being incloſed within the two diviſions of the Roman fleet. Such as attempted to ſave themſelves by ſwimming were put to death by lances and darts, or ſunk by being over-run by the Roman veſſels: and thoſe who were urged by deſpair to attempt ſaving themſelves by getting on board the enemy's fleet had their hands or heads inſtantly ſevered from their bodies. At length the Jews were driven to ſuch extremity that they preſſed into the middle of the Roman fleet in order to get to ſhore: horror and deſtruction now prevailed in the greateſt variety of forms: great numbers of Jews were killed on the water, but the carnage was much more terrible on ſhore: the lake was diſcoloured with blood, and the banks were covered with the bodies of the ſlain. In a few days the carcaſes putrified, and infected the air to ſuch a degree as to render life almoſt inſupportable; and even the Romans lamented the barbarity which had produced ſo terrible a calamity. The Jews who were ſlain when the Romans aſſaulted the city, and thoſe who periſhed in the naval encounter, amounted to ſix thouſand five hundred.

Miſerable ſlaughter of the Jews.

Veſpaſian, in council, deliberates on ſparing ſome of the people.

The engagement being concluded, Veſpaſian ſummoned a council of all his principal officers to aſſemble in the city of Taricheæ; and placing himſelf upon the tribunal, he entered upon deliberations as to what meaſures were moſt adviſeable to be purſued in regard to the ſtrangers. The council oppoſed ſhewing mercy to the ſtrangers, urging that they would be dangerous to the princes into whoſe dominions they might retire, ſince they would indiſputably avail themſelves of every opportunity for promoting troubles and inſurrections. Veſpaſian was convinced that they were unworthy of mercy, and ſo ſenſible of their abandoned diſpoſitions that he entertained not the leaſt doubt of their attempting the deſtruction even of the very people to whom they might be indebted for the preſervation of their lives: but what means to adopt, he was at a loſs to determine; for he knew that if he put the ſtrangers to death in the city, it would prove a circumſtance productive of infinite affliction to the natives, who, having ſurrendered to him, had received his promiſe of ſhewing favour to his priſoners. The council argued that, from the nature of circumſtances, he was under no abſolute obligation to obſerve a rigid conformity to the condition, and that in matters where political neceſſity is oppoſed to obligations of honour, the queſtion ſhould be decided by a regard to the public welfare. Veſpaſian coincided in opinion with his friends, but ſtill determined to proceed in a manner that ſhould not irritate the natives of Taricheæ. He permitted the ſtrangers to depart, under an injunction of purſuing no other road than that leading to Tiberias. Without entertaining the leaſt apprehenſion that any violence would be offered to their perſons or property, they ſet out for Tiberias; and a great number of Romans were ſtationed on the road, leſt any of them ſhould eſcape. When they had got within the town the Romans made them priſoners; and upon the arrival of Veſpaſian he ordered them to be confined in the amphitheatre, where he cauſed thoſe who were ſuperannuated, as well as thoſe who were judged to be too young to bear arms, to be put to death; and the number of thoſe who periſhed in conſequence of the general's order was twelve hundred. He ſent ſix thouſand of the moſt athletic men to Nero, to be employed in working upon the Iſthmus; three thouſand four hundred were ſold into ſlavery; he preſented a great number to Agrippa, to be diſpoſed of as his diſcretion ſhould dictate; and theſe people were ſold by the king. The remaining part of the incendiary fugitives, whoſe reſtleſs diſpoſitions had prompted to encourage the revolt, were Hippenians, people of Gaulanitis, Gadara, and Trachonitis. It was on the eighth day of the month Gorpiæus when they were taken by the Romans.

The ſtrangers allowed at firſt to depart, but are afterwards made priſoners.

Many of the priſoners ſlain, and others ſold for ſlaves.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. I.

Account of the Siege of GAMALA. The Place aſſaulted, and entered by the ROMANS, who are immediately repulſed with great Loſs. Bravery and Preſence of Mind of VESPASIAN. GALLUS, a Centurion, performs a ſingular Exploit.

Siege of Gamala, and its ſtrength and ſituation.

ON the taking of Jotapata, ſeveral towns and places in Galilee revolted from the Romans; but, on the loſs of Taricheæ, theſe returned again to their allegiance; ſo that all the cities and fortified places were now in poſſeſſion of the Romans, except Giſchala, and the mountain of Itabyr. The city of Gamala now united in rebellion with theſe places. This city ſtands on the lake, oppoſite Taricheæ, and appertains to Agrippa's government. This revolt was likewiſe followed by that of Sogane and Seleucia, and both they and Gamala are in the province of Gaulanitis. Sogane is in its upper diſtrict, named Gaulana; Gamala in its lower; and Seleucia is on the lake Semechonitis, the mooriſh lands on the border of which extend to Daphne, the length of the lake being ſixty, and its breadth thirty furlongs. It is a fine country, but particularly remarkable for its ſprings, which feed the leſſer Jordan, and continue their courſe to the greater Jordan, at the foot of the golden temple of Jupiter. Soon after the commencement of the revolt, king Agrippa made an alliance with the inhabitants of Sogane and Seleucia; but the people of Gamala refuſed to accede to the treaty, relying on the ſtrength of the place, which even exceeds that of Jotapata. Gamala is built on the ridge of a rock riſing from the midſt of a high mountain: it has crags in the front and back part of it, and took its name from that of a camel, to which it bears a reſemblance; but the ſpelling has been corrupted by time and habit. There are deep and inacceſſible vallies on its front and two of its ſides: but that ſide next the mountain would be tolerably eaſy of acceſs, only the inhabitants have dug trenches, and thrown up fortifications, ſo that it is there but little more acceſſible than on the other ſides. On the brow of the hill to the ſouth, the houſes are ſo numerous, and hang in ſuch a manner, as if they would fall into the precipice. There is likewiſe a hill of ſo extraordinary a height, that it has the appearance of a citadel to the valley beneath. Within the compaſs of the city there is alſo a fountain; and this comprehends a full deſcription of the place.

The place, both by nature and art, rendered almoſt inacceſſible.

Surrounded by a wall and other ſtrong works.

Yet notwithſtanding this place was thus fortified by nature, Joſephus thought it a point of prudence to build a wall round it, and alſo to throw up artificial works, with variety of trenches and fortifications, for its farther defence. The inhabitants, though neither ſo numerous, nor of ſuch a warlike diſpoſition as the people of Jotapata, were yet more ſanguine, from the inacceſſible ſituation of their city: conceiving that the difficulties of the attack would make amends for the deficiency of their numbers; not that the place was very ill ſupplied in that reſpect; for it had been a kind of refuge for all ſorts of revolters. King Agrippa obtained no advantage over this place after a ſiege of ſeven months.

Veſpaſian proceeds to Gamala, and prepares to beſiege it.

At this period Veſpaſian removed his camp from Emmaus, near Tiberias, a place which received its name from a fountain of hot water, deemed a ſpecific in many diſorders. Having advanced to Gamala, he found that he could not regularly ſurround it; but he placed guards at all the avenues which he could reach, and took poſſeſſion of the mountain above the city. Agreeable to their uſual cuſtom, the Romans fortified their camp by building a wall, and then intrenched themſelves. The tenth legion was employed in levelling the ditches and other hollow places, the fifth was ſtationed towards the middle of the town, and the fifteenth was poſted oppoſite a tower on the eaſt ſide.

Agrippa, while reaſoning with the people, is wounded with a ſtone.

During this ſituation of affairs king Agrippa advanced cloſe to the wall, with a view to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to argue the people into a right notion of their duty, and prevail on them to ſurrender the place: but at this juncture he received a violent blow on his right elbow by a ſtone from a ſling. His friends inſtantly crouded round him, with a view to promote his ſafety; while the Romans were in the utmoſt rage at the barbarity of a people who could act thus ſeverely by their prince and countryman, and a friend who adviſed them for their own welfare; thinking they would be much more ſevere to ſtrangers and enemies. Animated by this idea, the ſiege was urged in the moſt vigorous manner.

The Romans aſſault and enter the place.

Many hands being employed, and the utmoſt diligence uſed, the neceſſary works were ſoon conſtructed; and the next thing to be conſidered was how to mount the machines. Chares and Joſeph, two men of diſtinction in the town, directed the defenſive part, and conducted the ſoldiers to the walls, animating them to give proofs of their honour, and their zeal in the common cauſe. But water and other neceſſaries being deficient, they were averſe to the contention, which they thought could not ſubſiſt any conſiderable time. When the machines of the Romans were brought forward, they made a kind of reſiſtance for ſome time; but when the ſtones and arrows were thrown among them, they retired into the town. The Romans three times attacked

attacked the walls with their battering-rams, and, when a breach was disputed, it is impossible to describe the horror arising from the sound of trumpets, the clangor of arms, and the various noises that were made both within and without the town. The first shock was so valiantly sustained by the citizens, that the Romans seemed at a loss how to act; but at length, the former being overpowered by numbers, they retreated with the utmost precipitation, and sought refuge in the highest parts of the city, whither they were pursued by the Romans: but the Jews, convinced of the urgency of their situation, faced about on their opponents, whom they drove down the precipices, and through the narrow defiles, killing great numbers in the pursuit. The Romans finding that their enemies had such an advantage in the situation of the ground, that it was impossible to avoid them, and equally impossible to contend with them with any prospect of success, they sought for shelter in the lower houses: but these became soon so crouded by their numbers, that they sunk under the weight, one house bringing down another, and so in progression. Great numbers of the Romans were buried in the ruins; yet, disastrous as the situation was, they chose rather to trust to these houses than to continue an open mark for the enemy. The falling of the timbers crushed many of them to pieces, others were stifled with the dust that fell, and a third part were dreadfully bruised in the attempt to make their escape. By these various accidents great numbers of the Romans fell a sacrifice; while the inhabitants were so far from being uneasy at the destruction of their houses, that, on the contrary, they rejoiced in their loss, from a consideration of the consequent destruction of their enemies; and as fast as one house fell they drove them to another, that their weight might bring down that also. When a Roman missed his standing, he was immediately killed by weapons from above: these weapons consisted of arrows and stones, the former of which were taken from the bodies of the slain, and the latter picked out of the walls: the swords of those who were killed being employed to dispatch others, and every thing contributing to advance the general scene of horror. Some threw themselves from the tops of the houses, to avoid meeting death, as they must otherwise have done, by the fall of those very houses. Some endeavoured to make their escape; but they knew not how or where to fly; for being strangers to the passages and avenues, and almost blinded with the dust which arose, they became only a hindrance to each other. A few of them, and indeed a very few, had the happiness to make a total escape from the place.

They are repulsed with great loss.

Many destroyed by the falling of the houses.

Vespasian was mortified in the highest degree to behold his troops thus injured by the very ruins of a city of which he had in a manner taken possession; and disregarding his own personal safety (for it was his custom to be foremost in all hazardous enterprizes), he privately retired to a station at the upper part of the city; and here, in company only with a few men of resolution, he remained in the most distressed situation: his son Titus being at this time on a commission to Mutianus in Syria. His situation was now such that he could not fly, with any regard either to his honour or safety: wherefore, recollecting how magnanimous his past conduct had been, and determining not to disgrace it by his future actions, he was struck with a thought how he might obviate the present difficulty; a thought that seemed rather the effect of inspiration than the consequence of common resolution. He stationed himself, and the few people who remained with him, as close to each other as they could possibly stand; and in this situation, covering themselves with their arms, they were secure from all the assaults of the enemy from above. This singular resolution had such an effect on the Jews, that they could not help considering it as impelled by Providence: and immediately became less vigorous in their attack, from the fear lest they should oppose a divine power. Vespasian observing that the rage of the enemy was abated, he and his companions retired by degrees, nor turned their backs till they had got without the wall of the city. On this occasion great numbers of the Roman officers, as well as of the common soldiers were slain; and among the rest, Ebutius, a Decadarch, whose conduct in life and death was noble, and of whose courage the Jews had repeated proofs.

Bravery and presence of mind in Vespasian when in imminent danger.

His surprising escape.

In the abovementioned contest, Gallus, a centurion, and ten Syrian soldiers, lay concealed in a house, and while the people of the family were at supper, and in high conversation how they should act with regard to the Romans, Gallus and his Syrian companions overheard and understood all they said: in consequence of which they made an attack on them in the night, destroyed them all, and retreated to the Romans in perfect safety.

Singular exploit of Gallus, a centurion.

Flushed with their unexpected success, the people of Gamala were for a time happy in consequence of their late victory: but on more mature consideration their spirits failed them; for they found that there was now no prospect of coming to any terms of agreement, nor any view of escape; and as they began to be in want of provisions, they were in a most distracting situation. Notwithstanding this they proceeded to take every step for the defence of the place, employing the most skilful in repairing the breaches; and the rest in general duty.

Great distress of the besieged

By this time the platforms of the Romans were thoroughly repaired, and made ready for a second attack. In the interim many of the citizens made their escape through passages so intricate and difficult, that it had not been thought necessary to set any guard over them. Others retired and hid themselves in vaults and caverns, where, in the fear of being made prisoners, they were reduced to a starving condition: for no provisions were distributed but to those who bore arms. Notwithstanding all this accumulated distress, these unhappy people yet held possession of the place.

The Romans prepare to renew the attack

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

A Multitude of People being assembled on MOUNT ITABYR, VESPASIAN sends a Troop of Horse to reduce them. PLACIDUS destroys them by an artful Stratagem.

Vespasian sends Placidus to dislodge a factious party on Mount Tabor.

THE troublesome siege abovementioned furnished sufficient employment to Vespasian; who, however, notwithstanding his other engagements, dispatched Placidus with a party of six hundred horse to Mount Itabyr, to disperse a great number of people who had assembled at that place. This

Description of it.

mountain is situated between Scythopolis and the great plain, and the ascent of it is deemed about thirty stadia. It is inaccessible on the north side, and on its summit is a plain of twenty furlongs in diameter. It is surrounded by a wall, which, notwithstanding its extraordinary size, Josephus was only forty days in building. He caused water and other necessaries to be brought to it from the valley; for the people had no supply but rain water.

Artful method used to draw them from the mountain.

In obedience to his orders, Placidus reached the place of destination, but finding that he could not ascend the mountain to attack the revolters, he offered them terms of peace and pardon; on which a number of them came down to him, pretending that they were influenced by his proposals: but the fact was, that they had a view to ensnare, and conquer him by surprise; while Placidus had the same view with regard to them, provided he could but get them into the open field. Notwithstanding they seemed to comply with the reasonableness of his proposals, Placidus was, in the end, more artful than themselves. At length an attack was begun by

A party of Jews subdued by the stratagem.

the Jews, while the forces of Placidus retreated, as if intimidated: the Jews pursued them, and in the chace dispersed themselves all over the plain. At this juncture, Placidus turning suddenly on them, killed several, and dispersed the rest: not one of them got back to the mountain. Some of the inhabitants of Itabyr (or Tabor) fled to Jerusalem; after which the natives surrendered the place to Placidus, and gave security for their peaceable conduct.

The inhabitants of Gamala terrified by the fall of a tower.

By this time the inhabitants of Gamala were glad to secrete themselves; people of the middle rank were starving; yet the troops still persisted to defend the place till the twenty-second of the month Hyperberetæus, on the night of which three soldiers, of the fifteenth legion, secretly retired to the foot of the highest tower near their quarter of the town, and undermined it so privately that the guards knew nothing of what passed. Having rolled five large stones from the foundation, they instantly retreated. The tower suddenly fell to the ground with a most horrid noise, burying in the ruins the guards, and all who were in it. Alarmed by this accident, all the guards of the adjacent posts fled from their stations, and some of them fell into the hands of the Romans, among whom was one Joseph, who was killed by a dart from a broken wall. The alarm and uproar in the city was as great as if the whole Roman army had taken possession of the place. At this time Chares was in a bad state of health; and the abovementioned circumstance so affected him, that it was thought it shortened his life.

Titus enters the city, and a dreadful carnage ensues.

The Romans were now induced to think of entering the town; but they had suffered so much in their late attempt, that they waited for some time, undetermined how to act. In the interim Titus arrived; and was so mortified at the disaster which the Romans had met with during his absence, that he immediately selected two hundred of his prime cavalry, and a body of infantry, and marched quietly into the city unopposed. An alarm of this proceeding being given by the watchmen, the news of it was instantly spread through the place; and was no sooner known than the citizens fled in the utmost confusion to the castle taking their wives and children with them, and crying and exclaiming as if they were distracted. The soldiers under Titus destroyed some of them; while others, who could not get into the castle, strolled about, heedless whither they went, till they fell into the hands of the Roman guards. In a word, the streets flowed with blood; nothing was to be heard but the groans of the wounded, and nothing seen but death in its most horrid forms.

The castle attacked and taken.

Vespasian's business was now to attack the castle, and for this purpose his whole army was drawn towards that spot. This castle was situated on the point of a rock, remarkably high and steep, surrounded by a number of precipices and crags, and almost inaccessible. This being its situation, the Romans could neither reach the Jews from below, nor avoid the stones and shot with which they were assaulted from above. But at this juncture Providence seemed to determine in favour of the Romans, and decree the destruction of the Jews; for a violent wind arose, which drove the Roman arrows upon the Jews, and prevented their reaching the Romans, or blew them wide of the mark. This gust of wind was likewise so strong, that the besieged were unable to make their defence, or even to see the enemies with whom they had to contend. These advantages in favour of the

Many thousand Jews perish miserably

Romans were so great, that they soon became masters of the mountain, which they instantly surrounded, and in resentment of their former unsuccessful attack, they put to the sword all who fell in their way, the unresisting, as well as their immediate opponents. Some were so driven to despair by the horror of their situation, that they threw themselves, with their wives and children, down the precipice from the castle; and in this way about five thousand perished, while only four thousand were slain; so that a greater number of the Jews were sacrificed to their own fears than were destroyed by the Romans. The latter, however, in the fury of their

rage, threw the very infants down the rocks; nor ſhewed mercy to a ſingle perſon they ſeized, except the two daughters of the ſiſter of Philip, the friend of Joakim, a man of diſtinction, and heretofore one of Agrippa's generals. But in fact, theſe ſiſters owed their eſcape rather to their good fortune in remaining till the fury of the carnage was over, than to any intentional kindneſs on the part of the Romans. It was on the twenty-fourth of the month Gorpiæus that the rebellion of Gamala commenced; and on the twenty-third of the month Hyperberetæus the conqueſt was abſolutely completed.

CHAP. III.

TITUS ſent againſt GISCHALA. TITUS offers Peace. The Conditions apparently accepted by JOHN of GISCHALA. The Place ſurrenders to TITUS, by which the Conqueſt of GALILEE is completed.

The people diſpoſed to peace, but diſſuaded by John, an impoſtor.

GISCHALA alone, of the whole province of Galilee, now remained unſubdued. The people in general were diſpoſed to peace; moſt of them being huſbandmen, and depending on their plantations: yet there were ſome among them of an abandoned diſpoſition, who ſubſiſted principally by theft; and even of the citizens of the beſt rank there were ſome of a libertine turn of mind. The principal of theſe, who chiefly perverted the people, was an impoſtor, named John, a man of equal wickedneſs and ſubtilty; of an unſteady, yet ambitious diſpoſition; ſkilful in the promotion of his artful ſchemes, devoid of all honour, and fond of fomenting diſturbances for the advancement of his own intereſt. He was the ſon of one Levi, and the common head of the mob. But for his artifices, it is very probable that the people would have ſent deputies to treat of an alliance; but they were prevailed on by him to defer taking this ſtep till after the war ſhould be commenced.

Titus ſent to Giſchala with 1000 horſe.

At this period Veſpaſian ſent Titus to Giſchala with a thouſand cavalry; the tenth legion he diſpatched to Scythopolis, and returned himſelf to Cæſarea with the other two legions, propoſing there to reſt and refreſh them, that they might be enabled to undertake ſome future arduous enterpriſe. Veſpaſian was aware that the city of Jeruſalem would afford him ample employment, not only as it was the capital, and equally populous and powerful, but as it was a cuſtomary place of refuge for diſcontented fugitives from other places; a nurſery for bold and deſperate men; ſtrong from the nature of its ſituation, and ſurrounded by mighty walls; ſo that, on the whole, it ſeemed to be almoſt impregnable. Veſpaſian, reflecting on all theſe circumſtances, exerciſed his ſoldiers in the moſt perfect manner in all the feats of arms, keeping them in ſpirits to make a vigorous effort on occaſion.

He is diſpoſed to offer terms of peace to the inhabitants.

Titus riding towards Giſchala, took a ſurvey of the place, and finding it was ill calculated to ſtand an aſſault; he reflected at the ſame time, that if ever the ſoldiers ſhould take it by ſtorm, they would undoubtedly treat the inhabitants as they had done thoſe of Gamala, confounding the innocent with the guilty: wherefore, from a kind regard to the welfare of the people, and in abhorrence of the cruelties that had been practiſed, he reflected if it might not be poſſible to poſſeſs himſelf of the place by treaty. At this time the walls were covered with ſoldiers, and the principal part of the inhabitants of the town being of a rebellious diſpoſition, Titus called out to them, and addreſſed them in the following manner: "It is a matter of aſtoniſhment to me, that you ſhould think of making any reſiſtance, after all the reſt of your towns are ſubdued, places better manned and more ſtrongly fortified than yours, taken without the leaſt difficulty, and many of them on the firſt aſſault: and I rather wonder at this conduct, ſince, on a return to your duty, you may yet remain in ſafety, happineſs, and freedom. All theſe bleſſings I freely promiſe you, and that your paſt faults ſhall be abſolutely forgiven, and attributed to a too zealous attachment to liberty. But if you refuſe thus to conſult your own intereſt, and diſdain to rely on the faith of the Romans; if, I ſay, you abſolutely determine to ruſh precipitately on certain deſtruction, by endeavouring to compaſs impoſſibilities, you muſt expect to experience the full weight of the Roman power and reſentment: and you will be ſoon convinced how readily your walls will fall before our engines: ſo that, of all the Galilæans, you will become the moſt abſolute ſlaves."

His addreſs to them.

John of Giſchala ſeemingly accepts the conditions.

No reply was made to this from the town, nor even one of the inhabitants permitted to come to the wall: for the rebel party was ſo ſtrong as to over-rule every thing: they therefore placed guards at all the gates, to ſee that no one ſhould paſs, to carry on a treaty of reconciliation. At length, John, in the name of the people, called out to Titus, intimating that he would accept the conditions, and that the inhabitants of the town ſhould alſo agree to them, or he would compel them to it: but he earneſtly beſought him to poſtpone the ratification of the treaty, on account of the rigidneſs of the Jewiſh law with reſpect to the obſervance of the ſabbath: as this law would no more permit them to treat of peace, than to fight, on that day. He repreſented that the Jews complying on that day, or the Romans forcing them to a compliance, would be equally unwarrantable. He ſaid that there could not poſſibly be any danger in the delay, ſince, if it was apprehended that any man would attempt to make his eſcape in the night, it would be an eaſy matter to prevent this by ſtationing guards at all the avenues. John farther inſinuated that Titus, by ſhewing himſelf as regardful of the Jewiſh laws as thoſe people themſelves were, and that he reſpected their conſciences as well as their perſons, would acquire great reputation to himſelf,

as he would confer a favour which they did not expect.

Motives for his conduct on this occasion.

In this artful addreſs to Titus, John was rather influenced by a concern for his own perſonal ſafety, than by any veneration for the ſabbath; for he had no doubt but he ſhould be given up on the ſurrender of the town: wherefore all his dependence for ſaving his life was on making his eſcape in the night. In the end, however, it appeared that John's preſervation was an act of Providence towards the deſtruction of Jeruſalem; ſince it not only gave occaſion to the truce, but likewiſe cauſed Titus to encamp at a greater diſtance from the city, at a place called Cydæſa, which was remarkably ſtrong and populous, and the inhabitants of which were mortal foes to the Galilæans.

He makes his eſcape in the night to Jeruſalem.

No guards being placed round the town, and the night being ſomewhat advanced, John ſeized the opportunity, and made his eſcape to Jeruſalem, taking with him his military train, together with a number of creditable people of the town, and their families. Many of thoſe who departed were terrified at this reſolution. The old men, women, and children, with difficulty kept pace with their leader for the ſpace of twenty furlongs; but were then ſo fatigued as to be unable to continue the journey: wherefore they burſt into tears and lamentations; ſtill, however, ſtriving to reach thoſe who had gone forward; and the farther their friends advanced, the more they dreaded their enemies, and were in momentary expectation of being made priſoners. The very ſound of their own feet they dreaded as thoſe of their purſuers, and continually looking back, miſtook their friends for their foes. Thus terrified beyond deſcription, they fell over each other, and the road was ſtrewed with the bodies of women and children, who were preſſed to death in the attempt to get forwards. Many unhappy wretches were now perpetually calling out to their huſbands and friends to wait for them. On the contrary, John called to them to ſave themſelves by flight, and to ſeek refuge in ſome place, where they might oppoſe the power of the Romans, in caſe further attempts ſhould be made. John's advice having great weight with it, the people ſhifted for themſelves in the beſt manner they were able.

Great diſtreſs and terror of the fugitives.

The inhabitants receive Titus into Giſchala.

The morning being now come, Titus advanced to the walls of the town, with a view to ratify the intended treaty. On his arrival, he found the gates thrown open, and the men and women of the place equally ready to receive him with ſhouts of joy, and acknowledge him as their preſerver. They now informed him that John had made his eſcape; beſought him to have mercy on the innocent, and to execute the moſt rigid juſtice on ſuch of thoſe who ſhould be found in the town, as might be diſcovered to be the promoters of the revolt. They likewiſe requeſted him to ſend a party of horſe after John, which he complied with; but he was got into Jeruſalem before they could come up with him. This party ſlew about two thouſand of John's adherents, and brought back almoſt three thouſand women and children, whom they found diſperſed in different parts of the road.

His moderation towards the people.

The eſcape of this impoſtor afforded matter of vexation to Titus, who was concerned that the people of the town had not puniſhed him in an exemplary manner while he was within their reach. But when he came to reflect on the advantage of taking the town, the number ſlain, and the priſoners that had been made, he ſtruck the balance in his own mind, thought he was well requited for the eſcape of ſuch a villain, and entered the town with pacific ſentiments towards the people. His ſoldiers broke off a piece of the wall, as a ceremony by which he took a formal poſſeſſion of the place; and he reduced the inſurgents not ſo much by actual puniſhments as by threatenings: for Titus thought that in a place where there were ſo many family contentions, and ſo much of pique and paſſion, it would be very imprudent to puniſh all who might be charged with crimes, leſt he ſhould involve the innocent with the guilty, and ſubject thoſe to criminal charges, who might not have merited them: he therefore conceived that it would be more conſiſtent with the laws of honour and humanity, to ſpare the lives of ſome of the guilty, than to run the hazard of puniſhing the innocent: ſince it would be impoſſible to make an atonement to the latter; whereas, the former might live to amend, either from the impulſe of virtue, the ſenſe of ſhame, or the fear of future puniſhment.

Finally, Titus placed a garriſon in the town, partly with a view to ſecure thoſe of peaceable diſpoſition, and partly to keep in ſubjection thoſe of a factious ſpirit. After all the expence of blood and the labour that had attended the conqueſt of Galilee, it was completed by this action.

CHAP. IV.

JOHN animates the People to proſecute the War. Ravages of the Robbers. The Party headed by GORION and SIMEON. Conduct of JESUS and ANANUS. The ROMANS more favourable to the JEWS than the ZEALOTS. A Combat in the Temple.

Reflections on the flight of John and his adherents.

WHEN John and his followers arrived at Jeruſalem, the people crouded about them in immenſe numbers, to learn the ſtate of affairs, and deſired to know even the worſt news. John and his aſſociates having been ſo hurried in their flight, by fear, as to be almoſt unable to ſpeak, that circumſtance might have been an anſwer to the queſtions: but the party kept up their ſpirits, and pretended they had not fled from the Romans; but retired voluntarily, to chuſe a ſpot where they might engage on

on more equal terms. They ſaid fools and madmen only would deſtroy themſelves by ſeeking to defend Giſchala, and ſuch paltry places, while the metropolis itſelf was endangered, and every man of courage was bound in honour to protect it. John and his companions concealed their diſgrace in the beſt manner they could; but the people ſaw that what they called their honourable retreat was an abſolute flight. The inhabitants were ſo diſmayed at this diſcovery, and the report of the priſoners who had been taken by the Romans, that they conſidered the conqueſt of Giſchala as a prelude to that of Jeruſalem. In the interim, however, John, regardleſs of the fate of the wretches he had abandoned on the road, went about among the people, whom he animated to proſecute the war; reflecting on the Romans, and ſpeaking highly of their own merits; by which he gained on the affections of the vulgar: "What, (ſaid he) can you imagine that when the Roman power has been ſo baffled by two or three trifling towns in Galilee, which they found it ſo difficult to conquer, that they will ever be able to make a conqueſt of Jeruſalem?" This had a great effect on the young men of violent paſſions; but perſons of reflection and experience looked on themſelves as in a ruined ſituation.

He intrigates the people to carry on the war.

Inteſtine diſorders prevail in Judæa.

Thus unfortunately were things ſituated at Jeruſalem: but the country people promoted a ſedition which had its effect in the city. Titus was now gone from Giſchala to Cæſarea; and Veſpaſian went from Cæſarea to Jamnia and Azotus, both which places he ſubdued, and having left garriſons in them, returned with an immenſe number of people, who came over to the Romans. Inteſtine broils and tumults now prevailed in all the cities. The Jews, at peace with the Romans, began to quarrel with each other; and the ſubjects of war and peace afforded matter of continual contention. Private families, who had long been at variance on account of hereditary diſputes, commenced this quarrel, which ſoon ſpread itſelf among the people at large, who, from friends, became enemies; till at length all was uproar and confuſion: perſons of one ſentiment oppoſed thoſe of a different, till the diſorder was worked up to a rebellion. The contagion became general. The young, the violent, the tumultuous, were fully bent on arms: while people of ſenſe and reflection adviſed more moderate proceedings: but the ſentiments of the former prevailed.

Outrages and robberies in the country.

In conſequence of this general confuſion, the people began to rob each other, regardleſs of conſcientious or legal obligations. They then divided themſelves into diſtinct bodies, and robbed in the moſt open manner through the country; and in this proceeding the Jews behaved in as cruel a manner to each other as the Romans had ever treated them; a circumſtance aggravated by the conſideration that injuries from friends are leſs tolerable than from enemies.

Dreadful effects of licentiouſneſs and anarchy.

The garriſons gave themſelves no concern for the ſufferings of the people, whom they hated; and at length, ſome of the leading men of the faction repaired to Jeruſalem with a large body of people whom they had collected in different places. At this time, there was no kind of regular government in the city, ſo that no oppoſition was made to the inſurgents; beſides, it had been an ancient cuſtom that the gates ſhould be open to all Jews indiſcriminately; and this rule was particularly obſerved at preſent, when all who entered were ſuppoſed to be friends. This general liberty proved the ruin of the city; for ſuch amazing numbers of the idle and uſeleſs devoured thoſe proviſions that had been kept in ſtore for the uſe of the ſoldiers that guarded the place; ſo that, in fact, to the calamities of war were ſuperadded thoſe of ſedition and famine.

A band of ſeditious miſcreants enter the city, and commit ſeveral murders.

At this period another body of thieves arrived from the country, who were worſe than the former; and theſe, uniting with thoſe whom they found in the town, behaved in the moſt barbarous manner. They robbed and plundered in open day-light, and committed murder, not ſecretly by night, and on the perſons of the obſcure; but in the face of the ſun, and on the moſt eminent of the citizens. One of their firſt exploits was to impriſon Antipas, a man related to the royal family, whoſe credit and authority was ſuch that the treaſury was committed to his care. They afterwards treated in the ſame manner Levias, Sophas, the ſon of Raguel, and ſuch other perſons of diſtinction as they could get into their power. This conduct made every one conſult his own ſafety, while the city appeared as if in the hands of a common enemy.

Their other villainies and cruelties.

Nor did theſe abandoned people ſtop when they had proceeded thus far: but, finding their priſoners were men of authority, rank and influence, they thought that danger might attend the detaining them in cuſtody; ſince, thus provoked, their friends, or the people in general, might ſeek to reſcue them; and hereupon they proceeded to paſs a formal ſentence of death on them; and ſent one John, the ſon of Dorcas, an abandoned miſcreant of their own body, attended by ten other villains, to execute the ſentence, which accordingly took place. To palliate this horrid crime, they cauſed it to be reported that theſe people had conſpired to deliver the city to the Romans; and aſſumed to themſelves the honour of having done a public ſervice, in the infliction of juſtice on thoſe who would have betrayed the public liberty.

The faction chuſe and depoſe high-prieſts at pleaſure.

By this time the people were ſo diſpirited, and the factious multitude became ſo inſolent, that they aſſumed to themſelves the diſpoſal of the office of high-prieſt, whom they removed from the lineal ſucceſſion, advancing to this dignity one of their own aſſociates, who was equally unqualified for

for the ſtation by the obſcurity of his birth, and his want of virtue. Thus, by chuſing miniſters like themſelves, they gave a criminal uniformity to the government; being aſſured that the unjuſt commands of corrupt maſters would be readily obeyed by abandoned ſervants.

They are oppoſed by the multitude, at the inſtance of Ananus, the high-prieſt.

During this period the moſt calumnious ſtories were invented and propagated, to foment diſſenſions among thoſe who might otherwiſe have oppoſed their deſigns, and thus to take advantage of the public diſcontent. At length, when they had gratified themſelves, even to ſatiety, with the inſults offered to their fellow-creatures, they began to offer affronts even to the Deity himſelf, by an oppoſition to his holy laws and ſanctuary: but in this they were oppoſed by Ananus, the high-prieſt, a perſon equally reſpectable for his character, his age, his wiſdom, and his piety. Ananus prevailed on the people to counteract their proceedings; and he would, in all probability, have preſerved the city, if he could have eſcaped the conſequence of a conſpiracy that was formed againſt him.

The inſurgents retire to the temple.

The temple being now taken poſſeſſion of by the inſurgents, they uſed it equally as the ſeat of their tyranny, and as a place of defence againſt the people. It was now that they took upon them to elect a high-prieſt by lot, pretending that this had been the cuſtom of former ages: but, in fact, no ſuch precedent had ever been known; for the office of high-prieſt being originally veſted in a particular family, it had deſcended from heir to heir ſucceſſively. However, the truth is, that this was a contrivance of theſe people, founded in ſelfiſhneſs, that they might have the government in their own hands: but the plan did not anſwer their expectations; for, in order to make the propoſed choice, they ſummoned one of the holy tribes (named Eniacim), when the lot fell on a man, whoſe incapacity proved the abſurdity of that mode of election. This man was Phanes the ſon of Samuel, born in the village of Aphthas. He was totally unacquainted with the office of high-prieſt, bore no relation to the ſacerdotal family, and was ignorant in the higheſt degree. Notwithſtanding theſe impediments, he was taken, againſt his inclination, from his ruſtic employments, dreſſed in the robes of the prieſthood, and inſtructed how to conduct himſelf, as if he had been receiving a leſſon for the ſtage; the whole ſolemn buſineſs being turned to ridicule. The prieſts, grieved and aſtoniſhed at this procedure, were ſpectators of the inſult offered to their laws, their worſhip, and profeſſion, and they expreſſed their ſentiments by reiterated groans and tears: but the people were ſo enraged at the idea of this inſult, that they aroſe as one man, with a determined reſolution to counteract their oppreſſors, and not to ſubmit any longer to ſo infamous a ſlavery.

One Phanes, an ignorant ruſtic, forced into the high-prieſthood.

Gorion and Simeon ſtir up the people to revenge the indignity, and they are joined by Ananus and Jeſus.

Among the moſt eager to promote this public ſpirit, were Gorion, the ſon of Joſeph, and Simeon, the ſon of Gamaliel, who went among the people, ſeparately encouraging them to revenge the affront, and aſſert their liberties; and zealouſly unite to vindicate their religion, laws and freedom, againſt enemies who had conducted themſelves in ſo ſacrilegious and profane a manner. Ananus, the ſon of Ananus, and Jeſus, the ſon of Gamala, two prieſts of diſtinguiſhed virtue and piety, were likewiſe very zealous in their diſcourſes to the people, reproaching them with cowardice and ſloth, exhorting them to vigilance, and inflaming their minds againſt the Zealots. Theſe people I diſtinguiſh by this name, becauſe they afterwards appropriated it to themſelves, on pretence of their ſuperior ſanctity; though, in fact, of all men breathing, they lived the moſt lewd and abandoned lives. By this time, the people were aſſembled together, and inflamed with the utmoſt rage, to behold the devaſtation that the inſurgents had made in the ſacred places; and that they ſtill continued in the uncontrouled practice of plundering and murder. Yet notwithſtanding all this juſtly excited indignation, no attack was made; for the people were ſenſible that they were not yet in a condition to encounter the force of the Zealots.

The Zealots, why ſo called.

The people are encouraged by Ananus to oppoſe the Zealots.

The people had ſufficient cauſe to be inflamed againſt the Zealots, but Ananus, conſidering the number of the enemy, their ſelect men, and their courage; and reflecting on the ſtrength and ſituation of the place in which they were, had but little hope of ſucceſs from the conſequence of his ſpeech: yet, rather than abandon his country in the moment of diſtreſs, he was determined to run all riſques; while the people, defying every idea of danger, were only anxious for ſome one to lead them to the attack.

Diſpoſitions made for that purpoſe, and a ſkirmiſh enſues.

While the people were in this diſpoſition, Ananus ſelected the beſt men from among them, and formed them into as good order as the time would admit. The Zealots had ſpies to watch the conduct of Ananus; and being informed of his intentions, they began to advance towards him, ſometimes in ſmaller, and ſometimes in larger bodies, nor did they ſpare any one who fell into their hands. Ananus's men were ſoon formed, and were more numerous than their opponents: but the Zealots were better ſupplied with arms: however, courage and good-will compenſated for what was wanted by the oppoſite party; and at the ſame time the Zealots were equally inflamed. The inhabitants ſaw that ſafety conſiſted only in clearing the city of their enemies; who were convinced that they muſt either conquer or die. With theſe ſentiments on both ſides, they began a ſkirmiſh near the temple, by pelting each other with ſtones: many fell on each ſide; thoſe who fled being deſtroyed by the ſwords of their enemies. Thoſe of the inhabitants who were wounded were borne off to their own houſes by their friends; while the wounded Zealots were carried into the temple, where their blood defiled the

the holy place. In all these excursions the advantage was on the side of the Zealots.

By this time the people were increased in number and strength; and were now so enraged against those who attempted to escape by flight, that they constantly blocked up their passage, and obliged them to turn towards the enemy; so that they were compelled to cut their way through, or be slain. Thus every man was under a necessity of fighting; and the insurgents, unable to sustain the shock of this united force, retreated by degrees towards the temple, whither Ananus and his followers pressed furiously after them. The Zealots having been driven through the first court, their fears induced them to take shelter in the second, where they hastily made fast the gates against those who pursued them. Such was the reverence that Ananus entertained for this holy place, that he would not attempt to force the passage, though sufficiently irritated by the enemy, who dispatched darts and lances from the top of the building. Still, however, the high-priest was so unwilling to pollute the sacred temple, by an indiscriminate admission of an unpurified multitude, that he would not have permitted it if the event of the cause had depended on it. Wherefore, for the present, he only placed a guard of six thousand select men on the porches of the temple, relieving these with another six thousand, and thus alternately; the principal people not being exempted from this duty: only, when their turn came, they were permitted to depute others to officiate for them.

A combat in the courts of the temple.

Ananus, not willing to pollute the place, appoints a standing guard of 6000 men on the porches.

At this time every thing went in favour of the popular party; but John of Gischala, who has been heretofore mentioned, threw all into confusion. This man was artful, false, ambitious, and an arrant traitor to the public! To obtain his present views, he sought popularity by affecting to be a patriot. He was the most constant daily attendant of Ananus in council, and assiduously careful of the watch and guards in the night. In the mean time, he was a spy for the Zealots, and as he came to the knowledge of all that passed, immediately informed them of the particulars. To disguise his zeal for Ananus and the people more effectually, he pretended the utmost respect for the high-priest and the men of rank who attended him: but in this he so far over-acted his part, that they began to suspect him; for his flatteries were too gross, and his conduct seemed to exceed the bounds of reason. Their suspicions were increased by his still obtruding himself, uninvited, into their counsels. Ananus discovered that his secrets were developed, and he supposed that John was the betrayer: but so artfully did this villain conduct himself, and so far had he obtained the good opinion of several men of eminence, that it was in vain to think of removing him from his station: wherefore the readiest method that could be devised, was, to administer to him an oath of secrecy and fidelity, purporting that he should keep the counsels of the people, and, on their behalf, oppose the rebels to his utmost power. John did not in the least hesitate to take this oath, nor were Ananus and his friends backward in crediting what he swore: wherefore they instantly admitted him into their counsels, and soon afterwards sent him to the Zealots, to offer terms of peace. Their greatest fear was that the temple would be defiled with the blood of the Jews, and the blame thereof attributed to them.

Villainous character of John of Gischala.

Through his art and subtlety, Ananus and his friends are induced to admit him into their counsels.

CHAP. V.

The ZEALOTS apply to the IDUMÆANS for Aid; and an Army of near Twenty Thousand Men goes to their Relief.

THE two most capable men in the council of the Zealots, and those deemed best qualified for advice or execution, were Eleazar the son of Simon, and Zachary the son of Amphicalus, who were both of them of the line of the priesthood. Now these men had no doubt that their own lives were particularly threatened, exclusive of the general menaces; and they credited the story of John, that Ananus and his people had called in the assistance of the Romans. Thus situated, they knew not how to act; fearful lest the people would wreak their vengeance on themselves. With regard to foreign aid, they feared it could not be expected time enough to prevent the plot; thinking that the blow would be struck before notice of their distress could be given to their allies. In the end, however, they determined to apply to the Idumæans, to whom they wrote to the following purport: "Understanding that the people have been seduced by Ananus, who hath formed a plan to betray Jerusalem to the Romans, we have, in support of our common liberty, retreated to the temple, in which we are besieged: and, unless immediately relieved, likely to become prisoners to Ananus, and our other enemies; and the city itself to fall into the hands of the Romans."

By the advice of Simon and Zachary, the Zealots resolve to apply to the Idumæans for assistance.

The persons who were commissioned to deliver this letter, had likewise verbal instructions to the principal people of the nation. These embassadors were both of the name of Ananias; men distinguished by their resolution, good address, and being adepts in the arts of persuasion; but, above all, celebrated for their expeditious manner of transacting business. They did not entertain the least doubt but that the Idumæans would be fond of affording their assistance; as they were a people devoted to changes and dissensions, of a quarrelsome and brutal disposition; and as readily disposed to go to war as other persons would to a feast. No time was now to be lost, and the

Instructions given to the embassadors.

the meſſengers exerted themſelves in the moſt effectual manner.

The Idumæans raiſe 20,000 men for the relief of the Zealots.

When they had delivered their diſpatches to the governors of Idumæa, their letters had been read, and their inſtructions made known, the people were tranſported almoſt out of their ſenſes, through their zeal for war; inciting each other to take up arms; ſo that in a very ſhort ſpace of time near twenty thouſand men were raiſed for the relief of the Zealots, under the command of Phineas the ſon of Cluſoth, Simon the ſon of Cathlas, and John and James the ſons of Soſas.

CHAP. VI.

The IDUMÆANS take up their Station under the Walls of the City, and defend themſelves againſt a violent Tempeſt by their Bucklers. Various Conjectures on the Prodigies. The City entered in the Night by the IDUMÆANS, who join the ZEALOTS. ANANUS and JESUS murdered.

THE repeated ſhouts and acclamations of the factious multitude now evidenced their joy, on hearing an inſolent ſpeech addreſſed to them by an Idumæan officer. On the contrary, Jeſus retired in a moſt melancholy diſpoſition, not only on account of the obſtinacy of the Idumæans, but in conſideration that the citizens were now engaged in a double war. The Idumæans themſelves were not much more at eaſe, partly from their anger at being repulſed in this manner, and partly becauſe the ſtrength of the Zealots bore no compariſon to the idea they had formed of it; ſo that they almoſt repented their engaging in ſo difficult an enterpriſe. But all their ſcruples were overcome by their diſdaining to return as they came, without making a ſingle effort: wherefore they came to a haſty reſolution of encamping under the walls of the city, and remaining in their preſent ſituation.

A dreadful tempeſt and earthquake.

On the ſucceeding night there happened ſuch a ſhocking tempeſt of thunder, lightning, wind and rain, and ſuch a dreadful earthquake*, that every one was aſtoniſhed, and dreaded the iſſue of theſe portentous prodigies. The Idumæans were equally apprehenſive with the inhabitants, that the vengeance of Heaven was awake to puniſh a war ſo pernicious to the parent city. In the mean time, Ananus and his aſſociates took it for granted that it was a declaration of Heaven in their favour, and that a victory would enſue, even without a battle. But the iſſue proved that their conjectures were ill-founded; for what they had foreboded of their enemies fell to their own lot.

Variety of opinions concerning the ſafety of the Idumæans.

In the interim, the ſtorm continued to ſuch a degree, that the Idumæans were compelled to preſs as cloſe as poſſible to each other, and cover themſelves with their bucklers; by which they experienced a temporary relief from its fury. The Zealots, who were under more concern for the Idumæans than themſelves, took counſel together how they might preſerve their friends. They who were inſtigated by the violence of their paſſions, recommended the ſeizing of the city guards; and when they ſhould have ſucceeded in this buſineſs, to force the gates for the entrance of the Idumæans; repreſenting that ill-armed and inexperienced ſoldiers would be ſo alarmed by ſuch a ſurpriſe, that they would not find it an eaſy matter to re-aſſemble; beſides, that moſt of the troops had, at that juncture, taken ſhelter from the ſtorm. However, they urged, that though the danger might be ever ſo great, it would not become them to deſert their allies, who had ſo readily granted their aſſiſtance.

Some ſtart objections againſt forcing the gates, as impracticable.

Thoſe of moderate ſentiments oppoſed this meaſure; urging that there could be no doubt but that at ſo dangerous a period, the place was doubly guarded, and the Idumæans more ſtrictly watched from the walls than heretofore: beſides, it was known that Ananus kept the ſoldiers ſtrictly to their duty, by conſtantly walking his rounds. Indeed this had been the regular practice of Ananus, except on this particular night, when he retired to refreſh himſelf; and this not through negligence; but it appeared as if an over-ruling Providence had directed the deſtruction of himſelf and people; for the tempeſt now increaſed, the night was far ſpent, and the guards were aſleep in the gates of the temple.

The Zealots find means to deſtroy the bolts and bars of the gates, while the guards were aſleep.

At this period, the Zealots thought that their buſineſs would be accompliſhed, if they could deſtroy the bolts and bars of the gates: on which they furniſhed themſelves with ſaws and other inſtruments appropriated to the uſe of the temple, and totally unfaſtened them: the thunder roaring, and the wind blowing at this time, ſo that the noiſe could not be heard by the beſiegers. This done, they proceeded privately to thoſe gates of the city neareſt the Idumæans, and opened them as they had done the other. At firſt the Idumæans betook themſelves to their arms, thinking Ananus meant to ſally out on them: but finding their error, they made an immediate ingreſs into the city, filled with ſuch wrathful ideas, that if they had immediately put their reſolutions in force, every one of the citizens might probably have been ſacrificed to their rage: but the Zealots

The Idumæan army enters the city.

* Earthquakes were frequent in Paleſtine, and the ſacred writers who were eye-witneſſes of ſeveral, have embelliſhed their writings with frequent alluſions to this terrible phænomenon. The prophet Jeremiah, ch. li. 25. compares a powerful nation, doomed to deſtruction, to a ruinating mountain, as if deſtroyed by an earthquake, or rather to a volcano, which would ſoon be conſumed, and involve other mountains in its ruins, and be ſo intirely waſted by its flames that its very ſtones would be rendered uſeleſs. Thus dreadful was the final deſtiny of the Jewiſh ſtate.

intreated them to conſider the ſituation of their friends in the temple, and not expoſe to danger thoſe on whoſe account they had engaged in the enterpriſe: repreſenting likewiſe that it would be better to begin with the guards than the inhabitants; for if the latter were alarmed, they would riſe in immenſe multitudes, and conteſt the point ſo that the propoſed end might not be anſwered. This reaſoning had its force with the Idumæans, who immediately went through the city, to the relief of their impriſoned friends in the temple, who waited their arrival with great anxiety. As ſoon as the Idumæans entered, the Zealots quitted the interior temple, and united with them in an attack on the guards, numbers of whom were killed while ſleeping; but others were alarmed by their exclamations, and the people at large, though in great confuſion, had recourſe to their arms. At firſt they imagined it was only a party of the Zealots, and were animated with the thought of ſuppreſſing them by their ſuperior numbers: but when they found that multitudes of ſtrangers had poured in upon them, and that the Idumæans had joined the Zealots, numbers were ſo diſcouraged as to quit their arms, and lament their unfortunate ſituation. However, there were a few gallant youths who had courage to attack the Idumæans and ſhield thoſe who were more fearful; while the majority ran from place to place, in all the extravagance of grief, lamenting the ſuppoſed deſtruction of the city. But when it was known that the Idumæans were in poſſeſſion of the place, not a ſingle man would make another effort. Fruitleſs exclamations, and piteous wailings, prevailed in every ſtreet; while the women ſhrieked aloud for the loſs of their protectors: and the violence of the thunder and winds, and the ſhouts of the Zealots and Idumæans, rendered thoſe clamorous complainings ſtill more horrible. In the mean time, the natural rage and ferocity of the Idumæans were increaſed to ſuch a degree, by the idea of their being excluded from the city in ſuch extremity of weather, that they ſpared no one, whether armed, or kneeling to beg their lives. The pleas of conſanguinity and religion were equally made in vain; a ſpeedy death enſued; and ſuch was their ſituation, that they could neither fight nor fly. Even the fear of death combined with the rage of the enemy to accelerate their fate; for they preſſed on each other with ſuch vehemence, that it was impoſſible for any of them to retire; ſo that their very ſituation was ſuch that their enemies dealt death among them at every blow. Diſtracted by their unfortunate poſition, ſome of them ſought one death to avoid another, and in their deſpair threw themſelves from a precipice. In a word, the whole temple was ſurrounded with ſtreams of blood: and when day-light came, it was judged that eight thouſand five hundred perſons lay dead on the ſpot.

Horrid confuſion enſues.

The Idumæans maſſacre great numbers of the people.

However, the inſatiate appetite of the Idumæans for blood was by no means appeaſed; for turning their rage againſt the city, they plundered all the houſes, and ſacrificed moſt of the inhabitants they met with: but they were not ſo intent on the deſtruction of the common people, as on wreaking their vengeance on the high-prieſts, whom they no ſooner found than they beheaded them, and trampled on their bodies; inſulting that of Jeſus, on account of the ſpeech he had made from the walls, and that of Ananus, on account of his influence with the people. Nay, to ſuch a height had their impiety ariſen, that they denied them the common rites of ſepulture; though the laws of the Jews, from reverence for the deceaſed, have provided that even crucified criminals ſhould be taken down, and interred before the ſetting of the ſun.

They plunder the houſes, deſtroy the inhabitants, and vent their rage on the high-prieſts.

If I were to place the deſtruction of Jeruſalem and the death of Ananus on the ſame day, I ſhould not be much miſtaken in my chronology; ſince, by the untimely fate of this man, the government loſt its beſt ſupport and hope of ſecurity: and the death of the city may be ranked with that of Ananus. Excluſive of his birth, and the dignity of his character, he was held in the higheſt eſtimation for his regard to juſtice, and his perſonal virtues, among which his humility was remarkably conſpicuous. He was diſtinguiſhed as an aſſerter of liberty, and a friend of the common-wealth. He conſulted not his own intereſt, but the ſervice of the public; and was, on all proper occaſions, a promoter of peace: for he was certain that the Romans were not to be trifled with, and that the ſafety of the Jews conſiſted in an amicable agreement with them. In a word, if Ananus had lived, the Romans and Jews would have been friends. He was ſuch a perfect orator, as to make the utmoſt impreſſion on all his auditors. The Zealots had been already reduced to a ſtate of humiliation by his proweſs; and the Jews under the command of ſo able a leader, might have been a match for the Romans. He was fortunate in having ſuch a man as Jeſus for his aſſociate, who exceeded the merit of other men as much as he fell ſhort of that of Ananus. But it was the will of Heaven that the ſacred city ſhould be purged as by fire from its pollutions and abominations: and the deſtruction of theſe two diſtinguiſhed perſonages was deemed neceſſary to its preſervation. Theſe illuſtrious men, immediately before their ſhocking fate, were diſtinguiſhed by their office of prieſthood; were conſidered as the protectors of the moſt pure religion in the univerſe; the favourites of their own people, and of all ſtrangers acquainted with their merit: yet in a moment, on a reverſe of fortune, they were expoſed a prey to dogs, or wild beaſts; to the grief and aſtoniſhment of all good men, who lamented that vice ſhould thus triumph in the depreſſion of virtue.

The death of Ananus an irreparable loſs, and fatal to the city.

His excellent character.

BOOK V.

CHAP. I.

The Barbarity of the IDUMÆANS and ZEALOTS, and Deſtruction of Twelve Thouſand Perſons. ZACHARIAH charged with Treaſon, acquitted by the Court, but afterwards murdered in the Temple. The Murder of GORION, and NIGER of PERÆA.

Horrid cruelties of the Idumæans and Zealots.

THE cruel murder of Ananus and Jeſus was no ſooner effected than the Zealots and Idumæans began to exerciſe the moſt horrid barbarities on the common people, whom they deſtroyed without mercy, as faſt as they could ſeize them: but perſons of diſtinction, and particularly ſuch as were in full health and vigour, they kept in priſon, in the hope that they would purchaſe their lives, by coming over to their party: but this they refuſed to do, and every man of them died, rather than combine with the traitors. Their death, however, was made additionally dreadful by aggravated torments. When they had been whipped till their bodies were ulcerated, the period of their exiſtence was finiſhed by the ſword. Thoſe who were apprehended during the day-time, were crouded into priſons at night; as faſt as they died, their bodies were thrown out, to make room for other wretched tenants, who were treated with ſimilar barbarity. The people were ſo terrified by theſe horrid proceedings, that they did not even dare to ſhed a tear, or heave a ſigh, for the loſs of their friends, nor even to bury their neareſt relations. Nay, they were afraid even to weep or complain in their own houſes or chambers, without firſt making a diligent ſearch, leſt there ſhould be any liſteners; ſince any mark of compaſſion for the deceaſed would have been puniſhed with death, ſo criminal was it deemed to poſſeſs the feelings of humanity. Sometimes, indeed, they would throw a handful of earth on a dead body during the night; and a few perſons were bold enough to do this during the day-time. No leſs than twelve thouſand perſons, of ſome rank, fell a ſacrifice to this rage for perſecution.

A mock court of juſtice erected by the murderers.

At length, the murderers themſelves began to bluſh at the abandoned manner in which their crimes had been perpetrated: wherefore they erected a kind of mock court of juſtice, to give their murders the apparent ſanction of law. Zachariah the ſon of Baruch, was at this time diſtinguiſhed for his wealth, rank, authority, and virtue; for his ſteady ſupport of, and friendſhip to, all good men, and his determined enmity to the wicked. Now the Zealots conſidered the popularity of this man as a circumſtance of ſo dangerous a kind, that their own ſafety would depend on his deſtruction; wherefore they came to a reſolution to deprive him of life, or, in other words, to bring him to a trial on a capital charge. Hereupon, they cauſed ſeventy perſons of ſome diſtinction to be aſſembled together, under the denomination of judges, though they had no authority to erect ſuch a tribunal. On the meeting of this pretended court, a formal complaint was made againſt Zachariah by the Zealots, who urged that he had been engaged in a treaty with Veſpaſian, to betray Jeruſalem to the Romans. Though there was not even the ſhadow of a proof to confirm this inſinuation, yet the Zealots inſiſted that it was founded in fact, and that was ſufficient.

Zachariah brought to trial. His reſolution and manly defence

Though Zachariah knew himſelf perfectly innocent of the whole charge, and was ſo well appriſed of the contrivance as to conſider his life as already ſacrificed, yet, notwithſtanding his deplorable ſituation, he conducted himſelf with a freedom of ſpirit, and a compoſed ſerenity of mind, perfectly conſiſtent with his character. In the firſt place, he ſeverely reflected on the ſhameleſs conduct of his accuſers; mentioned the inconſiſtencies of their calumnious ſuggeſtions; briefly expoſed the futility of all their objections to his behaviour, and turned their arguments againſt themſelves; expoſing, in a regular manner, the progreſs of their iniquitous proceedings, and occaſionally hinting at the unſettled ſtate of public affairs. The Zealots were ſo enraged at this magnanimous and intrepid behaviour of Zachariah, that they would undoubtedly have murdered him on the ſpot, if they had not been reſtrained by the idea of keeping up the dignity of the court, and their wiſh to ſee if the new judges would hazard their own perſonal ſafety by a favourable determination on ſuch a point. At length the whole court gave judgment, that the priſoner was wholly innocent; every man of the ſeventy chuſing rather to riſque his own deſtruction, than to vote the death of ſuch a perſon, againſt every principle of juſtice. The Zealots were inflamed to the higheſt degree of rage by this determination, wondering that the judges ſhould not better underſtand for what purpoſe they were aſſembled. Soon after the verdict of acquittal was paſſed, two of the moſt abandoned of the Zealots attacked Zachariah, and murdered him in the middle of the temple; one of them at the ſame time exclaiming, "We have now given you a full acquittal, of which you are more certain than you were of the other:" and at the ſame time they threw the body down the precipice under the temple. On this occaſion, the lives of the judges were ſpared; and their puniſhment conſiſted in being driven out of the temple, and beaten with the flats of the ſwords that were otherwiſe to have

He is acquitted by the court, but inhumanly maſſacred by the Zealots.

have deſtroyed them. Thus they diſperſed, to be witneſſes of the ſlavery of the capital city.

The above-mentioned proceedings ſo diſguſted the Idumæans, that they execrated the moment they came on the expedition; and conferring together on this buſineſs, one of the Zealots gave them private information of the hiſtory of the people by whom they were invited. The Idumæans were ſo affected by his addreſs to them, that they immediately gave liberty to near two thouſand perſons, whom they had put in priſon; then quitted the city, and repaired to Simon, of whom we ſhall ſpeak more hereafter; and from him to their own place of reſidence. The inhabitants of the city, and the Zealots, appeared to be ſurpriſed by the ſudden departure of the Idumæans: but the motives of their ſurpriſe were different. The populace, who were unacquainted with the change of ſentiments in the Idumæans, aſſumed freſh courage, in the idea of ſo happy a deliverance; while the Zealots prided themſelves in the aſſurance of their ſuperior ſtrength; and reflecting that the awe in which they had been kept by the Idumæans was now no more, thought they might proceed without ſcruple or reſtraint: on which, they executed all their meaſures in the moſt haſty manner. They did not heſitate at any proceeding, how wicked ſoever, and completed their projects almoſt in the moment they concerted them.

The Idumæans releaſe their priſoners and return home.

The principal part of their rage was directed againſt men of honour and courage, whom they perſecuted with unexampled rigour. The nobles ſuffered through their envy, and men of a virtuous character through their fear; for while any man of diſtinguiſhed merit was living, they did not think their own perſons in ſafety. From theſe puſillanimous motives they deſtroyed ſeveral eminent perſons, and among them Gorion, who was a man of birth and character, remarkable for his courage, a protector of the people, and an aſſerter of liberty; and in fact, this ſacred attachment to liberty combined with his other virtues to haſten his deſtruction. The ſame unhappy fate likewiſe attended Niger of Peræa, a man diſtinguiſhed for his bravery and good conduct againſt the Romans: and when he was dragged along the ſtreets, he exhibited the marks of the wounds he had received in defence of his country, and triumphed in the ſenſe of his honour. When he was conveyed without the gates, and found his life expiring, he begged, as the laſt favour, that he might be interred; but even this was refuſed him: and he was put to death while imprecating the vengeance of Heaven on the tyrants. He wiſhed that the Romans might arrive and avenge his murder; that peſtilence, famine, and ſword, might be the portion of his enemies; and that their enormous crimes might be puniſhed by inteſtine diviſions.

Rage of the Zealots exerted againſt men of virtue, of whom they put to death Gorion and Niger.

And in a ſhort time after this, the righteous decrees of Providence inflicted all the above-mentioned puniſhments, of which their inteſtine broils were but the prelude. They began to be at eaſe with regard to people of rank, on the death of Niger; but yet there was not a ſingle man of common credit with whom they did not ſeek an occaſion of diſpute. They put ſome of them to death on charges of long ſtanding, and which had been almoſt forgotten. In other inſtances, where there was no kind of proof againſt a man, they put him to death from circumſtances of mere ſuſpicion. If the accuſed parties made application to the faction, they were cenſured as ſpies; if they did not, their conduct was interpreted into contempt: but whatever the crime, the puniſhment was the ſame; and thoſe poſſeſſed of either honour or riches were certain not to eſcape.

The judgements of Heaven inflicted in due time on the murderers, in anſwer to the prayers of thoſe whom they butchered.

CHAP. II.

Diſtractions prevailing among the JEWS, the ROMAN Officers urge VESPASIAN to act with Rigour. Daily Deſertion of the JEWS to the ROMANS. Dreadful Perſecution and Oppreſſion. An ancient Prophecy reſpecting the Deſtruction of JERUSALEM.

THE conqueſt of Jeruſalem being an object which the Roman officers conſidered as of the utmoſt importance, they thought that a better opportunity of carrying it into execution would never happen than during the preſent diſtracted ſituation of public affairs; wherefore they made application to Veſpaſian, their general, requeſting that he might improve the preſent occaſion, before the Jews ſhould have time to recollect themſelves; repreſenting that they would be weary of the preſent conteſt, repent of it, or agree among themſelves; in either of which caſes they ſhould have to renew all their former operations. They farther added, that theſe very factions appeared evidently a ſingular providence in behalf of the Romans.

Veſpaſian adviſed to act with rigour againſt the Jews.

Veſpaſian delivered his opinion, and adviſed more temperate meaſures; the officers perfectly coincided with him; and the ſequel will make it evident that they were right in ſo doing: for ſoon afterwards great numbers of the Jews deſerted to him, not a day paſſing but ſome made their eſcape, though by what means ſeemed incredible; for the paſſes were all guarded, and thoſe that were taken were put to the ſword; unleſs, indeed, they had money to purchaſe their liberty; and this never failed of effecting it: ſo that the poor were ſufferers, while the rich compounded for their freedom. However, this maſſacre was ſo prodigious, that the dead bodies were piled on each other in the roads; while many within the city, who were diſpoſed to abſcond, choſe to remain and periſh there, in the hope that they ſhould at leaſt

Many of the Jews deſert from the Zealots to Veſpaſian.

Their ſavage barbarity and impiety exemplified.

leaſt be covered by their parent earth. At length the barbarity of theſe monſters was carried to ſuch a height, that they denied the rites of ſepulture equally to thoſe within and without the city; and, as if profeſſed enemies to every ſentiment of humanity and devotion, they permitted the bodies to lie rotting above ground, thereby offending the Creator, as well as his creatures. The crime of deſerting to the enemy was not deemed greater than that of attempting to bury a friend: and he who had recently interred another, became, almoſt immediately, in want of ſome conſiderate perſon to execute the ſame kind office for himſelf. Compaſſion, the moſt amiable of all our affections, appeared to be totally extinguiſhed from the hearts of theſe abandoned people; and inſtead of commiſerating thoſe who were ſunk in diſtreſs, that diſtreſs ſerved only as a freſh incitement to their rage.

Dreadful perſecution, tyranny, and oppreſſion prevail.

In fact, the appearance of things was ſo gloomy, that the living ſeemed only to envy the dead; and the repoſe of the grave was deemed preferable to the horrors of a priſon. The tyrants not only deſpiſed all that was held ſacred among men, but even derided the Almighty himſelf, by accounting the oracles of his prophets no other than as a collection of fables or dreams. Yet, notwithſtanding this contempt of the laws and precepts of their progenitors, they found, in the end, the predictions that had been denounced againſt themſelves and their country were accompliſhed: for a prophetical tradition had been tranſmitted to them from remote antiquity, predicting that, in future time, a ſeditious tumult would ariſe in Jeruſalem, during which the holy temple would be profaned by the hands of the Jews: that the city would afterwards be taken, and its moſt ſacred poſſeſſions deſtroyed by fire. The Zealots did not diſpute the authority of this prediction, and by their own furious zeal ſeemed to contribute to its execution.

CHAP. III.

The Faction divided. The JEWS viſited by various deplorable Judgments. They hold a ſecret Correſpondence with VESPASIAN, to whom they apply for Relief. The factious Multitude fly. PLACIDUS is diſpatched after them. The Fugitives are purſued by the ROMANS to BETHENNABRIS. The Place rifled by PLACIDUS, who lays it in Aſhes. The JEWS are defeated with the Loſs of Fifteen Thouſand Men.

John of Giſchala aſpires to the ſovereignty.

BY this time, John of Giſchala had ſwelled his ambitious views to ſuch a degree, that he even aſpired to the ſovereign power; though, in fact, he had, for a long time, entertained an idea of this kind: wherefore, inſenſibly withdrawing himſelf from the company of his old aſſociates, he gradually engaged in his intereſt a number of abandoned miſcreants, and formed a reſolution of embarking on his own foundation. It was a diſtinguiſhed part of the character of this man to impoſe his orders in an authoritative manner on others, and to treat their opinions with the moſt ſovereign degree of contempt: and this he practiſed as the probable means of attaining the ſupreme authority. Some of his new adherents joined him through a principle of fear, and others from the motives of eſteem and regard; for he had the art of moving the affections, and was fluent in words to a very eminent degree. Some of his followers conſulted their own ſecurity in their adherence to him, imagining, or hoping at leaſt, that whenever a ſcrutiny ſhould be made into their former evil proceedings, they would, in the groſs, be attributed to him, as the firſt inciter of the irregularities. Many of the martial part of his followers adhered to him on account of his abilities and manly reſolution; while numbers of others receded from him, through conſideration of his pride, and diſdained to ſubmit to the authority of him who had lately been their profeſſed enemy. But the circumſtance that had more influence on them than any other, was the averſion they had to be governed by any ſingle perſon; and the idea that if he once became poſſeſſed of unlimited power, it would not be an eaſy matter to deprive him of it: and they farther thought that thoſe who ſhould oppoſe his firſt pretenſions, could have no reaſon to hope for his future favour. Having deliberated on theſe matters, the people came to a reſolution rather to abide all the perilous events of war, than to ſubmit to what they thought would be conſtrued into a voluntary ſlavery. After this determination the faction divided themſelves into Zealots and Anti-Zealots; John putting himſelf at the head of the latter. Theſe parties now oppoſed each other, and ſome trifling ſkirmiſhes enſued; but theſe ſkirmiſhes were directed rather againſt the people than againſt each other: for the view of each party was to obtain the principal ſhare of the booty by the excluſion of the other.

The faction of Zealots divided into oppoſite parties.

Deplorable ſtate of Jeruſalem.

At this period, the city of Jeruſalem was oppreſſed by the aggravated misfortunes of war, tyranny, and ſedition. The populace, imagining that war was the moſt inſupportable of all calamities, fled from their habitations to ſeek for protection among ſtrangers; and afterwards found that the protection, which they could not obtain from each other, was to be met with among the Romans.

Excurſion of the Sicarii from Maſſada, and their ravages and depredations.

A fourth misfortune, not leſs deſtructive to the Jews than any of the former, immediately ſucceeded them. Within a ſmall diſtance from Jeruſalem was ſituated the caſtle of Maſſada; which was equally celebrated for its antiquity, ſtrength, and magnificence. It had been erected by our ancient kings, who conſidered it as a royal treaſury, a magazine for all the implements and neceſſaries of war, and a retreat which

which might be ſafely uſed in caſes of imminent danger. At this time it was in poſſeſſion of a ſet of abandoned miſcreants called the Sicarii, whoſe numbers were ſufficient to have totally deſtroyed and ravaged the country; though the acts they had hitherto done were the effects of ſurpriſe and treachery. At this period it happened that the Roman army was lying in abſolute inaction, while the Jews, divided among themſelves, were diſtreſſing each other by every poſſible means: and, on this occaſion, the aſſaſſins made a more vigorous attempt than ever they had done before. The feaſt of unleavened bread now came on; a feſtival that is celebrated by the Jews in the moſt ſolemn manner, in commemoration of their deliverance from the ſlavery they had undergone in Egypt, and their being conducted ſafely to the land of promiſe. On the night of this feſtival the inſurgents ſurpriſed the town of Engaddi, into which they entered, and conquered the people before they had even time to have recourſe to their arms. They drove them furiouſly out of the town, and, in the purſuit, killed above ſeven hundred of them, the majority of whom were women and children: they then ſtripped their houſes, and made plunder of all the ripe and ſeaſonable fruits they could find; which they carried to Maſſada, in their way to which place, they, in like manner, depopulated the towns, villages, and caſtles, and laid waſte the country. A multitude of abandoned people conſtantly coming in to join theſe depredators, their numbers were daily increaſed. Till this period, Judæa had remained in eaſe and quiet; but on this irruption the whole country became the ſcene of every kind of violence and every ſpecies of irregularity. As it is in the natural body, ſo it is when ſeditions prevail in a city; when the more noble parts are affected, the calamity has an influence on all the reſt. In the capital, when a part is diſordered, the adjacencies conſent to the contamination, and ſuffer through the force of example. When the parties above-mentioned had acquired all the plunder they could, they retired therewith into deſert places, where they aſſociated together, ſuch numbers of the depredators joining their forces, that they had the appearance of conſiderable armies, ſufficient to deſtroy cities, and lay temples waſte. It is reaſonable to ſuppoſe that the injured parties took every poſſible opportunity of revenge, when they could meet with thoſe who had inſulted them: but this happened but very ſeldom; for the robbers were generally ſo diligent as to eſcape with their booty before their purſuers could come up with them. On the whole, ſo calamitous was the ſituation of affairs, that every part of Judæa felt a ſhare of the diſtreſs with which the principal city was affected.

They drive the inhabitants from Engaddi, kill many of them, and plunder the houſes.

The moderate Jews ſolicit relief from Veſpaſian.

All the avenues were guarded with ſo much ſtrictneſs and precaution by the factious party, that not a ſingle perſon could ſtir without imminent danger of his life: yet notwithſtanding this vigilant and rigorous precaution, many perſons found means to deſert daily, who gave Veſpaſian an account of the ſituation of the place, and intreated his aſſiſtance to relieve ſuch as yet remained in the city: repreſenting that their attachment to the Romans had already coſt many of the citizens their lives, and that many more were in danger of ſharing a like fate from ſimilar motives. Veſpaſian, concerned for the unhappy ſituation of the inhabitants, ordered his army to advance nearer to the city; not with a view, as was imagined, to attack it by a regular ſiege, but with a reſolution to prevent any ſiege at all, by reducing all the fortreſſes in its neighbourhood, and thereby obviating any obſtruction to its future views.

The people of Gadara apply to him for protection.

Veſpaſian having arrived at Gadara, the moſt affluent and beſt protected town beyond the river Jordan, and the principal place in the province, the moſt eminent of the inhabitants ſent commiſſioners to invite him into the place, and take it under his protection, which he did on the fourth of the month Dyſtrus. This the inhabitants, who were a wealthy people, did with a view to the preſervation of their own lives and fortunes. The factious multitude were unacquainted with the meaning of this proceeding, farther than by Veſpaſian approaching the walls. The inſurgents were now totally at a loſs how to act. They found it impracticable for the town to ſuſtain itſelf againſt ſo many internal and external enemies: for the Roman army was at hand, and the majority of the citizens were their determined enemies. Now, therefore, they thought to truſt in flight for their ſafety: but they conceived that they could not honourably adopt this plan till they had firſt revenged themſelves on the authors of their deſtruction. Having deliberated on this matter, they apprehended Doleſus, a perſon equally diſtinguiſhed by his merit, and his extraction, and an object of envy for having adviſed the embaſſy above-mentioned. Having taken him into cuſtody, they gave orders that he ſhould be put to death, and then that his dead body ſhould be whipped: and they privately left the town as ſoon as theſe orders were carried into execution.

The factious betake themſelves to flight

Veſpaſian conducted by the inhabitants into Gadara, which he garriſons.

No ſooner had the Romans approached nearer towards the city than the inhabitants went out to meet Veſpaſian, whom they conducted into the place with every teſtimony of congratulation; and after having taken the oaths of fidelity which are cuſtomary on ſuch occaſions, they of their own accord deſtroyed the walls of the city, in order to give a ſtriking proof of their fidelity and peaceable intentions, by putting it out of their power to do any injury, even if they were ſo diſpoſed. This being done, Veſpaſian beſtowed on them a garriſon of horſe and foot for their protection, and then diſpatched Placidus after the enemy with five hundred cavalry and three thouſand infantry; after which he retired to Cæſarea with the remainder of his forces.

The inſurgents repair to Bethennabris, and Placidus is diſpatched after them.

The fugitives finding that they were purſued, and that a party of horſe gained ground upon them, turned aſide to the village of Bethennabris before the Romans had got up to them. In this place there was a conſiderable number of ſtout young fellows, ſome

ſome of whom they perſuaded, and others they compelled to enter into their ſervice: and being thus reinforced, they ſallied forth, and made a deſperate attack on Placidus, who at the firſt receded a little; but this only with a view to get the enemy farther from the town; and this plan having anſwered his expectation, Placidus attacked them when they were ſituated ſo that he had an evident advantage of them, and totally routed them. The Roman cavalry intercepted thoſe who conſulted their ſafety by flight, while thoſe who ſtood to their arms were deſtroyed by the infantry: in fact, they were foiled in all their attempts. Their attacking the Romans was indeed a preſumptuous enterpriſe: they might have encountered a wall or a rock with equal hope of ſucceſs: for the Romans ſtood ſo cloſe and firm that it was not poſſible to break their main body, and were ſo guarded by their arms that the darts and lances could not affect them. On the contrary, the Jews were ſo ill-protected, that they were injured by every kind of aſſault, and reached by any kind of weapons; till, at length, being irritated to the moſt violent degree of rage, they ſeemed abandoned to deſpair, and threw themſelves on the ſwords of their enemies, by which many of them periſhed: ſome were cut in pieces, others were trampled under foot by the horſe, and others again put to flight. Placidus exerted his utmoſt influence that none of the fugitives ſhould get back again to the town; and as often as this was attempted by any of them, the horſe-ſoldiers under his command interpoſed to prevent the carrying their ſcheme into execution. They killed with their lances ſuch of them as were within their reach, and did every thing in their power to intercept the reſt. Some, however, who poſſeſſed more ſtrength and ſwiftneſs than their companions, reached the walls; and now the guard were puzzled in the higheſt degree to know whom to admit, and whom to exclude: for they thought it would be extremely unreaſonable to open the gates to their townſmen, and ſhut them againſt thoſe of Gadara: and, on the contrary, they were fearful that if they opened them indifferently to all, the loſs of the place might be endangered; as, in the end, it had like to have happened: for the Romans having purſued ſome fugitives even to the wall, had nearly fallen into the town with them; but with great difficulty the gates were ſhut, and the ingreſs prevented. Hereupon Placidus made a vigorous attack on the place; which he urged with ſo great a reſolution, that he became maſter of it, and took poſſeſſion of the wall, on the afternoon of the ſame day. The common people, who had no means of defending themſelves, were put to the ſword, and the others ſought their ſafety in flight; carrying with them, where-ever they went through the country, the melancholy news of what had happened. In the interim, the victorious party firſt plundered the houſes, and then reduced the place to aſhes.

The fugitives ſuſtain a total rout, and a number of them ſlain.

Placidus takes Bethennabris, which he plunders, and reduces to aſhes.

The inhabitants of other places abandon their houſes thro' fear of the Romans.

It is true that the miſery hereby occaſioned was ſufficiently great; but the matter of fact was abundantly exceeded by the account of the reporters, who, wherever they went, circulated a rumour that the whole army of the Romans was in purſuit of them. This report alarmed the inhabitants of the country to ſuch a degree, that almoſt all of them abandoned their houſes, retiring towards Jericho in immenſe numbers; as they thought it the moſt ſafe retreat they could make, from its garriſon being fortified, its natural ſtrength, and its populouſneſs. Placidus purſued the fugitives as far as the river Jordan, his forces deſtroying, without diſtinction, as many of them as they could overtake. When they arrived near the banks of that river, they found it impoſſible to paſs, as the waters had been ſwelled by an uncommon fall of rain; and it was equally impoſſible to fly farther: wherefore, in this ſituation, it became neceſſary to abide the event of a battle. Hereupon the Jews planted themſelves along the banks of the river, where, for ſome time, they maintained their ground; but their ranks being once broken, their loſs, including the drowned, with thoſe who were ſlain, became almoſt incredible. It was eſtimated that fifteen thouſand were killed on the ſpot, about two thouſand made priſoners, and a vaſt booty acquired in camels, oxen and ſheep.

Further ſlaughter of the fugitives.

The Jews had never before experienced a defeat ſo capital as the preſent, which may be more eaſily conceived than deſcribed. The public roads where they had paſſed were almoſt covered with the dead; and the bodies of the ſlain ſo choaked up the river Jordan as to render it impaſſable; while great numbers floated down the ſeveral ſtreams that ran into the lake Aſphaltitis.

Immenſe numbers of Jews deſtroyed.

A ſeries of ſucceſs now attending Placidus, he purſued his good fortune by the reduction of Beſemoth, Julias, Abila, and other places, even down to the lake. In theſe he placed garriſons of the moſt able, and thoſe he could beſt truſt, of the deſerters from the enemy. This being done, he embarked his troops, having firſt cleared the lake of all thoſe who had fled thither for refuge; and this he did in ſo effectual a manner, that the Romans were ſoon in abſolute poſſeſſion of every place beyond the river Jordan, even down to Machæras.

Other towns reduced and garriſoned by Placidus.

CHAP. IV.

News arrives of a Revolt in GAUL. The Marches of VESPASIAN, and his Proceedings. He arrives at JERICHO.

DURING the above-mentioned tranſactions in Judæa, news arrived from Nero that a revolt had happened in Gaul, which was promoted by Vindex, and ſeveral other men in the country: but of this we ſhall ſpeak more particularly in another place.

Revolt in Gaul, and Veſpaſian's operations in conſequence.

On receiving this information, Veſpaſian urged the preſent war with unuſual vigour; for he was apprehenſive leſt other revolts ſhould follow that abovementioned, to the endangering a whole empire by the calamities of a civil war: whereas he thought that Italy would have much leſs to apprehend, if the inſurrection in the eaſt was once perfectly quelled. But as winter was an improper time for ſuch a buſineſs, he now employed himſelf to garriſon the cities and towns which he had taken, ordered repairs to be made wherever they were wanting, and erected proper officers in each city.

He marches to Antipatris, ravages the circumjacent country, and burns Beth-lepton.

He now marched with his army from Cæſarea to Antipatris, and having regulated all things there in the ſpace of two days, he, on the following day, ravaged the country, deſtroying with fire and ſword to the borders of the toparchy of Thamna; and ſo on to Lydda and Jamnia. The two laſt places yielded to his authority: on which he placed in them ſuch of the inhabitants of the other towns as he thought he could beſt rely on, and then proceeded to Emmaus. Having taken poſſeſſion of the paſſage leading to the principal part of the city, he pitched his camp, and erected a wall round it. This being done, he left there the fifth legion, and advanced with the reſt of his forces into the toparchy of Beth-lepton. This he deſtroyed and burnt, ravaging the adjacent country as far as the borders of Idumæa; except a few ſtrong caſtles, which he fortified, and placed a number of men in them.

Bethabri and Caphartoba taken by him, and 10,000 men killed, and others inſlaved.

He likewiſe took the towns of Bethabri and Caphartoba, ſituated in the centre of Idumæa: and in this enterpriſe killed more than ten thouſand men, made ſlaves of almoſt one thouſand, while the reſt fought their ſafety in flight. This being done, he left a number of his forces to ſally forth occaſionally, and made depredations on the mountains.

He arrives at Jericho, where he is joined by Trajan.

He now retreated with the reſt of his army to Emmaus, whence proceeding by Samaria and Neapolis, he arrived at Corea on the ſecond of the month Decius, where he encamped, and appeared before Jericho on the following day. At this place he was joined by one of his principal officers, named Trajan, with the forces under his command, who had previouſly reduced all the places beyond Jordan; putting many of the inhabitants to the ſword; though the greater number of them had retired to the mountains oppoſite Jeruſalem, before the Romans arrived.

CHAP. V.

JERUSALEM inveſted by VESPASIAN. GERASA taken by Storm. VESPASIAN receives an Account of the Death of NERO. Abſtract of the Fate of GALBA, OTHO, and VITELLIUS.

No. 26.

VESPASIAN defers his Expedition againſt JERUSALEM.

Veſpaſian prepares to beſiege Jeruſalem. Geraſa taken by Annius, many ſlain, and the place burnt.

BEING determined to attack Jeruſalem on every ſide, Veſpaſian erected a fort at Jericho, and another at Adida, in each of which he placed garriſons, conſiſting of Romans and auxiliary forces. This being done, he diſpatched Lucius Annius to Geraſa, with a party of cavalry and infantry, and, on the firſt attack, that place was reduced by ſtorm. A thouſand young men who were intercepted in their flight were deſtroyed by the ſword: great numbers of families were made priſoners, and the plunder was given to the ſoldiers: after which the place was burnt, and the commander proceeded in his depredations. Perſons of property fled; but many were killed in the attempt to eſcape. The ravage was univerſal: thoſe on the mountains and in the vallies felt equally the effects of war. With regard to thoſe who were in Jeruſalem, it was impoſſible that they ſhould quit it; for they who were friends to the Romans were ſtrictly watched by the Zealots: nor did the Zealots themſelves dare to venture out, leſt they ſhould fall into the hands of the enemy, who ſurrounded the town on every ſide.

Veſpaſian receives an account of Nero's death.

Veſpaſian having returned to Cæſarea, was making preparation for the main body of his army to advance to the attack of Jeruſalem, when he received an account of the death of Nero, after a reign of thirteen years, and eight days. It is no part of my preſent province to arraign the character of this emperor, on account of the diſgrace derived to government through his means, by his permitting himſelf to be directed and governed by Nymphidius and Tigillinus, two of the moſt abandoned miſcreants in his ſervice: nor would I ſpeak of the infamous manner in which theſe wretches betrayed him: how he was deſerted by his ſenators and guards, and compelled to ſeek his ſafety in the ſuburbs, having only four freemen who adhered to his intereſt: how he there deſtroyed himſelf in a violent manner; and what was the fate of thoſe who were the occaſion of his untimely end. Nor is it my purpoſe to ſpeak of the event of the war with the Gauls; of the advancement of Galba to the empire, and, in the ſequel, when he came from Spain to Rome, how he was traduced by the ſoldiers, as a perſon of an abject diſpoſition, and at length ſlain by them in the centre of the great market-place. Equally foreign from my preſent view is it to relate the circumſtances of the making Otho emperor, and his ſubſequent march againſt Vitellius; the battle before the capitol; or how an end was put to the civil war by Antonius Primus, and Mucianus, after they had killed Vitellius, and defeated the German troops. I have not thought proper to inſiſt on theſe particulars, becauſe they have been already ſo admirably diſcuſſed both by the Greek and Latin hiſtorians: wherefore I have only made theſe ſhort remarks, that the

Strictures on the character of that emperor.

Abſtract of the fate of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius.

regularity of my hiſtory may not be broken, and the deſired uniformity preſerved.

Veſpaſian's deſign upon Jeruſalem poſtponed.

On receiving the information abovementioned, Veſpaſian ſuſpended his preparations for the expedition towards Jeruſalem; and finding that Galba was deſtined to ſucceed to the empire, he thought it would not be a prudent meaſure to take ſo important a ſtep without expreſs orders for ſo doing: whereupon he immediately diſpatched his ſon Titus to wait on Galba, at once to congratulate him on his ſucceſſion to the ſupreme command, and to take his directions how to act in the preſent exigency of affairs. King Agrippa being deſirous to embark with Titus on this intereſting occaſion, they ſet ſail in the ſame veſſel: but while they were on their voyage, and near to Achaia, they received intelligence that Galba was ſlain, after having governed ſeven months and one week; and that Otho ſucceeded him, who reigned only three months. This change in affairs did not prevent Agrippa from continuing his journey to Rome: but Titus, as if impelled by a divine power, ſailed from Achaia to Syria, and thence retired, in happy time, to his father in Cæſarea.

Public tranſactions ſuſpended.

This ſudden revolution cauſed ſuch an amazing change in the face of public affairs, that the empire appeared to be ſhaken to its foundation. The Jewiſh war was now no longer thought of; nor could the Romans turn their attention to the extenſion of the empire, when it was almoſt torn to pieces by inteſtine commotions and broils.

CHAP. VI.

Freſh Diſſenſions in JERUSALEM. SIMON driven from his Government, flies to MASSADA, and afterwards makes Incurſions into IDUMÆA. A terrible Battle betwixt SIMON and the ZEALOTS. IDUMÆA taken without Bloodſhed. The Wife of SIMON made Priſoner by the ZEALOTS. SIMON's Rage on this Occaſion, and the Reſtoration of his Wife.

Freſh diſturbances in Jeruſalem.

ON occaſion of the revolution abovementioned, a freſh war broke out in Jeruſalem. At this time there was a man, born at Geraſa, who was named Simon, who had taken poſſeſſion of the city. This man was in the prime of life; leſs artful and contriving than John of Giſchala; but he had the advantage of him in youth, ſtrength, and intrepidity. Now Simon was deemed ſo dangerous a perſon, that the high-prieſt, Ananus, routed him from his government in the toparchy of Acrabetana, and compelled him to take refuge among the Sicarii at Maſſada. Theſe abandoned people were at firſt ſo ſuſpicious of him, that they, for a time, compelled him to remain, with the women he had brought with him, on the firſt floor of the fortreſs, while the reſt of the people remained above. But when they came to be better acquainted with him, and found how admirably he was adapted for their purpoſes, they changed their opinion of him, and deputed him to command the parties they ſent out to rifle, and join the other troops in the plunder and depopulation of the diſtrict of Maſſada. In the mean time Simon endeavoured to inſpire them with more ambitious views (for his own thoughts were bent on obtaining the ſovereign authority); but this was in vain, till he received advice of the death of Ananus. This obſtacle to the dignity after which he aſpired being removed, he now repaired to the woods, where he iſſued proclamations, offering bounties to all freemen, and freedom to all ſlaves, who would enliſt under his banners. Great numbers of abandoned and deſperate people were induced to join him on this occaſion; and by the aſſiſtance of theſe miſcreants he aſſailed and pillaged the villages on the hills, the number of his people daily increaſing, till at length he deſcended into the lower countries, and ſpread terror through all the cities within the limits of his expedition. His credit for courage and ſucceſs was ſuch, that many perſons of power and rank now came over to his intereſt, and the people of diſtinction in general made application to him, and paid him the reverence and reſpect due to ſovereign princes; ſo that he no longer appeared to be a commander only of ſlaves and vagabonds. Theſe ſucceſſes induced him to make ſeveral incurſions into the toparchy of Acrabetana, and the greater Idumæa; and at length he fixed his retreat in the town of Nain, a place which he had before walled and fortified. He found, in the valley of Pharan, a number of caverns admirably adapted to his purpoſe; and he enlarged others, and converted them into magazines, ſtores and granaries, for the reception of ſuch articles as he obtained by plunder. Thus provided with forces and proviſions, it ſeemed to be the prevailing opinion that the principal view of Simon was to make an attack on Jeruſalem. In this opinion the Zealots coincided; and thinking that ill conſequences might ariſe from the permitting him thus daily to increaſe in numbers and power, they determined to make one vigorous effort to ſuppreſs him, while it were yet poſſible to effect it. With this view they advanced in a body to attack him at the head of his forces: but he received them in a manner that equally demonſtrated his courage and ſkill, and routed them with great ſlaughter.

Ananus deprives Simon of his government; and he takes refuge among the Sicarii at Maſſada.

He plunders the villages, and governs as a ſovereign.

He is oppoſed by the Zealots, whom he defeats.

Simon did not yet think his force equal to the attack of Jeruſalem, but determined to begin with an aſſault on Idumæa, towards the borders of which country he immediately marched an army of twenty thouſand men. Inſtantly hereupon the principal people of the Idumæans aſſembled an army of almoſt twenty-five thouſand ſelect troops, leaving likewiſe a ſufficient number to protect the country

He makes incurſions on the Idumæans, with whom he fights a drawn battle.

againſt the inroads of the banditti of Maſſada. With the forces above-mentioned the Idumæans waited for Simon on the borders of their country; and, on his approach, a battle enſued, which continued from the morning till evening, the deſtruction on each ſide being ſo equal, that it was impoſſible to determine which party had the advantage. Both of them, however, were ſufficiently weary of the conteſt; for Simon withdrew his forces to Nain, and the Idumæans retreated to their reſpective habitations.

Sends a meſſenger to demand the ſurrender of Herodion; who, being detected, deſtroys himſelf.

Simon having received conſiderable reinforcements to his army, took the field again in a ſhort time, being now ſtronger than on any former occaſion; and having encamped near the village of Thecue, diſpatched one of his aſſociates, named Eleazar, with a meſſage to the commander of Herodion, demanding that the caſtle of that name ſhould be delivered up to him. On his firſt arrival he was received by the officers with every teſtimony of military honour and reſpect; but when they became acquainted with the nature of his commiſſion, they all drew their ſwords on him in a moment: whereupon, finding his eſcape impoſſible, he threw himſelf from the precipice of the wall, and was killed on the ſpot.

Account of James the Idumæan, a pretended ſpy, but proves a traitor to his country.

The idea of the courage and power of Simon had now ſtruck the Idumæans in ſo forcible a manner, that they were by no means diſpoſed to engage him, till they were firſt well acquainted with the ſtrength and ſituation of his army. On this occaſion, one of their commanders, named James, voluntarily undertook the office of a ſpy or informer: and this he did with a generous appearance of public ſpirit, but, in fact, with the moſt treacherous intentions. At this time the Idumæan army was encamped at Olurus; and James being commiſſioned to act for them, he repaired to Simon. When ſome converſation had paſſed between them, he made a ſolemn compact with Simon to deliver up the whole country to him; on the conſideration that, in return for this obligation, he ſhould be conſidered as his firſt miniſter, and favourite, and that he ſhould likewiſe poſſeſs the whole country of Idumæa. This infamous bargain was ſucceeded by Simon's entertaining James in the moſt ſplendid manner, and gratifying his ambition by the moſt liberal promiſes. This being done, James returned to thoſe who had ſent him on the embaſſy; to whom he magnified the ſituation of Simon greatly beyond the truth, with regard to his numbers and ſtrength, and the admirable diſpoſition of his forces. This repreſentation had a great influence on the minds of the people in general: and at length the officers of the army began to liſten to the intelligence, ſo that they determined that it would be a vain attempt to conteſt the matter farther by force of arms, but that they would ſurrender to Simon, leſt worſe conſequences ſhould enſue. At this juncture James ſent repeated meſſengers, requeſting that Simon would advance without loſs of time, and take poſſeſſion of Idumæa, which he would pledge himſelf ſhould ſubmit to him without bloodſhed or oppoſition, if he would not loſe the preſent favourable opportunity. All this was accordingly verified: for Simon advancing with his army, James immediately mounted his horſe, and fled with the utmoſt rapidity, being followed by thoſe who adhered to his principles. This proceeding had ſuch influence on the people in general, that they likewiſe fled in the utmoſt confuſion, each conſulting his own ſafety, ſo that the whole army was diſperſed, and an abſolute victory gained without the leaſt effort on the part of the enemy.

Simon obtains quiet poſſeſſion of Idumæa, and takes Chebron by ſurprize.

Idumæa having been thus, in a moſt aſtoniſhing manner, ſubjected to Simon without bloodſhed, he advanced to the city of Chebron, which he took by ſurprize, and found in it corn and other treaſure to a great amount. This city is celebrated for its great antiquity. It is confeſſed to be the oldeſt in the whole province: and, if the accounts of the inhabitants may be credited, its age is not leſs than two thouſand three hundred years, being greater than that of the famous city of Memphis in Egypt. A traditional report prevails that Abraham, the great father and founder of the Jewiſh nation, took up his reſidence at this place, when he left the country of Meſopotamia; and that from this town his deſcendants removed into Egypt: in which kingdom there are yet viſible a number of elegant inſcriptions on marble, corroborative of the tradition I have mentioned. About ſix furlongs from Chebron, there is ſtill to be ſeen a moſt extraordinary turpentine tree, which is yet ſound and healthy, though, if tradition may be credited, it had its origin at the time of the creation of the world.

He commits the moſt dreadful devaſtations in his progreſs.

Simon advanced from Chebron through the whole country of Idumæa, being followed by above forty thouſand people, excluſive of his regular forces. He deſtroyed towns and villages, and depopulated the whole country in the courſe of his progreſs. A flight of locuſts through a wood could not have deſtroyed more effectually than his army: they rendered the country a perfect deſert, deſtruction marking every part of their courſe. It was not poſſible that the neceſſaries of life ſhould be furniſhed for ſuch an immenſe multitude; and the misfortunes of want were ſtill aggravated by the natural violence of Simon's temper, and his peculiar animoſity againſt the people of Idumæa. In a word, in a country which had been heretofore fruitful and well cultivated, not a trace was left of its former happy ſituation, owing to the waſte and devaſtation made by the troops under the command of Simon.

The Zealots take priſoner the wife of Simon.

The Zealots were exceedingly ſhocked at the inhumanity of the above-mentioned proceedings; but they were yet afraid to engage in an open war; contenting themſelves with ſuch advantages as they could gain by occaſional ſurpriſes; and at length they obtained a prize which they deemed of the utmoſt importance;

for, happening to take priſoner the wife of Simon, with a number of his domeſtics, they hurried her away to Jeruſalem, with as many tokens of triumphant joy as if Simon himſelf had been their captive: for they did not entertain the leaſt doubt but that he would willingly lay down his arms on his wife being reſtored to him. The effect, however, was contrary to their expectation; for the violence offered to the wife tranſported the huſband to the moſt extravagant degree of rage.

His impetuous rage on this occaſion.

This extravagance was evidenced by the future conduct of Simon. He advanced, without loſs of time, to the gates of Jeruſalem, where his behaviour was as furious as that of a wild beaſt who is wounded, and finds himſelf incapable of reaching the party who has injured him. He ſought vengeance on every thing that fell in his way: men, women, and children, were equally the objects of his fury. Thoſe who went from the city only to pick herbs or gather ſticks, were, by his order, apprehended and whipped to death; the ancient ſuffering equally with the young: and it was remarked as ſomething extraordinary, that he did not eat the fleſh of thoſe he cauſed to be deſtroyed. The hands of many of theſe unoffending people were cut off, as a terror to his enemies, and to prevent other perſons adhering to their party. Thus maimed, he ſent them into the city, inſtructing them to ſay, that Simon made an oath, in the name of that God who governs the world, that if his wife was not immediately reſtored to him, he would make an aſſault on their walls, and treat all the inhabitants, old or young, guilty or innocent, with the ſame ſeverity that the meſſengers had experienced. The people in general were terrified by theſe threatenings, which had likewiſe ſuch an effect on the Zealots, that they ſent Simon's wife back to him; on which his anger was ſo far appeaſed, that the cruelties which he had hitherto committed began now in ſome degree to ſubſide.

His horrid cruelties and terrifying menaces induce the Zealots to reſtore his wife.

CHAP. VII.

The ROMAN Empire diſtracted by civil Broils and Contentions. Tranſactions and Fate of OTHO, VITELLIUS, and GALBA. CAPHARIS ſubmits to CEREALIS, who attacks and burns the Town of CHEBRON.

Diſtracted ſtate of the Roman empire.

THE civil war now became more extenſive, not being confined merely to the diſtrict of Judæa; for its baneful influence had ſpread even into Italy. Otho having ſucceeded to the empire, Vitellius was elected in oppoſition to him by the German legions; and in conſequence of this election he diſputed the title with him. Two battles were fought between the contending parties, near Bebriacum in Lombardy. On the firſt day the advantage was evidently on the ſide of Otho; but on the ſecond fortune declared in favour of Vitellius, whoſe army, on this occaſion, was commanded by the generals Valens and Cæcinna. The number of ſlain in this battle was very conſiderable; and intelligence of it being brought to Galba, who was at that time at Brixellum, he ſtabbed himſelf with a dagger, after he had reigned only three months and two days. This revolution occaſioned the ſoldiers under the command of Otho to take part with Vitellius, who hereupon proceeded to Rome with his army.

Veſpaſian ſubjugates ſeveral places in Judæa, and removes towards Jeruſalem.

In the interim, Veſpaſian having formed a deſign of making a complete conqueſt of Judæa, by reducing ſuch parts of it as yet refuſed to ſubmit to the Roman authority, he quitted Cæſarea on the fifth day of the month Decius. Having begun his operations on the mountains, he made a complete conqueſt of the toparchies of Gophnis and Acrabetana; and afterwards took poſſeſſion of the cities of Ephraim and Bethel, placing garriſons in each of them. This being done, he removed towards Jeruſalem, on his way to which he ſlew a great number of the Jews, and made many priſoners.

The Romans take Capharis, &c. and burn Chebron.

While theſe tranſactions were going forward, Cerealis, one of the chief commanders, ravaged the country of the upper Idumæa, with a body of cavalry and infantry, took the caſtle of Caphetra, and burnt it to the ground; and beſieged the well-fortified town of Capharis, which it was thought would have been able to make a vigorous defence: but, contrary to expectation, the inhabitants opened the gates, gave up their town, and ſubmitted themſelves to the mercy of the conqueror. Cerealis, having been ſucceſsful thus far, advanced to Chebron, an ancient town on the mountains (not far from Jeruſalem), of which mention hath heretofore been made. This place he attacked, and it ſurrendered without offering to make any defence: on which he pillaged and burnt the city, and put all its inhabitants to the ſword. Maſſada, Machærus, and Herodion, were now the only caſtles which remained in the hands of the faction: and, after thoſe, the taking of Jeruſalem by Veſpaſian ſeemed to be the only circumſtance neceſſary to the putting a total end to this horrid and deſtructive war.

CHAP. VIII.

SIMON wreaks his Vengeance on the IDUMÆANS, on account of his Wife. The dreadfully brutal Behaviour of the ZEALOTS. JOHN voted out of the Government; and SIMON is received and congratulated with the moſt chearful Acclamations. The Temple aſſaulted by the Partizans of SIMON.

Simon's revenge on the Idumæans.

THE wife of Simon having been reſtored to him by the Zealots, the reſt of the Idumæans were expoſed to

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the utmoſt malice of his revenge. He perſecuted them with ſuch a ſavage ferocity, and haraſſed and drove them from place to place with ſuch unremitting cruelty, that many of them, in mere deſpair, fled for refuge to Jeruſalem. To the very walls of this city they were purſued by Simon, who ſacrificed to his rage all he could lay his hands on, that were paſſing or repaſſing: ſo that, without the walls, Simon became even a worſe enemy than the Romans; and within the walls the Zealots were ſtill worſe than either. At this time, however, the Zealots received their inſtructions from the Galilæans, who, by the force of precept, encouragement and example, incited them to the practice of every iniquity. Now John, conſidering himſelf as the creature of the Zealots, made not the leaſt ſcruple of employing the power they had conferred on him to the gratification of his patrons; and therefore left them at full liberty to indulge their luſts without controul. With regard to plunder and rapine, their avarice was not to be ſatisfied: they conſidered the murder of men, and a violation of the chaſtity of women, but as circumſtances of mere diverſion and entertainment: and when they had indulged themſelves in every act of cruelty and oppreſſion, they launched into the utmoſt gratification of their ſenſual appetites. They curled and powdered their hair; painted and daubed their faces with variety of waſhes, and dreſſed themſelves in the apparel of women: nor did they imitate the other ſex only in their perſonal ornaments, but copied the moſt abandoned of them in an exceſs of impudence: for they correſponded with each other in the open face of day, with as little reſerve as they would have done within the public ſtews: they courted each other to, and practiſed, unnatural luſts; defiling the whole city by acts of impurity which ought neither to be named or thought of among men. Yet, notwithſtanding they thus aſſumed the appearance and impudence of women, they poſſeſſed the hands and hearts of murderers; and though their air and manner was effeminate and affected in the higheſt degree, they never failed to carry offenſive weapons about them, and were at all times ready to draw their ſwords to diſpatch a man, with or without provocation. They who thought themſelves happy in eſcaping John, were certain to be deſtroyed by Simon, whoſe nature was ſtill more ſavage and ferocious. He who eſcaped the fangs of the domeſtic tyrant, could not fail of falling into the hands of the beſieger: beſides, all the paſſages were ſo effectually blocked up, that they who were diſpoſed to have ſought the protection of the Romans, had not an opportunity of ſo doing.

Cruel, infamous, and vicious behaviour of the Zealots.

They are overcome by the Idumæans, who kill many of them

At length the Idumæans, envying the power, and deteſting the ſavage inhumanities which were practiſed by John, revolted at once from their obedience, and determined to oppoſe him. Hereupon, a battle enſued, in which great numbers of the Zealots were killed on the ſpot, and the remainder retreated to the royal palace, which had been originally built by a woman named Grapte, who was a relation to Izates, ſovereign of the Adiabenians. The Zealots were driven into the temple by a number of Idumæans, who puſhed in at the ſame time, and made a prize of the whole of John's riches, which he had carefully accumulated, and depoſited under the roof of his own dwelling. Hereupon, the Zealots, who were diſperſed in various parts of the city, aſſociated together, and joined thoſe of their companions who had retreated to the temple; and John immediately diſpoſed himſelf to ſally forth on the Idumæans and the citizens. Now no idea of fear was formed reſpecting the number of the Zealots, for the oppoſite party was too numerous for them; but it was apprehended that they might attempt to retire in the night, firſt murdering ſuch as they could ſeize, and ſetting fire to the city. On this occaſion, they ſummoned a council, and concerted with the high-prieſt what meaſures were proper to be taken: but the providence of Heaven prevailed to the deſtruction of their politics, and rendered the diſeaſe they complained of leſs obnoxious than the remedy they ſought: for they came to a reſolution to abandon John, and advance Simon in his ſtead; by which conduct they ſubjected themſelves to the dominion of one tyrant, while they ſought to get rid of that of another. However, the vote paſſed; and Simon, of whom they had ſtood ſo much in dread, was ſent for to take on him the government, Matthias, the high-prieſt, being deputed to wait on him on this occaſion. Many other perſons, who had been compelled to leave Jeruſalem, and wiſhed to return to their former habitations, joined with Matthias in the requeſt to Simon. The latter anſwered them, with an air of authority, that he condeſcended to grant their requeſt; and entered the city in the character of their protector; while the people received and congratulated him in that character, with the loudeſt and moſt chearful acclamations. Simon had no ſooner entered Jeruſalem with his troops, than he began to conſider how he ſhould moſt effectually maintain the poſt of which he had taken poſſeſſion; for he looked on thoſe againſt whom he was invited, and thoſe who requeſted his preſence, to be equally his enemies. The above-mentioned event took place in the third month, which is called Xanthius.

The people reſolve to caſt off John, and admit Simon into the city, as their governor, and he is joyfully received.

John now finding that himſelf and the Zealots, his aſſociates, were cloſe priſoners in the temple, and that the city had been completely rifled by Simon and his companions, he began to look upon his deſtruction as inevitable. In the interim, Simon encouraged and led forward the common people to make an attack on the temple. This they did with great readineſs; but the beſieged, who had taken poſſeſſion of the galleries and battlements above, aſſailed them in ſuch a furious manner with darts, arrows, and ſtones, that they were compelled to make a retreat, with conſiderable loſs. Many of them

Simon aſſaults the temple, from which he is repulſed with great ſlaughter by the Zealots.

them were killed, and numbers were borne off from the place of attack, dangerouſly wounded, the expedition in general being totally fruſtrated; for the Zealots had ſo much the advantage of ſituation, that it was impoſſible to attack them on equal terms. Beſides this neceſſary advantage ariſing from ſituation, they had themſelves erected four large towers, with the profeſſed intention of annoying the enemy.

The four towers deſcribed.

One of theſe towers was ſituated to the north; a ſecond to the eaſt; a third on a gallery at the corner oppoſite to the lower town; and a fourth on the place which bears the name of Paſtophoria. On the place laſt mentioned, the prieſt, in ancient times, uſed to ſtand, to make proclamation to the people, by the ſound of the trumpet, of the commencement of the ſabbath, and, in like manner, when it ended. From this place, likewiſe, notice was given to the people of the time proper to keep holiday, and when they ſhould renew their accuſtomed labour. In the towers abovementioned the Zealots had placed their archers, ſlingers, and engineers, armed with arrows, ſtones, and every other neceſſary military implement. The obſtinate reſiſtance made by the Zealots furniſhed matter of great ſurpriſe to Simon, and the troops under his command; who, nevertheleſs, depending on the ſuperiority of their numbers, urged the attack with great zeal; though they ſuſtained the loſs of many men, from the ſlings and machines of the Zealots.

CHAP. IX.

A civil War breaks out in ROME. VITELLIUS is choſen Emperor. The Military determine on a Change, and elect VESPASIAN.

Great inteſtine commotions at Rome.

WHILE the diſturbances above-recited were going forward in Jeruſalem, a calamity of ſtill greater magnitude took place in Rome; which was no other than a civil war. By this time Vitellius was returned from his expedition into Germany, attended by an immenſe number of foreign troops. In fact, the multitudes he brought with him were ſo prodigious, that they could not be accommodated in the places cuſtomarily aſſigned to ſoldiers, but were compelled to take up their lodgings in private houſes, ſo that the whole city appeared to be a general barrack. The ſtrangers were ſo ſtruck by the appearance of the gold and ſilver that they ſaw among the Romans (ſights with which they had been unacquainted), that it was with no ſmall degree of reluctance they refrained from forcibly ſeizing theſe valuable effects, and murdering thoſe who prevented their depredations. Such was the unhappy ſituation of affairs at that period.

Veſpaſian alarmed at the uſurpation of Vitellius.

Veſpaſian having ravaged all the country in the neighbourhood of Jeruſalem, now returned to Cæſarea, where he received the diſagreeable intelligence of the diſorders which had ariſen at Rome, and that Vitellius had been elected to the dignity of emperor. Veſpaſian was a man who had a juſt opinion of the reſpect that ought to be ſhewn to our ſuperiors, and was as well calculated to obey as he was to command; yet, notwithſtanding this circumſtance, he was extremely chagrined to acknowledge the ſupreme authority of that man who rather ſeized the empire as a plunder, than became poſſeſſed of it as an honour. In a word, this aſtoniſhing change in the public affairs affected him to ſuch a degree, that he could no longer entertain any idea of proſecuting foreign wars, when his country at home was diſtracted by circumſtances ſo extremely diſagreeable. Yet, though his indignation, on the one hand, urged him to a ſpeedy revenge, on the other, he was deterred from putting his ſchemes in execution, by the conſideration of the difficulties and hazards that would attend ſo long a journey, in the midſt of winter; beſides, he did not know but that many unexpected incidents might happen before he could arrive in Italy. Having reflected ſeriouſly on theſe things, his mind became at length more compoſed than before.

He is choſen emperor by the army, and with reluctance gives his conſent.

The firſt meetings among the military people were held in a ſecret manner; but as their increaſing numbers gave them freſh courage, they came to an unanimous determination to make choice of Veſpaſian as emperor, and intreated him to take under his protection an empire that was ſhaken to its foundations. This diſtinguiſhed man had for a long time been the ſupport of the empire; but he was ſo far from being ambitious of the dignity of emperor, that he abſolutely declined it (the refuſal itſelf ſhewing that he deſerved it), declaring that he choſe rather to paſs the remainder of his days in the eaſe and retirement of a private life, than in the pomp and dignity of the troubleſome ſituation to which he was invited. The more anxious Veſpaſian was to avoid this office, the more earneſtly did the military people preſs his acceptance of it: till, at length, on his repeated refuſal, they advanced to him with drawn ſwords, and threatened his deſtruction if he longer refuſed an honour of which he was ſo deſerving. Still, however, he, for a while refuſed them; but at length yielded to an importunity that was not to be reſiſted.

CHAP. X.

A Deſcription of EGYPT, and its Situation. Account of the dangerous Port of ALEXANDRIA, and of the Tower of PHAROS. The Friendſhip entertained for VESPASIAN by TIBERIUS ALEXANDER.

Mucianus urges Veſpaſian to march

THE government of the empire had no ſooner been accepted by Veſpaſian, than Mucianus, and the other offi-

cers

against Vitellius, but he inclines to begin with Alexandria.

cers who had urged him to accept the dignity, joined with the whole body of the army to ſolicit that he would march his forces againſt Vitellius: but Veſpaſian thought it would be more proper to attempt, in the firſt place, the conqueſt of Alexandria; as Egypt, on account of the immenſe quantity of corn which it produced, was deemed one of the moſt important branches of the empire. Wherefore, Veſpaſian was of opinion that if he could but once poſſeſs himſelf of that country, the people of Rome might be induced rather to expel Vitellius, than run the riſk of ſtarving, if they refuſed ſo to do; which would be the neceſſary conſequence, if they did not obtain proper aſſiſtance from Egypt. Veſpaſian likewiſe deſired that two legions, which then lay at Alexandria, might aſſiſt him in this expedition.

Deſcription of Egypt.

Veſpaſian had likewiſe a view to make the diſtrict of Egypt a place of retreat, in caſe of any diſagreeable turn of fortune. This country is ſo ſituated that it is not eaſy to approach it by land; nor has it any ſea-ports. On the weſt it is bounded by the ſcorching ſands of Lybia; on the eaſt, as far as the city called Coptos, the Red Sea anſwers the purpoſe of a rampart: on the ſouth the Syene divides it from Æthiopia and the impaſſable cataracts of the Nile; and on the north this country extends even to Syria, and as far as the ſea, which is called the Egyptian Sea, all the coaſt of which is totally deſtitute of ports: ſo that the ſecurity of Egypt is abundantly provided for by nature, from the peculiarity of its ſituation. The diſtance from Syene to Peluſium is eſtimated at two thouſand ſtadia, and that from Peluſium to Plinthine, by ſea, at three thouſand ſix hundred. As far as Elephantine the Nile is navigable; but, as hath been obſerved before, the cataracts render it impaſſable.

The harbour of Alexandria, and port of Pharos.

There is great danger in entering the port of Alexandria, even if the weather be fair; for the entrance is ſo narrow, and the rocks which are diſperſed in ſhoal-water are ſo numerous, that it requires the care of a ſkilful pilot to evade them. On the right-hand is ſituated the iſle of Pharos, which had been ſo long celebrated as a ſea-mark; and on the left the port is encompaſſed by a dike partly circular. The light from the iſle of Pharos is ſeen three hundred furlongs out at ſea, and ſerves as a direction to ſea-faring people how to ſteer their veſſels. Around this iſland there is a number of ſubſtantial walls and ſtrong quays, erected for the purpoſe of breaking the waves that beat on the coaſt, and withſtanding the rage of the billows that render the navigation ſo dangerous. Yet, notwithſtanding all the difficulties deſcribed, the port of Alexandria, when a navigator has once paſſed the bar, is one of the moſt ſafe in the world. It is in length thirty furlongs; and it is furniſhed with proper ſtore-houſes for the reception of merchandiſes of all kinds, for exportation or importation.

Veſpaſian requeſts and obtains the aſſiſtance of Alexander.

It was rightly judged by Veſpaſian when he fixed on Alexandria as the proper place in which to commence the eſtabliſhment of his empire. This being reſolved on, he informed the governor, Tiberius Alexander, that the importunity of his ſoldiers having prevailed on him to take the government into his own hands, he thought he could not act more prudently than to requeſt the favour of his advice and aſſiſtance, in the office of adminiſtration. This intimation was conveyed by a letter, which Alexander had no ſooner read, than, with the utmoſt freedom and good-will, he adminiſtered an oath of fidelity to Veſpaſian, to the legions and the inhabitants. This oath was taken with every poſſible demonſtration of joy and eſteem; for they were previouſly appriſed of the good intentions of the new emperor, and confided in his virtue and honour. In the interim, Alexander made a generous uſe of the power intruſted to him for the public welfare; and immediately began to make proper diſpoſitions for the reception of Veſpaſian.

CHAP. XI.

VESPASIAN's Advancement gives general Satisfaction. A prophetical Hint of his future Greatneſs. He gives JOSEPHUS full Liberty, on recollecting his Prediction.

Univerſal joy teſtified on Veſpaſian's promotion.

INTELLIGENCE of Veſpaſian being advanced to the dignity of ruling the empire, was now propagated with the utmoſt ſpeed through every part of the eaſtern country; and where-ever this news arrived it was ſo grateful to the people, that the inhabitants of the ſeveral cities kept a holiday on the occaſion, making ſacrifices, and offering vows, that the reign of Veſpaſian might be long and happy. At this time there were certain legions quartered in Myſia and Pannonia, who had lately taken up arms againſt Vitellius, on account of his tyrannical diſpoſition; and theſe legions immediately, and with the utmoſt pleaſure, took the oath of fidelity to Veſpaſian.

He is congratulated with addreſſes from ſeveral embaſſadors from Syria, &c.

As the new emperor was on his return from Cæſarea to Berytus, he was met on his journey by ſeveral embaſſadors from Syria and other provinces, who congratulated him with addreſſes in behalf of the cities and their inhabitants, and honoured his proceſſion with garlands. Among the reſt was Mucianus, the governor of Syria, who gave the utmoſt aſſurance of the loyalty and affection of the people in general, expreſſing their regard to the perſon and authority of Veſpaſian, which they had teſtified by taking the oaths, and demonſtrated in every other manner poſſible.

He aſcribes his ſucceſſes

Every thing which had been undertaken by Veſpaſian having now ſucceeded

to the interference of Providence.

to the utmoſt extent of his ambition, he began ſeriouſly to reflect that ſuch an amazing concurrence of apparent accidents in his favour, had leſs the appearance of being the work of chance than the immediate effect of a diſpoſing Providence; and he thought it appeared that he had not been raiſed to his preſent elevation by the power of fortune, but by the immediate interference of the Deity. Reflecting on this ſubject, there occurred to his mind ſeveral prophetical hints which had happened in the courſe of his life, all tending to the ſame end. Among the reſt, he could not but recur to the circumſtance of Joſephus having, while he remained a priſoner, and during the life of Nero, hailed him with the title of emperor. This ſingular predictive ſpeech had great influence on the mind of Veſpaſian; and the greater, becauſe the party was ſtill his priſoner: wherefore, ſending for Mucianus, and others of his officers, he ſpoke of the ſingular courage and bravery of Joſephus, and how gallantly he had behaved at the ſiege of Jotapata. After this, he mentioned ſeveral other particulars reſpecting him, and at length adverted to the ſubject of his predictions; "Theſe (ſaid he) I at firſt imagined to be nothing more than contrivances for his own preſervation; but the event has proved that they were actually the reſult of divine inſpiration: wherefore, my friends, it would be an indelible diſgrace on me longer to detain in the abject condition of a priſoner, the ſacred meſſenger of God, who declared to me the news of my advancement."

Joſephus's prophetical hint of Veſpaſian's future elevation.

The emperor ſets Joſephus at liberty, and cauſes his chains to be broken.

Veſpaſian had no ſooner thus delivered his ſentiments, than Joſephus was inſtantly ſent for, and reſtored to his full liberty. From this inſtance of gratitude in the emperor, his officers formed the moſt favourable idea of their own ſituation; thinking that they, who were his faithful friends and ſervants, ſhould experience every indulgence under ſo kind a maſter. During this ſcene, Titus was preſent, who, in a moſt ſubmiſſive manner, hinted to his father that the ſingle granting of liberty to Joſephus was leaving the generoſity of his plan incomplete: that his chains ought not only to be taken off, but broken, as a full teſtimony of his innocence; whereby Veſpaſian would leave him as he found him; which was a cuſtomary practice when perſons were impriſoned without cauſe: for, if this was not done, the diſhonour of his impriſonment would remain with him, though his perſon was reſtored to liberty. Veſpaſian coinciding in this opinion, gave immediate orders that his chains ſhould be cut in pieces. This circumſtance not only gave freedom to Joſephus, but ſo raiſed his reputation as a prophet, that every one was diſpoſed to give credit to any of his future predictions, in as full and ample a manner as they had done to what he had already foretold.

CHAP. XII.

VESPASIAN ſends MUCIANUS into ITALY with a conſiderable Army. An Encounter between ANTONY and the VITELLIANS, in which the latter are totally vanquiſhed. The Capitol ſeized on by SABINUS. VITELLIUS, in a Fit of Intoxication, is dragged through the Streets, and ſtabbed in the City.

Mucianus ſent by Veſpaſian with an army into Italy.

VESPASIAN having diſpatched the embaſſadors who had attended on him, and committed the care of all his governments to officers of tried and approved fidelity, he changed his original intention of going to Alexandria, and went to Antioch, determining to go from thence to Rome; for by this time Alexandria was reduced to a ſtate of peace and ſafety; while Rome, being exceedingly diſturbed by Vitellius, there was the greater occaſion for his attendance at the latter. Having determined on this plan, he diſpatched Mucianus over land, through Cappadocia and Phrygia into Italy, with a large army of infantry and cavalry; being afraid to truſt his troops by ſea, during the winter ſeaſon.

Antony marches againſt Vitellius.

Antonius Primus was among thoſe who were ſent on this occaſion. He was governor of Myſia, and had under his command the third legion, which had been quartered in that province. Now Antony wiſhed for an immediate engagement with Vitellius; and, on the other hand, Vitellius ſent a ſtrong army, under the command of Cæcinna, to oppoſe him. While Cæcinna was on his march towards Rome, he met Antony on the confines of Italy, in the neighbourhood of Cremona. On this occaſion, he halted, to take a view of the numbers, order, and diſcipline of the enemy; but he was afraid to encounter them. He was totally at a loſs how to act: he did not dare to riſque a battle; nor could he think of running away, on any principle of honour: wherefore he choſe rather to be conſidered as a deſerter than a coward. Having aſſembled his centurions, tribunes, and all the reſt of his officers, he exerted the utmoſt powers of his oratory in a declaration on the different degrees of merit in Veſpaſian and Vitellius. The one he extolled in the higheſt degree, and depreciated the character of the other; and all this with a fixed deſign to prevail on the ſoldiers of Vitellius to take part with Veſpaſian. His ſpeech was to the following purpoſe: "Vitellius poſſeſſes nothing more than the name of an emperor; whereas the claim of Veſpaſian is not only founded in the ſtricteſt equity, but his very perſon is ſtamped with the indubitable marks of the imperial character. Beſides,

Cæcinna endeavours to prevail on the ſoldiers to take part with Veſpaſian.

ſides, the troops of Veſpaſian are ſo numerous and well choſen, that it will be in vain for us to think of entering into a conteſt with him. This being the caſe, had we not better now act the ſame part, as of our own choice and free-will, that we ſhall otherwiſe be ſoon compelled to do, through the force of mere neceſſity? While I ſay this, I am certain that Veſpaſian is able to carry his deſigns into execution, without our aid or aſſiſtance; but Vitellius, ſo far from being able to protect his adherents, is by no means in a condition to defend himſelf."

They at firſt conſent, but afterwards, retracting, detain, and ſeize him as a traitor.

The arguments of Cæcinna were urged with ſo much zeal, that he obtained the point at which he laboured, and prevailed on his troops to go over to Antony: but on the following night, Cæcinna's people, partly repenting of what they had done, and partly in fear of the conſequence, in caſe Vitellius ſhould prove ſucceſsful in the conteſt, advanced in a rage with drawn ſwords, with a determination to deſtroy Cæcinna, which they certainly would have done, if the tribunes had not interceded ſtrongly in his favour. Hereupon they refrained from taking away his life; but inſiſted that, as a traitor, he ſhould be immediately ſent to Vitellius in chains.

Antony attacks Vitellius's army, who are all cut off, and Cæcinna diſpatched with the news.

Antony was no ſooner informed of this event, than, without loſing a moment's time, he diſpatched a party to attack them as deſerters. For ſome time they made a faint reſiſtance; but receded upon the firſt violent ſhock, and betook themſelves to flight towards Cremona: but Antony, interpoſing his cavalry between the fugitives and the town, and entirely ſurrounding them, deſtroyed great numbers of them on the ſpot, and permitted his troops to make plunder of all they could find in the place. The whole army of Vitellius, amounting to thirty thouſand two hundred men, fell on this occaſion: and of the merchants and townſmen great numbers were ſacrificed. Four thouſand five hundred of the men whom Antony had brought out of Myſia were likewiſe ſlain: but Antony gave Cæcinna his liberty, and diſpatched him to Veſpaſian with an account of the victory. Veſpaſian received him with all imaginable honour and reſpect, which was deemed a counterpoiſe to the diſgrace he had received by deſerting his former commander.

Sabinus ſeizes on the capitol.

No ſooner was Sabinus, the brother of Veſpaſian, informed that Antony was on his march towards Rome, than he was inſpired with freſh courage: wherefore he, on the ſame night, aſſembled the city guards, and ſeized on the capitol. On the following day great numbers of perſons of diſtinguiſhed rank came in and joined his party; among them was his nephew Domitian, who took a principal part in the glorious enterpriſe in agitation.

It is taken by Vitellius, who puts Sabinus to death.

Vitellius paid little regard to the proceedings of Antony, the principal view of his reſentment being directed towards Sabinus, and the other perſons who had joined with him in the revolt: and being by nature of a ſavage and ferocious diſpoſition, but particularly ſo to thoſe of diſtinguiſhed rank, he diſpatched a body of his own troops to attack the capitol. In this enterpriſe ſingular inſtances of bravery were exhibited betwixt the aſſailants and thoſe in the temple: but, in the end, the Germans made themſelves maſters of the hill, their numbers being too great for thoſe of their opponents. Domitian, and other Romans of the firſt rank, eſcaped in a manner almoſt miraculous: the greater part of the people were totally deſtroyed: the ſoldiers firſt plundered the temple, and then ſet it on fire. With regard to Sabinus, he was made priſoner, and conducted to Vitellius, who commanded that he ſhould be inſtantly put to death.

Antony engages the forces of Vitellius, who are all ſlain, himſelf ſeized, diſgracefully dragged thro' the ſtreets, and ſtabbed to death.

On the following day Antony arrived with his army, when a deſperate battle enſued between him and the Vitellians. The encounter was in three different parts of the city, and the Vitellians were all ſlain. The action being ended, Vitellius came out of his palace in a fit of intoxication; for he was much addicted to exceſs both in eating and drinking. Hereupon he was ſeized, dragged through the ſtreets, calumniated with every poſſible term of degradation, and at length ſtabbed to death in the centre of the city. His reign had continued eight months and five days; but his extravagance was ſo great, that it was imagined that the revenue of the empire would not have been equal to his expences, had he lived much longer. Excluſive of thoſe already mentioned, it was reckoned that there were above fifty thouſand men ſlain. It was on the third day of the month Appellæus that this intereſting action took place.

The troops of Vitellius ſlaughtered by Antony's, and the choice of Veſpaſian receives the univerſal ſanction.

On the following day Mucianus and his army entered Rome, where he found the ſoldiers of Antony engaged in ſearching every ſpot for the troops of Vitellius, whom they put to death the moment they apprehended them, without the leaſt inquiry reſpecting their guilt or innocence. When the fury of this carnage had in ſome degree ſubſided, Mucianus inſinuated that the people would act a wiſe part in electing Domitian for their governor, till his father ſhould arrive: but the people apprehending no farther danger, would not conſent to accept of any other governor than Veſpaſian, whom they extolled to the ſkies with the loudeſt acclamations. On this occaſion they united two feſtivals; the one for their deliverance from the tyranny of Vitellius, and the other for the happy advancement of Veſpaſian to the ſupreme command.

CHAP. XIII.

VESPASIAN diſpatches his Son TITUS towards JERUSALEM. Account of the Route taken by TITUS.

Addreſſes from all

WHEN Veſpaſian arrived at Alexandria, he heard a particular account of

of all that had happened at Rome; and he received great numbers of addreſſes, to congratulate him on his advancement to the dignity of emperor. If Rome be excepted, it is thought that Alexandria is the largeſt city in the world; and yet it was ſcarcely large enough to contain the multitude that were aſſembled on this occaſion. The Roman empire being now adjuſted and ſettled, the inhabitants of it in a ſtate of eaſe beyond their former expectation, and the winter being ended, Veſpaſian thought of conſidering the ſtate of Judæa, and then making preparation for his journey to Rome.

Quarters preſented to Veſpaſian at Alexandria.

Having adjuſted all things at Alexandria, he diſpatched his ſon Titus, with the beſt of his troops, on an expedition againſt Jeruſalem. Titus having gone by land to Nicopolis, about twenty furlongs from Alexandria, he there embarked his forces in long-boats, and ſailed down the Nile, on the banks of the Mendeſian Canton, to the city of Thmuis, and landed at Tanis. Hence he proceeded to Heracleopolis, and thence to Peluſium, where he remained two days to refreſh his troops: then he marched acroſs the deſert, and encamped near the temple of Jupiter Caſſius. On the following day he proceeded to Oſtracine; which is ſo remarkable for its drowth, that the inhabitants have no water but what they procure from other places: thence he went to Rinocorura, where he remained ſome time. Raphia, the firſt city on the confines of Syria, was his fourth ſtage; and Gaza his fifth; from which he went to Aſcalon, Jamnia and Joppa; and from Joppa to Cæſarea, in the view of adding ſome reinforcement to the troops under his command.

Titus ſent againſt Jeruſalem, and an account of his route.

BOOK VI.

CHAP. I.

ELEAZAR, JOHN, and SIMON, head three ſeveral Factions in JERUSALEM. Terrible Calamities prevail in JERUSALEM; and the People of that City are loſt to every Sentiment of Humanity.

HAVING paſſed the deſerts ſituated between Egypt and Syria, as we have already related, Titus repaired to Cæſarea, where he had determined to aſſemble his people, and make the neceſſary regulations for forming his army in the moſt advantageous manner. During the time that he remained at Alexandria with his father, iſſuing orders reſpecting the government of the empire which the Almighty had been pleaſed to commit to his charge, the malecontents of Jeruſalem divided themſelves into three diſtinct parties, and ſeverally oppoſed each other: and this diviſion was conſidered as a favourable rather than as an unhappy circumſtance, ſince, by engaging in an oppoſition, the promoters of public miſchief ſeemed to be labouring to procure their own deſtruction.

Titus aſſembles his people at Cæſarea.

Jeruſalem divided into three oppoſite factions.

We have already related the riſe and progreſs of the faction of Zealots, whoſe arbitrary proceedings were unqueſtionably the principal cauſe of ruin to the city of Jeruſalem. In conſequence of their private diſſenſions, the people formed themſelves into different factions: and their conduct had ſome reſemblance to a ſavage beaſt that, wanting another object on which to exerciſe its fury, turns its rage on itſelf, and preys upon its own intrails.

The ſeparation of the faction was commenced in the temple, through the means of Eleazar the ſon of Simon, who irritated the Zealots againſt the people, under the pretext that the turbulent and audacious conduct of John of Giſchala had daily increaſed till it was at length become wholly intolerable. Eleazar was equally remarkable with John for an unrelenting cruelty of diſpoſition; and he was influenced to deſert his aſſociates, and put himſelf at the head of a faction, from an impatience of inferiority, and an inſatiable deſire of tyrannical power. Judas the ſon of Chelcias; Simon the ſon of Ezron, men of high diſtinction and great intereſt; and Ezechias the ſon of Chobar; deſcended of noble anceſtors, attached themſelves to the party of Eleazar, and each of them was attended by a company of Zealots. This faction took poſſeſſion of the interior part of the temple, and ſtationed guards upon the ſacred doors and porches; and as they had impiouſly determined to obſerve no diſtinction between ſacred and profane things, they entertained a full confidence of gaining a plentiful ſupply of the neceſſaries of life, ſince proviſion would continue to be brought into the place for the purpoſe of the daily oblations. Their only apprehenſion now was that their numbers were not ſufficient to effect any important enterprize.

One of the factions headed by Eleazar.

The party headed by John of Giſchala was conſiderably more powerful than that of Eleazar, whoſe deficiency in point of numbers, however, was fully compenſated for by the elevated ſituation of his poſt, which gave him a great advantage over his adverſary. Notwithſtanding the ſuperior ſtrength of men that John poſſeſſed, he was ſenſible that, on account of his unfavourable ſtation, all attempts to annoy Eleazar muſt terminate to his own diſadvantage: he was unable to determine on what means to purſue; for, if he raſhly followed the impulſe of his rage, he feared he ſhould have cauſe to repent his conduct, and he was uneaſy under the idea of being driven to the neceſſity of repreſſing his deſire of vengeance: but every

Another by John of Giſchala, who contends with Eleazar.

every ſuggeſtion of prudence, at length, yielded to his animoſity, and he made repeated aſſaults upon Eleazar; in conſequence whereof the temple was defiled with dead carcaſes, and the blood of the ſlain.

Another by Simon ſon of Gorias, who oppoſes John.

The people being in circumſtances of great diſtreſs, had choſen Simon the ſon of Gorias, for their governor and protector; and he, being in poſſeſſion of the whole upper and the greateſt part of the lower town, directed his arms againſt the faction under the command of John; who, being hard preſſed from above by Eleazar, occaſioned Simon to purſue his attacks with additional vigour. Eleazar being poſſeſſed of the moſt elevated ſpot, had a conſiderable advantage over John, who had an equal power over Simon, his party being ſtationed on ſtill lower ground. Thus was a double war purſued againſt John, who had but little difficulty in repulſing the attacks made by Simon; and he exerted his utmoſt efforts to defend himſelf againſt Eleazar, whom he annoyed with ſtones and darts caſt by ſlings and machines. The

A terrible ſlaughter in the temple, which is deluged with blood.

weapons diſcharged by theſe engines killed many of Eleazar's people, and others who had repaired to the temple for the purpoſe of performing the duties of religion. Theſe iniquitous people gave ready admiſſion to all who came to the temple from religious motives; but the Jews were ſubjected to more particular examinations than others. Many of the ſtrangers who eſcaped the rage of the ſoldiers, were killed by the ſtones and lances diſcharged by the faction under John, and numbers of theſe weapons reached the very altar, and deſtroyed the prieſts who were employed in diſcharging the duties of the ſacred function. Perſons who had repaired from diſtant parts of the globe were ſacrificed in the holy temple, where they meant to offer prayers and adorations to the Almighty; and the altar, which not only the Greeks, but even the moſt barbarous nations, held in the greateſt veneration, was polluted with their blood. The carcaſes of perſons ſacred and profane, ſtrangers and natives, were promiſcuouſly heaped together, and the blood iſſuing from them flowed up to the very altar.

Joſephus laments the miſerable ſtate of the Jews.

Alas, Jeruſalem! Moſt unhappy city! Thou waſt now reduced to a ſtate of miſery infinitely ſurpaſſing the horrors that enſued when thou waſt entered by the Romans, who endeavoured by fire and ſword to purify thee from thy apoſtaſies, factions, and other abominations! No longer waſt thou worthy to be called the reſidence of the Almighty, whoſe place of abode thou hadſt changed for the ſepulchre of thy citizens: and it could not be expected that the impious provocations of thy degenerate ſons would eſcape with impunity. But it is, however, ſtill poſſible to appeaſe an incenſed Creator, who hath been pleaſed to afflict thee with a judicial puniſhment; he is all benevolence and righteouſneſs; and, I ſay, by a ſincere humiliation and repentance, it is ſtill poſſible that he may be moved to compaſſion. But it is not the province of an hiſtorian to indulge private paſſions: I muſt therefore proceed to a relation of the events which followed the diſſenſions above-recited.

Fierce conteſt between John and Simon.

Eleazar and his faction, who had the charge of the firſt-fruits and oblations, were frequently in a ſtate of intoxication; and they made repeated aſſaults upon John; who attacked Simon as well as the people who ſupplied Simon with proviſions, thereby the better enabling him to withſtand the other two factions. When John was attacked by Simon and Eleazar at the ſame time, he divided his forces, and annoyed the former with darts diſcharged from the tops of the porches, and againſt the latter he directed his engines for caſting ſtones and arrows. Through the intoxication or fatigue of Eleazar and his people, they allowed John frequent intervals; and he, availing himſelf of theſe opportunities, made more powerful aſſaults upon Simon, whom he compelled to retire, and in the purſuit ſet fire to ſtore-houſes, granaries, habitations, and other buildings, wholly regardleſs of what they contained; and a like conduct was adopted by Simon, when John was under the neceſſity of returning to his quarters. In ſhort, they deſtroyed all that was neceſſary for the defence of the city; and had they been actually engaged in a conſpiracy for betraying the place into the power of the Romans, they could not have purſued more certain means for effecting that purpoſe. All that ſurrounded the temple was entirely conſumed by fire. There was a ſtock of grain and other neceſſaries of life ſufficient for the maintenance of the inhabitants during a ſiege of ſeveral years; but nearly the whole of this ſupply being burnt, a famine enſued, which produced the utter deſtruction of the city.

Moſt dreadful calamities prevail in Jeruſalem.

Being at the ſame time beſieged by the Romans, and diſtracted by internal diviſions, Jeruſalem reſembled a body expoſed as a prey to ſavage and furious beaſts. The women and ancient men put forth prayers for the ſucceſs of the Romans, hoping to be relieved by a foreign enemy from the intolerable calamities of civil diſcord. The ſituation of the inhabitants was deplorable beyond deſcription: the reſolutions they formed they were wholly unable to execute: there remained no poſſibility of eſcape, all the avenues being ſtrictly watched and guarded; for the leaders of the factions, notwithſtanding their inveterate enmity in other reſpects, united in the determination to ſacrifice to their barbarity ſuch of the people as were even ſuſpected to entertain the moſt diſtant wiſh of ſucceſs to the Romans, and to put every man to death who was worthy to enjoy life. The ſhouts of thoſe who were engaged, the lamentations of the wounded, and the claſhing of arms, were inceſſantly heard both day and night. They were made ſufficiently unhappy by the dread of the evils with which futurity ſeemed to be pregnant; but when thoſe evils actually arrived, their miſeries were greatly increaſed. When afflictions are multiplied to a certain degree, they throw us into a kind of ſtupefaction, and deprive us of the power of complaint; and then grief, like a canker, ſilently corrodes the heart.

The people divested of every ſentiment of humanity.

heart. All diſtinction of perſons was loſt; nor was more reſpect paid to the dead than the living; for funeral rites, and all other decencies which it is uſual to obſerve towards the dead, were entirely neglected. Thoſe who were not engaged as parties in either of the factions abandoned themſelves to deſpair, and became regardleſs of their ſafety, expecting every moment to be involved in irretrievable deſtruction. The people who compoſed the factions, mounted the heaps of ſlain, and fought with a ſeeming triumph and oſtentation, whence it appeared as if the horrors of the ſcene had rendered the living as inſenſible to the feelings of humanity, as were the dead beneath their feet. Theſe people were ſo determined upon wickedneſs, that they engaged in the moſt cruel and impious undertakings without the leaſt heſitation. John applied to profane purpoſes a quantity of materials appointed for the ſervice of the holy temple. The people and the high-prieſts had formed a deſign of raiſing the temple twenty cubits, and erecting an arch for the ſupport of the work; and, for the purpoſe of carrying the plan into execution, king Agrippa, at an amazing expence, and with much labour, cauſed a quantity of timber, remarkable for its length, breadth, and excellent quality, to be conveyed from Mount Libanus: but the war taking place, the undertaking was of courſe interrupted. John cauſed the trees to be cut into lengths, and to be employed in forming turrets for defending himſelf againſt the attacks of Eleazar. The turrets were erected along the wall to the weſtward, oppoſite the great hall; and indeed there were no other places which would admit of theſe works being formed, on account of the many flights of ſteps by which they were occupied. John cheriſhed the flattering idea that, by the impious contrivance of perverting the ſacred materials to his own uſe, he would be enabled to ſubdue his enemies: but, through the providence of Heaven, the Romans were made the inſtruments of rendering his deſign abortive.

March and diſpoſition of the Roman army commanded by Titus.

Having aſſembled one part of his army, and commanded the remainder to march to Jeruſalem, Titus repaired to Cæſarea. Excluſive of the three legions which had made great devaſtation and havock in Judæa, while under the command of Veſpaſian, he was accompanied by the twelfth legion, which was compoſed of brave and well-diſciplined troops, whoſe natural intrepidity was greatly increaſed by the deſire of revenge for the defeat they had ſuſtained under the command of Ceſtius. He commanded the fifth legion to march by the way of Emmaus, and the tenth by that of Jericho; and he himſelf led the reſt of the army, with a more powerful body of royal auxiliaries than had been ſupplied on any former occaſion, and a numerous company of Syrian troops. Detachments from the four legions having been ſent into Italy, under the conduct of Mucianus, Titus completed the companies by ſupplying the places of the draughted men out of the two thouſand choſen Alexandrian troops who accompanied him, and the three thouſand that followed him from the Euphrates. He was joined by his valuable and much-reſpected friend Tiberius Alexander, formerly the governor of Egypt, who, ſoon after he had aſſumed that office, eſpouſed the cauſe of Veſpaſian, and contracted an alliance with him, to which he adhered, without ſuffering the uncertain events of fortune to ſhake his fidelity. He was a man of deep penetration, ſound judgment, great courage and fortitude; and, in ſhort, his experience, and the many other advantages he poſſeſſed, eminently qualified him to direct the operations of war.

He is joined by Tiberius Alexander, who is poſſeſſed of amiable qualities.

CHAP. II.

TITUS proceeds to JERUSALEM, in order to reconnoitre the Situation of the Enemy, who make a furious Sally, and cut off the Communication between the two Diviſions of the ROMAN Army. Providential Eſcape of TITUS.

Order of the Roman army's march under Titus.

TITUS led his army into the country of the enemy in the following order: the auxiliaries marched firſt; they were followed by the pioneers; to whom ſucceeded the troops appointed to mark out the ground where the camp was to be formed; next came the baggage of the officers, attended by a convoy; and then followed Titus, eſcorted by his guards and other choſen troops, and attended by the enſign bearers; theſe were ſucceeded by the tribunes and other officers, with a number of ſelected men under their command; the next in courſe was the Roman eagle, ſurrounded by the enſigns of the legions, and preceded by trumpets; then marched the body of the army in rank and file, the men being drawn up ſix in front, and followed by the domeſtics with their baggage: the rear was formed by the victuallers, artizans, and other mercenaries, eſcorted by their guard. Thus, according to the military diſcipline of the Romans, Titus led his army, by the way of Samaria, to Gophna, which Veſpaſian had formerly ſubdued, and therein eſtabliſhed a garriſon. On the following morning he proceeded towards a place called by the Jews the Valley of Thorns, ſituated near thirty furlongs from Jeruſalem, and adjacent to the village of Gabath Saul, or, the Valley of Saul, where he arrived and encamped his army the ſame evening.

Titus advances with a party to reconnoitre the city.

Titus now led a body of ſix hundred ſelect cavalry towards Jeruſalem, in order to take a view of that city, and inform himſelf of the ſituation of the Jews. He was ſenſible that the people were diſpoſed to peace, and deſirous of being relieved from the oppreſſion of the factious parties, whom they were heartily inclined to oppoſe, but were deterred from attempting the enterprize by the want of a force adequate to the undertaking: and he conceived that the appearance of his army might probably induce them

to ſurrender without proceeding to an engagement. Titus marched forward, and while he continued in the direct road to the city, none of the Jews appeared upon the battlements: but upon his croſſing towards the turret called Pſephinos, a great concourſe of Jews ſuddenly iſſued from the gate oppoſite the ſepulchre of Helena, on that quarter called the woman's tower, and forcing a paſſage through the cavalry, intercepted all communication between the two diviſions of the Roman army. Titus found himſelf, accompanied by only a ſmall number of his troops, in a ſituation whence he could not advance on account of the gardens, incloſures and ditches between him and the city; or retreat, ſince a powerful body of the Jews had ſtationed themſelves between him and the reſt of his army. Such of Titus's men as were ignorant of their general's danger, believing him to be among the croud engaged in providing for his own ſafety, conceived that their buſineſs was to elude the vengeance of the enemy, and to follow their commander. In the terrible extremity to which Titus was reduced, he was conſcious that his ſafety muſt wholly depend on the ſucceſs of an extraordinary effort of courage; and therefore he called to his people, commanding them to follow him, and at the ſame inſtant rode furiouſly amidſt the body of the Jews, in order to force a paſſage to the reſt of his army. He meant not, as we have already obſerved, to encounter the Jews; but his whole view was to make obſervations and diſcoveries; and therefore he had omitted to provide himſelf with armour for the defence of either his body or head: but he received not the leaſt injury, notwithſtanding immenſe numbers of darts, arrows, and other weapons were diſcharged againſt him by the enemy. Titus put every man who oppoſed his progreſs to death, and trampled great numbers of the enemy under his horſe's feet. The ſurpriſing exploits performed by Titus, inflamed the Jews with additional rage; and they exhorted each other to exert their utmoſt efforts for effecting his deſtruction, as the only means of interrupting the ſucceſs of the Roman arms. The Jews preſſed upon Titus, both in flank and rear, but wherever he turned the enemy fled before him, and his people kept cloſe to him, and behaved with great reſolution. Titus and his party now conceived that there remained no probable means of eſcape but by forcing a paſſage through the adverſe army; and this deſperate exploit they attempted. In the action two of Titus's friends were ſlain, and the horſe of one of them was killed, and that of the other ſeized by the enemy: but the general and the remaining part of his company gained the camp without receiving a wound or being otherwiſe injured. Hence it appears that the providence of the Almighty interpoſes to direct the events of war for the preſervation of emperors and princes. The flight and temporary advantage obtained by the Jews gave them hopes of more important ſucceſs: but their flattering expectations were diſappointed, as will hereafter appear.

He is expoſed to imminent danger.

His miraculous preſervation.

No. 26.

CHAP. III.

The Factions unite to oppoſe the ROMANS, who are ſurpriſed and put to flight. Their General being miſſing occaſions a great Conſternation among the ROMANS. The JEWS retreat, ſtill diſputing the Advantages gained by the Enemy: but TITUS drives them into the Valley.

THE legion from Emmaus joined Titus that night, and early on the following morning he directed his march towards Scopos, ſituated ſeven ſtadia from Jeruſalem, on the northern ſide. Scopos ſtands in a hollow, but it commands a view of the city and temple, and therefore it is not improperly denominated. Titus ordered two legions to uſe all poſſible expedition for an encampment, and the legion which, by performing a tedious march during the night, was greatly fatigued, he appointed to form their camp at the diſtance of three ſtadia farther from the enemy. The troops had no ſooner begun to carry their general's orders into execution than the tenth legion arrived from Jericho, which had been lately taken and garriſoned by Veſpaſian. Titus ordered this legion to encamp at ſix ſtadia eaſtward of Jeruſalem and the Mount of Olives, which is oppoſite the city, they being ſeparated by the Valley of Cedron.

The army of Titus ſtrengthened by freſh troops

The appearance of the Roman army proved a circumſtance highly alarming to the three ſeditious parties, who now diveſted themſelves of the animoſity they had entertained againſt each other, and united to oppoſe the common enemy. They thus argued with themſelves on the neceſſity of compromiſing the domeſtic contentions: "We are ſurrounded by an hoſtile army who have made every preparation for a vigorous proſecution of war, and both our lives and liberties are now in the moſt imminent danger. Thus ſituated, ſhall we ſuffer inteſtine diviſions to prevail, to the certain deſtruction of ourſelves, and conſequently to the advantage of our enemies? Our conduct (ſaid one of the people) is calculated to give victory to our adverſaries, without putting them to the trouble of fighting, or ſubjecting them to the loſs of blood; for the deſtruction of each other ſeems to be the object that claims our principal attention." Hereupon they aſſembled in parties, and furiouſly ruſhing acroſs the valley, with violent ſhouts and clamours, aſſaulted the tenth legion, who were then employed in forming the intrenchments of their camp. The Romans were ſurpriſed while they were at work, and unprovided with weapons of defence; and they entertained not the leaſt apprehenſion of danger, judging the diſſenſions which prevailed in the city a ſufficient ſecurity againſt receiving any annoyance from the enemy. When the attack was made, all the Romans quitted their ſtations in great conſternation; ſome ſought their ſafety in flight, others ran to take up arms, but before they

The factions unite againſt the foreign enemy.

The Jews ſally out, and greatly annoy a part of the Romans, who were then unarmed.

could make uſe of them, they were cut off by the enemy. The ſucceſs of the Jews animated conſiderable numbers of people of the ſame profeſſion to reinforce them: and though they were not remarkably numerous, their victory inſpired them, as well as the Romans, with the idea of greater ſtrength than they poſſeſſed in reality. It muſt be generally acknowledged that of all the people of the univerſe the Romans are by far the moſt ſkilful in the art of war, and that they perform all the military exerciſes and duties with unrivalled grace and regularity: but upon being ſo unexpectedly attacked, they trembled with apprehenſion, deſerted their poſts, and were purſued; ſtill, however, as they were overtaken by ſuch as had gained ground of the body of the Jews, they turned in order to repulſe them, and they killed and wounded ſeveral. As, on the one hand, the number of the Jews continued to increaſe, ſo, on the other, did the terror and conſternation among the Romans, who, at length, abandoned their camp; and the whole legion would inevitably have been deſtroyed, had not Titus, attended by a body of choſen troops, arrived to their relief; the appearance of the general put a ſtop to the flight, and he upbraided the fugitives with being deficient in point of courage. He attacked the Jews in flank, killed ſeveral, wounded a greater number, and drove the reſt into the valley: the Jews croſſed the valley in great diſorder, and in their flight a conſiderable number was ſlain: having gained the further ſide of the valley, they made a ſtand, and maintained a conteſt with the Romans till mid-day. Early in the afternoon Titus reinforced the legion with the troops he had led to its ſuccour when it was put to flight by the Jews; and having ſtationed parties in proper places to guard againſt excurſions of the enemy, he ordered the remaining part of his people to proceed up the mountain, on the ſummit of which they were to encamp and raiſe fortifications.

The Romans driven from their camp.

The Jews obſerving the Roman troops to be in motion, imagined that they were actually flying; and this idea was ſtrengthened by the ſhaking a garment in the air by one of the centinels upon the walls of the town, which was a ſignal that had been previouſly agreed upon. In conſequence of this intimation, the Jews preſſed towards the enemy in ſo impetuous a manner, that they rather appeared to be furious and ſavage beaſts than human creatures. The Jews ruſhed to the aſſault with ſuch violence, that their adverſaries were not able to withſtand ſo great a ſhock, but were diſperſed as if by the ſtroke of ſome terrible engine: but they exerted every poſſible effort to preſerve themſelves by endeavouring to gain the top of the mountain. Titus made a ſtand about the middle of the hill, being attended by only a ſmall number of intrepid friends, who profeſſed that they entertained the higheſt veneration for his ſacred perſon, which they exhorted him no longer to expoſe to the dangerous rage of a profligate banditti, but to preſerve a neceſſary

The Jews make a furious attack on the Romans, who retire to the mountains

Dangerous ſituation of Titus, who is exhorted by his friends to be more careful of his perſon.

regard to his exalted ſtation and character; they repreſented that the Jews were driven to ſuch a ſtate of deſperation that death was the beſt event that could happen to them; that he was not to be conſidered merely in the character of a warrior, but as the ſovereign of the world, and therefore it was neceſſary that he ſhould liſten to the ſuggeſtions of prudence, which dictated that it became a point of duty to preſerve a life on which ſo materially depended the honour and ſafety of the Roman empire. Wholly regardleſs of the friendly advice of his companions, Titus maintained his ground, reſolutely oppoſing the aſſailants, ſome of whom he cut over the face, others he killed, and drove ſome into the valley. The bravery of Titus kept the Jews in ſome awe, but ſtill they did not deem it neceſſary to ſeek refuge in the city: they formed an opening to the right and left, and aſſaulted Titus and his party on each ſide; but the Romans attacked them in flank, and fought with aſtoniſhing bravery.

Signal inſtance of his fortitude and intrepidity.

The Romans who were employed in fortifying their camp at the top of the mountain, were ſtruck with ſuch aſtoniſhment and horror upon perceiving their companions fly, that the whole legion deſerted the camp, and ran from place to place in the greateſt confuſion; they imagined that their countrymen were not able to withſtand the ſuperior power of the Jews, and that their general had actually quitted the field, or his troops would not have abandoned him. Some of the Romans perceiving Titus engaged in the midſt of his enemies, called to their companions, appriſing them of their general's danger, and urging them to haſte to his relief. The alarming ſituation of Titus tranſported the Romans to ſo violent a deſire of revenge, that, wholly regardleſs of their own ſafety, they furiouſly aſſaulted the Jews, and purſued them down the mountain. In their retreat the Jews continued to oppoſe their adverſaries, and loſt not a foot of ground without reſiſtance: but the Romans having the advantage of the higher ground, compelled their enemies to retire, and purſued them into the valley. Titus valiantly fought againſt thoſe who oppoſed him, and his example greatly animated his followers. He remained with his own party for the purpoſe of keeping the foe at a diſtance, and ordered the legion to return to the ſummit of the mountain and complete the intrenchments. Without making any flattering additions or envious detractions, I may ſafely aſſert that the legion was twice in one day indebted to Titus for their preſervation. The troops were now at liberty to form their camp and raiſe their intrenchments.

A great conſternation ſeizes the Romans on their late diſaſters.

The Jews retreat fighting, but are at length driven into the valley

CHAP. IV.

JOHN, under a religious Pretext, meditates a horrid Scene of Villainy. The Factions form themſelves into

into two Parties. TITUS advances towards the City, and orders a conſiderable Tract of Land to be levelled.

Revival of ſeditions in the city.

A SUSPENSION of hoſtilities now took place, during which the diſſenſions among the Jews revived. The Paſchal feaſt, or the feaſt of unleavened bread, which is celebrated on the fourteenth of the month Xanthicus, whence the Jews date their deliverance out of Egypt, was now approaching; on which account Eleazar cauſed the gate of the temple to be opened, that all who repaired thither from religious motives might have free admittance.

Execrable project of John under the guiſe of religion.

John impiouſly determined to take advantage of the opportunity which the religious occaſion afforded; and therefore he ſelected a number of his adherents, whoſe perſons were leaſt known, and providing them with daggers and other weapons, to be concealed under their garments, inſtructed them as to the meaſures they were to purſue. According to the directions they had received, theſe people, who were of profane and diſſolute principles, diſperſed themſelves among the people who had aſſembled in the temple for the purpoſe of performing the duties of religion, and then, throwing open their garments, expoſed their weapons. The worſhippers imagined that the deſign of the armed men was hoſtile towards all the other people who were in the building, and the utmoſt confuſion prevailed: but Eleazar and the Zealots were perfectly ſenſible that they were the objects againſt whom the reſentment of John was principally directed. The guards now drew off from the gates, others leaped from the towers where they were ſtationed, and without attempting the leaſt reſiſtance, fled to conceal themſelves in the vaults of the building. Some of the people who repaired to the altar were preſſed or trampled to death by the croud; others loſt their lives by the ſword, and many were deſtroyed by means of cudgels. Thoſe who entertained private animoſities gratified their deſire of revenge by murdering their adverſaries under the pretence of their being friends to the oppoſite parties. Notwithſtanding the unrelenting cruelty which was exerciſed upon the innocent, many of the guilty were permitted to eſcape from the holes and vaults where they had concealed themſelves. The interior part of the temple being now in poſſeſſion of the Zealots, they aſſaulted Simon with additional vigour: and the factions were now reduced into two diviſions.

Many people deſtroyed in the temple by John's aſſaſſins.

Titus marches towards Jeruſalem, provides againſt attacks from the Jews, and levels the ways for his army.

At this time the Roman general formed the reſolution of advancing his army nearer to Jeruſalem; and preparatory to his removal he appointed a ſufficient number of troops to repulſe the Jews in caſe parties of them ſhould attempt to make inroads or offer obſtructions to his progreſs: and another body of his people he ordered to level and make good all the ways between the place where his army was now poſted and the city. In conſequence hereof, the walls, hedges, fences about the gardens belonging to the country people, and all incloſures were removed; the trees were cut down, not even thoſe producing the moſt choice fruits being ſpared; the hollows were filled up; the crags were made even; and the ſpace of ground extending from Scopos to Jeruſalem was entirely levelled.

CHAP. V.

The JEWS concert Meaſures for deceiving the ROMANS. The ROMAN Soldiers condemned to ſuffer the martial Law; but, through the Mediation of the Officers, TITUS pardons them.

The Jews form plots to delude the enemy.

A PLOT was now concerted among the Jews for deceiving the enemy. A number of the moſt reſolute of the people left the city, going out near the place called the women's towers, pretending that their dread of the party who were advocates for a reconciliation had compelled them to leave the town, and keeping themſelves as cloſe together, and as much concealed as poſſible, they appeared to be fearful of venturing farther, leſt they ſhould be attacked by the Romans. Another party, who were ſtationed upon the walls, raiſing their voices to the utmoſt extent, in the name of the inhabitants called for peace and alliance with the enemy, ſupplicating them to agree to a compromiſe, and promiſing that the gates ſhould be opened: and, to give their deception an air of plauſibility, they counterfeited a domeſtic contention; ſome pretending to be deſirous of going over to the Romans, and others caſting ſtones and uſing other means as if to obſtruct them. After ſeveral feigned attempts and repulſes, the former party retired, affecting to be violently enraged and much diſappointed. The deception operated upon the common ſoldiers, who imagined that there was nothing wanting to give them abſolute poſſeſſion of the city but the ceremony of opening the gates, and they eagerly preſſed forward to reap the fruits of ideal conqueſt. On the preceding day Titus had made the Jews an offer, through the agency of Joſephus, of the very matter which they now ſeemed ſo anxious to obtain, and the propoſal was rejected; and, therefore, he conceived that they had adopted their preſent conduct with a view of taking advantage of his credulity, and ſtrictly enjoined his troops to maintain their poſts, and reſolutely ſtand to their arms. In the interim, ſome of the ſoldiers who were ſtationed upon the trenches took up their arms, and eagerly went towards the city. The Jews, who pretended to have been driven out of the town, permitted them to paſs without obſtruction: but when they had proceeded nearly as far as the towers adjacent to the port, they followed them cloſe upon the rear, and hemmed them round within

One of their ſtratagems ſucceeds, whereby many of the Romans are ſlain.

in reach of darts, ſtones, and other weapons diſcharged from the walls. Thus ſituated, great numbers of the Romans were ſlain and wounded; and, being unable to retire, the ſurvivors were greatly affected by the ſenſe of diſobedience and the fear of puniſhment, and they became hardened into a determination of purſuing the cauſe in which they had engaged. After a long and obſtinate conteſt, in which the parties ſuſtained an equal loſs, the Romans forced a paſſage through the body of the Jews, who purſued them as far as the ſepulchre of Helena, continuing to annoy them with lances and other weapons, and uttering contemptuous ſpeeches reflecting upon them for having ſubmitted to be the dupes of their ſtratagem. The Jews expreſſed their ſatisfaction by leaping, dancing, waving their bucklers over their heads, and uttering ſhouts of triumph and joy.

They are threatened by the officers, and reprimanded by Titus.

The Romans being returned to their quarters, they were ſeverely reprimanded and threatened by their officers, as well as by the general; and from the indignation and reſentment which Titus manifeſted while he reproved the men, the officers imagined that the martial law was about to be put in force; and the offenders, conſcious that they had deſerved the puniſhment that they feared would be inflicted upon them, entertained no expectation of eſcaping deſtruction. But the officers of the legions ſupplicated Titus in favour of their unfortunate fellow ſoldiers, intreating that, for the ſake of thoſe who had in no inſtance violated their duty, he would remit the puniſhment due to a few raſh and inconſiderate people, whoſe future ſervices would compenſate for their paſt offences.

At the intreaty of the officers in general, Titus forgives them.

It was both the intereſt and inclination of the general to liſten to the mediation of his officers; for though it may be neceſſary to uſe ſeverity towards individuals, political conſiderations will not permit ſimilar meaſures to be purſued in regard to multitudes. Upon receiving an aſſurance that the offenders would in future conduct themſelves in a manner perfectly conſiſtent with their duty, Titus granted a pardon of all paſt offences; and he now directed his attention towards diſcovering the moſt effectual means for wreaking vengeance upon the enemy for the treacherous conduct by which his people had been enſnared.

Preparations for the ſiege, and fixing the Roman camp.

He ordered the ground, from the ſpot where he was ſtationed to the city wall, to be formed on a level; and this work was completed in the ſpace of only four days. He now commanded the moſt intrepid and beſt diſciplined of his ſoldiers to proceed towards the ramparts between the north and weſt; the infantry were drawn up in ſeven battalions, and the cavalry were formed into three ſquadrons, archers being ſtationed between them. This force being ſufficient to prevent the ſucceſs of any excurſions that might be made by the enemy, the baggage and train belonging to the three legions were perfectly ſecure. Titus eſtabliſhed his camp at the diſtance of two ſtadia from Jeruſalem, oppoſite the tower named Pſephinos, on that angle of the wall of the city running from the north to the weſtward: he intrenched another part of his army towards the tower Hippocos, about two furlongs from the town; and he appointed the tenth legion to remain on Mount Olivet.

A full deſcription of the city of Jeruſalem.

Three celebrated walls ſurrounded the city of Jeruſalem on every ſide, except on that part which was deemed inacceſſible, on account of the valley beneath; and in this place there was only one wall. This city is built on two hills, the one ſituated oppoſite to the other; and a deep valley lies between them, the whole of which is likewiſe built on. The mountain on which the upper town is ſituated is much more ſteep and lofty than the other. In regard to the ſtrength of its ſituation it originally received the name of the Fortreſs or Caſtle, from king David, the father of Solomon, who erected it: but the Upper Market is the name by which it has been diſtinguiſhed in more modern times.

The ſituation of the lower town is on another hill, which is called by the name of Acra, round about which there is a declivity remarkably ſteep. Oppoſite to this there was formerly another hill, not ſo high as the Acra, from which it was ſeparated by an extenſive valley: but during the power of the Aſmonæan princes, they cauſed this valley to be filled up, and, detaching a part of the hill Acra, they united the town with the temple; in conſequence of which it commands and overlooks all the adjacent parts.

Tyropæon is the name given to the above-mentioned valley, which divides the upper from the lower town: this valley extends even to the fountain of Siloe, the waters of which are equally diſtinguiſhed by their great abundance, and the excellence of their flavour.

Without the city there are two other towns, which are rendered almoſt inacceſſible, by the crags and precipices which ſurround them on every ſide.

Strength of the old wall.

The moſt ancient of the three walls was remarkable for its extraordinary ſtrength; being erected on a hanging rock, and protected by the depth of the valley beneath it. Excluſive of the advantages of its natural ſituation, it was repeatedly ſtrengthened, at an immenſe expence, and by all the arts of induſtry, by David, Solomon, and a number of other princes. Its commencement on one ſide was at the tower named Hippocos; and it continued to another place, named the Galleries, ſtretching away by the Town-houſe, to the weſtern porch of the temple. On the other ſide, reckoning from the ſame ſpot, it extended by Bethſo, down to the Eſſene-gate, and thence, bending ſouthwards, by the fountain of Siloe, at which place it turned eaſtward, towards the pool of Solomon, and was from thence continued to the eaſt porch of the temple, by the way of Ophlas.

The ſecond wall.

At the gate called Genath, which belongs to the former wall, the ſecond wall com-

commences, and is carried on by the north ſide of the city, to the fort Antonia.

The third wall, at the tower Hippocos.

The beginning of the third wall being at the tower Hippocos, it extended northward to that named Pſephinos, oppoſite to the ſepulchre of Helena, mother of king Izates, and queen of the Adiabenians: and hence it continued by the Royal Caves, from the tower at the corner, towards the place which is denominated the Fullers Monument; after which it met the old wall in the valley of Cedron. This was the extent of the third wall, which was built by Agrippa, as a protection to that part of the city which he had erected; which, before this wall was built, had been totally undefended. About this period, the city had ſo far increaſed in the number of its inhabitants, that it was unable to contain them; in conſequence of which a ſort of ſuburbs were by degrees erected; and the buildings increaſed to a very great degree on the north ſide of the temple next the hill.

The fourth mountain Bezeth, or the New Town.

Oppoſite to the fort Antonia there was a fourth mountain; but, between this mountain and the fort, ditches of an amazing depth had been cut, ſo that it was impoſſible to come at the foundation of the fort, ſo as to undermine it; and excluſive of this advantage, the ſinking of the ditches apparently added to the height of the tower. This fourth mountain received the name of Bezeth, or the New Town; being, in fact, nothing more than an addition to the former buildings. No ſooner was this place well peopled, than the inhabitants requeſted that it might be fortified: whereupon Agrippa, the father of king Agrippa, adjuſted his plan, and laid the foundation of the wall about it, as hath already been mentioned: but afterwards, on more mature deliberation, he thought that Claudius Cæſar might poſſibly be offended at his undertaking a work of ſuch importance and magnificence: wherefore Agrippa dropped the farther proſecution of his plan, after he had laid the foundations: but if he had proceeded to have completed it, the capture of Jeruſalem would have been rendered totally impracticable.

CHAP. VI.

SIMON at the Head of Fifteen Thouſand Men. The Temple in the Poſſeſſion of JOHN; the upper Town in that of SIMON, and the Hill ACRA in that of MONOBAZUS. NICANOR, while adviſing Peace, is wounded. TITUS divides his Army, ſo as to make three ſeparate Attacks. The Factions unite in a common Defence. The ROMANS ſurpriſed, and driven back to their Camp. The Work completed by TITUS.

Army of Simon increaſed to 15,000.

AT this time Simon had an army of ten thouſand men, excluſive of the party of Idumæans, who were five thouſand in number; ſo that he was at the head of fifteen thouſand. Of theſe, fifty captains were appointed over the ten thouſand, and twenty officers over the other five thouſand, which laſt were the moſt mutinous of the whole faction: the chief of theſe mutineers were deemed to be Simon the ſon of Cathlas, and James, the ſon of Soſas: but Simon was commander in chief of the united forces.

John poſſeſſed of the temple.

The poſſeſſion of the temple was now held by John, who had under him twenty captains commanding ſix thouſand men. Two thouſand four hundred of the Zealots now likewiſe repaired to him, and inliſted under the command of Simon the ſon of Jair, and Eleazar, who had formerly commanded them.

Simon holds the upper town, and Monobazus has Acra.

The two parties now violently oppoſing each other, the people fell a ſacrifice to their mutual rage, and the moſt unoffending were the ſevereſt ſufferers. At this time Simon had poſſeſſion of the upper town, with the great wall as far as Cedron, and the old wall that extends to Siloe, and then, turning eaſtward, is continued to the palace of Monobazus. Now Monobazus, who was king of the Adiabenians, a people coming from the other ſide the Euphrates, was in poſſeſſion of the hill Acra (the ſtation of the lower town) even to the royal reſidence of Helena, who was his own mother.

During this period John ſtill kept poſſeſſion of the temple, and ſome of the places in its neighbourhood: but Ophlas, and the vale of Cedron, which was ſituated between him and Simon, had been conſumed to aſhes, and could anſwer no other purpoſe than that of a field of battle. The Romans were now in arms before the gates of the city, yet the tumult within it continued to rage with its former violence.

Dreadful animoſities prevail within, while the Romans are at the gates.

Occaſionally, however, when the enemy preſſed hard upon them, the inſurgents appeared to change their ſentiments for a ſhort time: but, on the ſlighteſt relaxation of this vigilance, they had immediate recourſe to their uſual animoſities and contentions, and a renewal of all their former quarrels. Now this was a circumſtance highly advantageous to the intereſt of the Romans, for they treated each other with greater ſeverity than either party would have been treated by the common enemy: yet they had this conſolation amidſt their misfortunes, that they had little to fear beyond their preſent ſufferings. Something more, however, they did ſuffer, before the city was utterly deſtroyed. But the Romans obtained a greater conqueſt than that of taking the place; for whereas the city was deſtroyed by the ſedition, the conqueſt of it tended to deſtroy the ſedition itſelf. Wherefore, in the iſſue of the affair, the Romans were nothing more than the executioners of that divine juſtice which the impiety of the Jews had brought on themſelves. But this will be more evident by the ſequel.

Titus ſurveys the walls, for

During the preſent ſituation of affairs within the city, Titus, taking with him a ſelect party of cavalry, made a general

making an assault.

ſurvey of the walls, to ſee where they might be approached with the greateſt probability of ſucceſs. He found that neither horſe nor foot could make any penetration by way of the vallies; and he found that it would be equally fruitleſs to attempt an attack by battery on the other ſide, owing to the ſtrength of the wall; wherefore, after ſome deliberation, he concluded that the part of the line towards the ſepulchre of John, the high-prieſt, would be beſt expoſed to an attack, for the following reaſons: the firſt wall was lower in that place than any other, and detached from the ſecond wall; the fortifying of it had been alſo neglected; the inhabitants of the new city not being yet ſufficiently numerous to have attended to it; wherefore it would not be a difficult enterpriſe to paſs from this place to the third wall, and thence to the upper town; and through theſe means poſſeſſing themſelves of Antonia, even to the temple.

Nicanor being baſely wounded, Titus, in revenge, makes preparations for reducing the city by force, and orders three attacks.

While Titus was debating theſe things in his mind, and exerting all the power of his oratory with Joſephus to prevail on the Jews to ſolicit a peace, an arrow was ſhot from the wall, which wounded Nicanor (an intimate friend of Titus) in the left ſhoulder. This inſtance of the ingratitude of theſe people towards their friends, who would have adviſed them to peaceable meaſures, incenſed Titus to ſuch a degree, that he inſtantly reſolved to make a formal attack on the town, and reduce it by force. Hereupon, he ordered his ſoldiers to plunder the ſuburbs without loſs of time, and to uſe the rubbiſh and ruins of what they ſhould deſtroy for platforms and other works. His army he ſeparated into three diviſions, aſſigning to each its proper duty. On the mounts, in the midſt of the main body, he ſtationed his archers and ſlingers, who were provided with engines to throw ſtones, and other miſſive annoyances, which anſwered the double purpoſe of keeping the enemy engaged on the wall, and of repelling their attacks. No time was loſt in felling the trees, and laying the ſuburbs bare; and the fortifications were made good with the timber thus obtained. In fact, on the part of the Romans every hand was engaged, nor did the Jews loſe their time in idleneſs.

The inhabitants, who had been heretofore ſo much expoſed to the calamities of robbery and murder, finding the inſurgents ſo earneſtly engaged in defending themſelves, began to conceive a hope that they ſhould at length be at eaſe; flattering themſelves that if the Romans ſhould be ſucceſsful, they would enable them to do themſelves juſtice, by revenging their own quarrel. The forces

Exertions of Simon to repel the enemy.

under the command of John oppoſed the beſiegers vigorouſly; while himſelf, in fear of Simon, dreaded to quit the temple. In the mean time, Simon, being ſtationed near the temple, was conſtantly in action. The ſhot and engines which he had heretofore taken from Ceſtius, and out of the fort Antonia, he placed along the wall: but his troops, being unſkilled in the uſe and management of theſe engines, made very little advantage of them; and this little aroſe from the knowledge they occaſionally acquired from deſerters. However, the Jews uſed their engines to aſſail the enemy from the ramparts with arrows and ſtones: and, occaſionally, they ſallied forth, and fought hand to hand with the Romans; who, on the contrary, defended their agents by gabions and hurdles. Each of the Roman legions was provided with extraordinary machines for repelling an attack of the enemy, particularly the tenth legion, which could throw larger ſtones, and farther than any other. Each ſtone weighed a talent, and not only did execution on the ſpot, but even to the top of the ramparts. They would deſtroy at a furlong diſtance, and a whole file fell before them where-ever they came. The Jews had three opportunities of being informed of the approach of theſe ſtones: the firſt by their colour, which being white, they were ſeen at a diſtance; the ſecond by the noiſe they made in paſſing through the air; and the third by an intimation that was conſtantly given by perſons that were appointed to watch them: for a number of people being ſtationed on the towers, to obſerve when the engines were played, whenever they obſerved this operation, they conſtantly cried out, "A ſtone is coming;" by which every man had an opportunity of retreating, and ſecuring himſelf from the impending danger. This becoming known to the Romans, they coloured the ſtones, ſo that they might not be ſeen in their paſſage; and by this device a number of Jews were frequently killed at a ſtroke. All this, however, did not deter the Jews from making an oppoſition to the Romans in the erecting of their fortifications; for they ſtill endeavoured, equally by the exertions of courage and policy, to do every thing within their power to retard their proceedings.

Means uſed by the Jews for evading the effects of ſtones caſt from the enemy's engines.

Titus diſpoſes the battering rams for an aſſault, which play at once in three places

The works of the Romans were no ſooner completed, than they took the diſtance between the mount and wall by a line and plummet; for this could not be effected in any other manner, owing to the ſhot and darts which were thrown down in abundance. When the place was found to be properly adapted for the battering rams, Titus directed that they ſhould be brought forward, and the other machines likewiſe brought nearer the wall, that they might play with the greater convenience. In obedience to theſe orders, three batteries began to play at the ſame time, on three different parts of the wall. The noiſe occaſioned by theſe engines was heard in all parts of the city, and appeared not to be leſs dreaded even by the faction than it was by the citizens. At length the inſurgents, though divided among themſelves, finding that their danger was general, thought it might not be improper to unite in the defence of each other. Their argument was, that, while thus diſputing among themſelves, they were only advancing the intereſt of the enemy;

enemy; and that if they could not agree for a continuance, it would at leaſt be proper, for the preſent, to make a joint oppoſition to the Romans. Hereupon Simon diſpatched a herald, to inform thoſe who had incloſed themſelves within the temple, that as many as were diſpoſed to quit it, and approach to the wall, had full permiſſion ſo to do. The purport of this embaſſy did not ſtrike John as a circumſtance that could be relied on; but he permitted his people to act as their own inclinations might direct them.

The factions unite againſt the enemy, and make a furious attack on the engines

Hereupon the different factions united, and, forgetting their old animoſities, marched immediately in a body to the walls, where they had no ſooner taken their ſtations, than they co-operated with their fires and torches on the Roman engines; plying darts and other weapons, without intermiſſion, on thoſe who had the conducting of them. During the violence of this determined rage, great numbers of the Jews adventurouſly deſcended from the walls, on the engines, the covers of which they tore off, and attacked the guards who were appointed to their defence. At this juncture, Titus, who was never deficient in aiding his friends at a time of neceſſity, appointed a party of horſe and archers to guard the machines, and find employment for the Jews on the walls, while the engineers ſhould carry on their operations. This attack, however, had, for the preſent, very little effect: indeed the battering-ram of the fifth legion ſhook the corner of a tower, which being placed higher than the wall, the tower fell to the ground, without bringing any of the wall with it.

The Romans ſurpriſed, and repulſed to their camp.

Some time having paſſed ſince the Jews had made any ſally, the Romans thought they were either tired or diſheartened, and thereupon wandered about careleſsly, as in a ſtate of ſecurity. This inattention on the part of the Romans being noticed by the Jews who were in the town, they ruſhed violently from a ſally-port belonging to the tower Hippocos; ſet fire to the Roman works, and, during the heat of the action, drove the Romans back to their own camp. An alarm being immediately ſpread through the whole army, the Romans aſſembled from all parts to the aſſiſtance of their aſſociates; ſo that the courage of the Jews was unequally matched with the admirable diſcipline of the Romans. The former, indeed, were for a while victorious, making an attack on every combined company they found: but the greateſt ſtruggle was near the engines, one party ſeeking to burn, and the other to preſerve them. The outcries of the contending parties rent the air, and many a gallant man fell a ſacrifice in the encounter. The Jews behaved with the moſt determined courage and intrepidity. By this time the fire had taken hold of the machines; and there is not a doubt but that they would all have been deſtroyed, with all thoſe who attended on them, but for the critical arrival of a ſelect party of Alexandrian troops, whoſe behaviour on the occaſion cannot be ſufficiently applauded, ſince it contributed, in a great degree, to the honour of the day. The proceedings of the Jews were impeded by theſe troops, till the arrival of Titus with a body of cavalry. He killed twelve men with his own hands, and drove the remainder of the party into the city: and by this enterpriſe the engines were ſaved from deſtruction.

A terrible conflict, in which the Jews begin to burn the engines.

A party of Alexandrians do great ſervice, and Titus forces the Jews back into the city, and ſaves the engines.

A Jew being made priſoner in the above-mentioned engagement, Titus gave orders that he ſhould be crucified before the walls, in ſight of the people, to try what degree of influence might be produced by terror. Notwithſtanding this circumſtance, an Idumæan officer, named John, was ſhot by an Arabian through the heart, with an arrow, as he was converſing on the wall with a ſoldier. As he was a man equally diſtinguiſhed by his courage and wiſdom, his unfortunate end occaſioned great diſtreſs among thoſe to whom he was known, whether Jews or Zealots.

Titus crucifies a Jew before the city, and John, captain of the Idumæans, mortally wounded by an arrow.

CHAP. VII.

The firſt Breach made by the Ram called NICON. The JEWS abandon the firſt Wall, and retreat to the ſecond. Several deſperate Sallies made by the JEWS. LONGINUS performs a gallant Action.

ABOUT this period a ſingular alarm happened in the camp of the Romans. Orders having been given by Titus, for conſtructing three towers, each fifty cubits in height, on the ramparts, in order to have the command of the wall of the city, one of theſe towers fell ſuddenly to the ground during the night, and made ſo horrid a noiſe in its fall, that the whole army was alarmed in the higheſt degree. The Romans, unacquainted with the cauſe of the noiſe, had immediate recourſe to their arms, and every legion was in a perfect tumult of confuſion. Some of them imagined that the Jews cauſed the commotion; but very various were the conjectures on this occaſion. After a while, when no enemy appeared, they began to form ſuſpicions of each other; and every one demanded the watch-word of the man who was next him, with as much ſtrictneſs as if the Jews had actually been in the camp. The terror ariſing from this circumſtance continued for a conſiderable time; till Titus having informed himſelf of the particulars of the cauſe of the confuſion, ordered proclamation of the matter of fact to be made in every part of the camp; in conſequence of which, though not without great difficulty, the tumult at length ſubſided.

Fall of a Roman tower, and the dreadful alarm it occaſioned.

In

The chief annoyance of the Jews arise from the towers.

In the interim the Jews maintained their courage in the higheſt degree, and appeared not to dread any other difficulties but what aroſe from the towers; and the danger from them was indeed very obvious. They were unavoidably aſſailed from theſe turrets, by archers, ſlingers, &c. and by various ſorts of machines: for the Jews could not carry up their platforms to a level with theſe towers, and they were of too ſolid a conſtructure to be thrown down: and, as they were all plated over with iron, it would have been a work of equal impracticability to burn them. Wherefore all that remained in the power of the Jews to do, was to keep at ſuch a diſtance as not to be wounded by the darts, arrows and ſtones of the Romans: for it was fruitleſs for them to think of oppoſing the force of the battering-rams, which, by degrees, effected the purpoſe for which they were deſigned. The Romans were poſſeſſed of one ram, dreadful in its execution, which the Jews diſtinguiſhed by the name of "Nicon," or "the Conqueror," the firſt breach having been made thereby.

The Jews quit the firſt wall, which the Romans get poſſeſſion of.

The Jews had now been at hard duty during the whole night, and were extremely fatigued by fighting and watching. Thus diſpirited, they came to too haſty a determination to abandon the firſt wall, as they had yet two others to depend on for their ſecurity. Having formed this reſolution, they immediately retreated to the ſecond wall: on which ſome of the Romans aſcended the breach which had been made by the battering-ram above-mentioned, and opened the gates to the whole army. The Romans became maſters of the firſt wall on the ſeventh day of the month Artemiſius, and deſtroyed a great part of this wall, and alſo of the northern quarter of the city, which very quarter had heretofore been ravaged by Ceſtius.

Titus begins his attack from a place called the Aſſyrian Camp.

This being done, Titus withdrew to a place known by the name of the Aſſyrians Camp, poſſeſſing himſelf of all between that and the Valley of Cedron, the diſtance of which from the ſecond wall is ſomething more than a bow-ſhot. From this place he came to a reſolution of beginning his attack, and immediately commenced his operations. The Jews took their ſtations in a regular manner on the wall, where they made a formidable oppoſition. John and his aſſociates commanded the troops in the fortreſs Antonia, and from the ſepulchre of Alexander on the north of the temple. From the monument of John, the high-prieſt, to the gate by which water is conveyed to the tower Hippocos, Simon and his people held the command. A number of reſolute ſallies were made by the Jews, in which they came to cloſe quarters with the Romans; but the military knowledge of the latter was more than a counterpoiſe to the deſperation of the Jews, who were repulſed with conſiderable loſs: yet, on the walls, the Jews had the advantage. Skill and good fortune equally favoured the Romans; while the Jews, from a native hardineſs, and an animation ariſing from deſpair, ſeemed inſenſible to danger or fatigue. It ſhould be obſerved that the Romans were now fighting for glory, and the Jews for life and ſecurity: each party equally diſdaining to yield. They were continually employing themſelves either in violent aſſaults, or in deſperate ſallies and combats of every kind. Their labours commenced with the day, and they were ſeparated only by the darkneſs of the night: and, even during the night, both parties were kept watching, one to protect their wall, and the other their camp: they continued all night under arms, and were ready for battle by break of day. On this occaſion the Jews deſpiſed danger and death ſo much, that they ſeemed emulous who ſhould brave them moſt undauntedly, as the beſt recommendation to their ſuperiors. They entertained ſo great a fear of, and ſuch a perfect veneration for Simon, that they would have ſacrificed their lives at his feet, on the ſlighteſt intimation that ſuch a ſacrifice would be agreeable to him.

The chief annoyance of the Jews ariſe from the towers.

Intrepidity of the Jews, and their attachment to Simon.

The Romans had been ſo accuſtomed to victory, that they were perfect ſtrangers to defeat: wherefore they wanted no other incitement to their valour, than the recollection of their former ſucceſſes. Add to this, that war was familiar to them, being in conſtant exerciſe, in the ſervice of the empire: and they were now inſpired with more than common courage, by the preſence and aſſiſtance of a warlike prince. They conſidered that cowardice, witneſſed by the general, would be infamy in the abſtract: and, on the contrary, that Cæſar's bounty and eſteem would be ſuch a reward of, and ſuch an honour to, glorious actions, as were worthy their higheſt ambition. It muſt be confeſſed that the military ardour thus inſpired and encouraged, tempted many of them to aim at exploits which were wholly beyond the compaſs of their abilities to perform.

The diſcipline and ardour of the Romans rendered them invincible.

At this period a large party of Jews were aſſembled in military order before the walls, and had approached ſo near to to the Romans, that lances and blows might be mutually exchanged. At this critical juncture one of the Roman cavalry, named Longinus, galloped forward into the midſt of his foes, two of the beſt ſoldiers among whom he killed: one of theſe he ſtruck through the jaws with his lance, and then, with the ſame weapon, ran the other through the body; which being done, he expeditiouſly retreated to the Romans, unhurt. By the ſingular gallantry of this action he acquired great reputation, and tempted others to emulate his conduct.

Heroic exploit of Longinus, a Roman horſeman

The Jews make deſperate ſallies, but are repulſed.

During this period the Jews were ſo anxious to deſtroy their enemies, that they paid no regard to their own ſufferings. They looked on death as an object unworthy their notice, provided they could deſtroy as many of their opponents as fell of their own party. Titus, on the contrary, conſulted the preſervation of his troops as much as

Contraſt between the furious temerity of the Jews, and the deliberate conduct of their adverſaries.

the acquiring victory, and looked upon an intemperate zeal as a degree of madneſs. He inſiſted that caution and prudence were the eſſence of true valour, conſiſting equally in the annoyance of our enemies, and the moſt effectual preſervation of our own forces.

CHAP. VIII.

The Courage, Craft, and Treachery of a JEW named CASTOR. A Treaty ſolicited by him, and granted by TITUS. Falſity of the whole Device. CASTOR fires the Tower, and eſcapes through the Flames.

Treachery of Caſtor and his aſſociates.

THE tower on the north ſide of the city was the object againſt which the battering-ram was now directed. They who defended this tower were aſſailed by Titus with ſuch repeated flights of arrows, that every man of them abandoned his poſt, except a crafty Jew, of the name of Caſtor, and ten of his aſſociates, who concealed themſelves behind the battlements. Theſe having remained quiet for a conſiderable time, at length felt a ſhock, by the force of which the tower appeared to be ſhaken to its foundations. On this alarm they quitted their preſent ſtation, when Caſtor, aſſuming the language, manner, and behaviour of a ſupplicant, intreated that Titus would pardon all that was paſt, and grant him quarter. Titus, willing to believe that the Jews were now tired of the war, directed that his archers ſhould ceaſe their operations, and that the battery ſhould play no longer: at the ſame time informing Caſtor, that if he had any propoſals to make, he was willing to attend to what he had to ſay. To this Caſtor ſaid, that it was his utmoſt ambition to commence a treaty: and Titus re-

Titus diſpoſed to treat with the Jews.

plied, "I grant it with all my heart, and if all your companions coincide with you in ſentiment, I am freely diſpoſed to extend my pardon to you." This offer being made, five out of the ten who aſſociated with Caſtor pretended to join with him in opinion. while the other five exclaimed that they would never ſubmit to live ſlaves, while it was in their power to die freemen. A ſtop was put to all hoſtilities, while this diſpute was in agitation. In the mean time Caſtor ſent privately to Simon, deſiring that he would make the beſt advantage of the preſent opportunity, and ſubmit to his management the beſt method of amuſing the Roman general, under pretence of recommending terms of peace to his aſſociates. In a word, Caſtor acted his part with ſo much artifice, that ſwords were drawn, mutual blows paſſed, and men appeared to be killed: but the whole device was founded in falſehood and diſſimulation.

He is impoſed on by Caſtor's artifices.

Titus and his people were aſtoniſhed at the ſtubborn obſtinacy and perſevering reſolution of the Jews; and, at the ſame time, entertained a generous compaſſion for their diſtreſs; but having the diſadvantage of the ground, they could not be proper judges of what was done above them. At this juncture Caſtor received a wound in his noſe from an arrow; but immediately drawing it out, he ſhewed it to Titus, ſeeming thereby to demand juſtice. Titus was ſo highly enraged at this injury, that he turned to Joſephus, who ſtood near him, deſiring that he would go immediately, in his name, to Caſtor, and give him all poſſible aſſurances of friendſhip and fair treatment. Joſephus, however, deſired to be excuſed from executing this commiſſion, in which he not only conſulted his own ſafety, but likewiſe diſſuaded his friends, who would have undertaken it, aſſuring them, that this apparent ſubmiſſion was founded in the deepeſt treachery. However, notwithſtanding what was ſaid, Æneas, one who had deſerted to the Romans, ſeemed willing to undertake this

Æneas narrowly eſcapes being killed by Caſtor.

expedition, to which he was the rather encouraged, by Caſtor's directing him to bring ſomething in which to put a ſum of money that he intended to compliment him with. Thus encouraged by the hope of advantage, Æneas advanced ſo as to accept the preſent, when Caſtor let fall a large ſtone from the wall, and Æneas narrowly eſcaped being cruſhed by it, while it wounded the man who ſtood next to him.

Titus convinced that his mercy is miſapplied, renews the attack.

From this circumſtance Titus was aware of the ill conſequences that might ariſe from benevolence ill-timed; and was convinced that determined rigour ought to be oppoſed to plauſible pretenſions, and fair promiſes. He thereupon began to ply his batteries with greater violence than heretofore, in order to revenge himſelf for the contumacious affront that had been offered him by Caſtor, and his aſſociates. When the batteries had played ſome time, Caſtor and his people found that the tower ſhook under them, and appeared to be on the point of falling; on which they ſet it on fire, and running through the flames, eſcaped into a vault. The Romans imagined that, by this action, they had devoted themſelves to certain deſtruction, and were generous enough to extol their courage and magnanimity to the ſkies.

Caſtor ſets fire to the tower, and eſcapes thro' the flames.

Titus took poſſeſſion of this part of the wall, at the end of five days from the time that he had become maſter of the firſt. As the paſſage to the ſecond wall was now opened, he made the Jews fly before him; and having ſelected a thouſand of his beſt troops, he entered the city at that quarter inhabited by the ſaleſmen, clothiers, and braſiers, and paſſed up the narrow croſs ſtreets to the wall. The laws of war would now have juſtified Titus in breaking down this wall, and if he had inſtantly demoliſhed the greater part of it, he would certainly have obtained a complete victory with a very inconſiderable loſs; but reflecting on the utter diſtreſs to which the Jews would on the one hand be reduced, if they continued to make reſiſtance, and, on the other, how eaſy a matter it would be for them to effect their eſcape, if they were diſpoſed ſo to do;

Titus gains part of the ſecond wall, and enters the city; but by his lenity loſes a great advantage.

generous ſentiments once more prevailed in his breaſt; as he flattered himſelf that they would think properly of their ſituation, and not be ſo ungrateful as to betray a man who had conſulted their welfare and preſervation with ſo peculiar a zeal.

CHAP. IX.

Some ſmart Encounters, in which the JEWS have the advantage of the ROMANS; after which the Party of TITUS prevails. The ROMANS are driven from the ſecond Wall, of which TITUS gets Poſſeſſion after three Days Oppoſition.

Inſtances of the humanity and generoſity of Titus.

NO ſooner had Titus entered the town than he iſſued out his orders that not a ſingle houſe ſhould be burnt, nor even one priſoner put to the ſword. He was ſo indulgent likewiſe even to thoſe of the faction, that he offered to permit them to end their own diſputes among themſelves, on the ſingle condition that they ſhould not oppreſs the inhabitants. To theſe laſt likewiſe he promiſed that he would ſupport them in all their legal poſſeſſions, and that what had been taken from them by violence ſhould be reſtored.

Malevolent diſpoſition of ſome of the faction.

Theſe terms were highly agreeable to the majority of the people, of whom ſome wiſhed that the city might be ſpared for their own ſakes; and others, that the temple might be ſpared for the ſake of the city. However, the abandoned part of the faction aſcribed all the generous benevolence and humanity of Titus to fear; and they argued in this manner; that Titus would never have offered ſuch favourable terms, if he had not himſelf deſpaired of accompliſhing the work he had undertaken: and the faction now threatened inſtant death to any perſon who ſhould propoſe a peace, or a treaty of reconciliation.

The Jews ſtrenuouſly oppoſe the Romans, prevail over them in an encounter, and at length regain the ſecond wall.

No ſooner had the Romans entered the city, than the Jews did all in their power to obſtruct their proceedings: they blocked up the narrow paſſages, ſhot at them from the houſes, and making frequent ſallies from the walls, often compelled the guards to abandon the towers, and ſeek refuge in the camp. The ſoldiers within the city were in the utmoſt confuſion; and thoſe without were agitated in the higheſt degree, on account of the apprehended fate of their companions. Several ſmart encounters enſued between the oppoſing parties; but the Jews being more numerous than the Romans, and likewiſe better acquainted with bye-ways and ſecret paſſes, they obtained repeated advantages: the breaches being likewiſe too narrow for any number to march out abreaſt, the Romans would have been preſſed to ſuch a degree that ſcarcely a man of them would have eſcaped, if Titus had not arrived in the critical conjuncture: and this gallant officer placed a band of archers at the end of every ſtreet; was himſelf preſent in every place of the greateſt danger, and being ſeconded by Domitius Sabinus (a gallant man, who performed ſingular feats of courage on the occaſion), the Jews were ſo annoyed by darts and lances, that the Romans had an opportunity of bringing off their men. Thus were the Romans driven from the ſecond wall, after they had gained poſſeſſion of it.

This piece of ſucceſs gave ſuch ſpirits to the moſt determined of the inhabitants, that they flattered themſelves, that the Romans would not again venture to attack them; or that, if they did, it would be totally impoſſible to ſubdue them: whereas, if theſe deſperate men had not laboured under an actual infatuation, they muſt have reflected that the Romans, over whom they had at preſent obtained an advantage, were not to be mentioned with the immenſe numbers that were yet to be encountered. But, excluſive of this conſideration, a ſevere famine now raged in the city, the effects of which were daily felt in a more ſenſible manner. Hitherto the ruin of the public had been the ſupport of the inſurgents, and they had, almoſt literally, drank of the blood of the citizens. In fact, the moſt worthy of the inhabitants were reduced to great diſtreſs, and many of them fell a ſacrifice to abſolute famine. The faction, however, rather pleaſed themſelves in the loſs of theſe people; thoſe only who wiſhed to continue the war with the Romans, being objects of their regard. The reſt they conſidered only as uſeleſs in themſelves, and burthenſome to the public.

A famine adds to the calamities of the beſieged.

The Romans having once gotten poſſeſſion of the wall, and then loſt it, they made another attempt to recover it. They made repeated, and almoſt conſtant aſſaults, for the ſpace of three ſucceſſive days; during which period they were repulſed with as much valour as they ſhewed in the attack: but Titus made ſo furious a charge on the fourth day, that his opponents were no longer able to reſiſt his force: whereupon he took poſſeſſion of the wall, the northern part of which he deſtroyed, and in all the towers to the ſouthward he placed garriſons without loſs of time.

The Romans at firſt repulſed in their attempt on the ſecond wall, but at length get poſſeſſion of it.

CHAP. X.

After four Days ſpent in procuring Proviſions for the Camp, TITUS prepares for Action.

THE ſtorming of the third wall was now an object that engaged the attention of Titus: but as he did not deem it a work that would be attended with much time or difficulty, he firſt conſidered how, by more lenient methods, he might bring the people to conſider their true intereſt; hoping that they might be induced to liſten to him, through the dread of his power, and the fear of famine; for by this time their plunder and proviſion were nearly conſumed; while, on the contrary, the forces

Titus intermits for a ſhort time the proſecution of the ſiege, and adopts milder meaſures.

forces under Titus were ſupplied with every thing they could deſire for their eaſe and accommodation. This being the caſe, Titus iſſued orders that, on the day of a general muſter, his troops ſhould be drawn up, and paid within view of the enemy. On this occaſion the infantry advanced with drawn ſwords, and the led horſes were adorned in ſo ſplendid a manner, that gold and ſilver ſeemed to prevail over all the field. This ſight was equally agreeable to the Romans, as diſguſting to the Jews, who had aſſembled in immenſe numbers on the old wall on the north ſide of the city: the houſes were likewiſe crouded, and every part of the city was filled with people, gazing at this ſplendid ſpectacle. In fact, the courage of the braveſt among the Jews was repreſſed by the appearance; and, in all probability, they would have now ſubmitted to the Romans, had it not been for a conſciouſneſs that they had offered provocations of ſuch a nature as not to be readily pardoned; and that if they abandoned the point in diſpute, they would be devoted to certain deſtruction: wherefore, rather than ſubmit to be ſacrificed at preſent, they choſe rather to fall in the bed of honour, by the chance of war. But in fact, Providence had ſo determined, that the faction was to prove the ruin of the city, and the innocent were to be involved in the conſequence of the crimes of the guilty.

The Jews mortified at the ſplendid appearance of the Roman army on a muſter.

After four days ſpent without any act of hoſtility, and in procuring proviſions for the camp, Titus, on the fifth day, ſeparated his army into two diviſions; and finding that the Jews were not in the leaſt diſpoſed to peace, he cauſed works to be thrown up againſt the fort of Antonia, near the monument of John, in the hope that from that quarter he might get poſſeſſion of the upper-town, and then, from Antonia, become poſſeſſed of the temple: for it was impoſſible to keep poſſeſſion of the city, unleſs the fort was taken. He made ſeparate attacks againſt each of theſe two places; and at every riſing ground he placed a legion of ſoldiers to defend and protect the engineers. Thoſe who carried on their works near the monument were violently aſſaulted by the Jews, and the people under the command of Simon; while thoſe who oppoſed the fort Antonia were ſtill more vigorouſly oppoſed by the party of John, and the Zealots in his direction: for theſe had the advantage of the higher ground, and were alſo ſupplied with machines, of the uſe of which they were now perfectly acquainted, in conſequence of daily practice. The Zealots had likewiſe poſſeſſion of forty ſlings for ſtones, and three hundred croſs-bows, by which the Romans were much annoyed, and a check was given to their proceedings.

The ſiege renewed with the attack of Fort Antonia and the temple.

Though Titus had hitherto entertained no doubt but that he ſhould make a complete conqueſt of the city; yet, while, on the one hand, he continued to urge the ſiege, he, on the contrary, joined to the power of force every effort of perſuaſion and advice, in order to induce the Jews to a compliance with the terms of reaſon. Reflecting that an appeal to the paſſions had ſometimes a better effect than that to the law of arms, he, in the firſt place, perſonally addreſſed the Jews, requeſting that they would have ſo much regard to their intereſt as to ſurrender a place of which he could make himſelf maſter at any time. This done, he committed the reſt to Joſephus; thinking that when they were addreſſed by their own countryman, and in a language familiar to them, ſucceſs would probably be the conſequence of the humanity which inſpired him to undertake ſo benevolent an office. Agreeable to the directions given by Titus, Joſephus firſt walked through ſeveral parts of the city, and then ſtopping on an elevated ſpot, within the hearing of the enemy, though not within reach of their ſhot, he made a ſpeech, the ſubſtance of which is as follows:

Joſephus's ſpeech to the Jews.

"Countrymen and friends, it is my earneſt requeſt to you, that if you have any eſteem for your lives and liberties, any veneration for your city, temple, and country, you will, on this occaſion, give a proper teſtimony of it, and learn, even from ſtrangers and enemies, to have a true regard for your own intereſt. You may have obſerved that the Romans entertain ſo great a veneration for ſacred things, that they make a ſcruple of ſeizing any thing that is deemed holy; and this they do, though they never preſumed to have any ſhare, concern, or intereſt, in your communion: whereas you, on the contrary, inſtead of protecting the religion in which you were educated, ſeem conſpiring to complete its deſtruction. Are you not by this time convinced that, your fortreſſes being beaten down, and your walls left in a defenceleſs condition, your weakneſs is ſufficiently expoſed; and that it is an abſolute impoſſibility to ſupport yourſelves much longer againſt ſo formidable a power as that with which you have to contend? However, in any event, if the Jews ſhould be compelled to ſubmit to the Romans, it will be no more that what has frequently happened before. It is true, that engaging in the cauſe of liberty is a glorious taſk, provided it be undertaken before that liberty is loſt or forfeited: but after a people have once ſubmitted to the yoke, and become confirmed ſlaves, it is then idle to think of attempting to throw it off; and is, indeed, rather the way to die in diſgrace, than to live in freedom. A ſtate of bondage to a maſter whom a man of honour would bluſh to acknowledge his ſuperior, is, indeed, a ſcandalous ſtate: but ſubmiſſion to a people whoſe authority is acknowledged by the whole world, is by no means thus diſgraceful. I would aſk if you think there is any part of the globe that has not ſubmitted to the Roman power, except thoſe inhoſpitable regions where the extremities of heat and cold prevail? Fortune appears to have devoted herſelf to theſe people; and even the providence of the Sovereign Diſpoſer of empires hath, for the preſent, decreed Italy the ſeat of univerſal empire. Agreeable to that ſupreme law of nature which rules even beaſts as well as men, the weaker muſt ever yield to the ſtronger; for ſuperior power will ultimately prevail. Conſcious of this truth, your anceſtors, who were

were more wiſe and powerful than you are, were induced to pay allegiance to the Romans; which they would have diſdained to have done, if they had not been fully convinced that it was the will of Heaven that they ſhould ſubmit. But wherefore would you any longer urge a conteſt that is, in effect, already decided? For if your walls were yet perfect, and the ſiege was actually raiſed, you would ſoon be ſtarved into ſubmiſſion. Famine has already made great havock among the lower orders of the people: the ſoldiers will be the next ſacrifice; and the calamity will daily increaſe; for there is no guarding againſt the conſequences of the ſeverities of hunger. It will therefore well become you to recollect yourſelves in time, and not refuſe to take good advice while ſuch advice may avail you. Your enemies, the Romans, are of a liberal diſpoſition; and will be ready to forgive all that is paſt, if you do not continue to exaſperate them till forgiveneſs would look like weakneſs. Theſe people are not accuſtomed to ſacrifice their intereſt to ſentiments of revenge, and to burthen themſelves with uninhabited cities, and deſolate provinces: they will rather receive you into the arms of friendſhip. But if you reſiſt till they ſtorm the city, you muſt expect death from the point of the ſword; particularly ſuch of you as ſhall preſumptuouſly reject, to the laſt, mercy offered by the conqueror. You have nothing farther to expect with regard to your third wall, but that it will ſhare the fate of the other two, which are already deſtroyed. But ſuppoſing that your fortifications were abſolutely impregnable, I have before mentioned what you know to be true, that famine would be your portion."

The people, far from being grateful for this friendly admonition of Joſephus, reviled him in the moſt contemptuous manner from the walls, and accompanied their ſarcaſtic ſpeeches with darts and ſtones; ſo that finding neither the diſtreſſes they had undergone, nor the advice he gave them had any effect, he had recourſe to the hiſtory of ancient times, to enforce his documents; and now delivered himſelf to the following effect:

"Ungrateful and unhappy people! How is it that you can be ſo thoughtleſs as to forget your beſt friends, and attack the Romans with common weapons; as if you could attribute to your own wiſdom and virtue the victories you have formerly obtained? Will you preſume to inſinuate that the Omnipotent Creator of heaven and earth ever denied his aſſiſtance to the Jews under all their oppreſſions? Will you never learn wiſdom? Reflect, but for a moment, on whence you came, your preſent ſituation, your preſent conduct: and how the outrages you are now committing muſt incenſe your generous Protector. Reflect, I beſeech you, on the glorious exploits of your truly venerable anceſtors; and the ſignal and aſtoniſhing deliverances with which they were favoured by Heaven, through the ſacredneſs of this place. I am filled with horror to think of recounting the hiſtory of the manifeſtations of the divine favour to a people ſo unworthy of it: but on this occaſion, I ſhall repreſs the ſentiments that would otherwiſe reſtrain me, and endeavour to convince you that the conteſt in which you are now engaged, is rather againſt the power of God, than that of the Romans.

"Sarah, the common mother of us all, was carried away by Pharaoh Necho, king of Egypt, who commanded a powerful army. Now, as Abraham, our common father, and the huſband of Sarah, had at that time three hundred and eighteen officers, who were at the head of a prodigious number of troops, you would conceive that he ſhould have attempted to do himſelf juſtice by force of arms; inſtead of which he only intreated the divine aſſiſtance, by offering up his prayers towards this holy place, which you have polluted. The conſequence was, that the king, on the ſecond night after Sarah had been taken away, ſent her back to her huſband, uncontaminated. In the mean time Pharaoh began to venerate a place which you have polluted with the blood of your countrymen: and being uneaſy in mind, he was terrified with viſions and dreams; till, at length, he retired into his own country: but not till he had gratified the inhabitants with large preſents of gold and ſilver, in teſtimony of his reſpect for a people ſo highly favoured by Heaven.

"In what language ſhall I deſcribe our anceſtors' travels into Egypt; their reſidence there, under a foreign tyranny, for four hundred years; and their patient ſubmiſſion and reſignation to the will of God, at a time when they were ſufficiently numerous and powerful to have forcibly obtained their own liberty? If I were to recite to you how the Egyptians were infeſted with ſerpents; how they were contaminated with all kinds of diſeaſes: if I were to ſpeak of the blaſting the fruits of the earth; the corruption of the river Nile, and the ten plagues which ſucceeded each other, I ſhould relate only circumſtances that are generally known. Thoſe of our progenitors, whom God had predeſtined to ſucceed to the prieſthood, were conducted under the guidance of an eſpecial Providence, free from bloodſhed, and even from danger.

In another inſtance; when the Aſſyrians took away our holy ark by force, Paleſtine and Dagon, and the whole people concerned in this infamous tranſaction, had ample cauſe to repent of it; for they were ſeized with ſuch racking inward pains, that their bowels came out of their bodies: and the conſequence of this judgment was, that thoſe very perſons who had carried our ark away, anxious to make ſome atonement for the guilt they had perpetrated, brought it back again, accompanied by the ſound of muſical inſtruments. This was evidently the operation of Providence in favour of our forefathers, as a reward for their abſtaining from the common means of ſeeking redreſs, and relying abſolutely on the mercy and providence of God.

"I might now mention Sennacherib, king of Aſſyria, and that immenſe army of his, compriſing the whole ſtrength of Aſia, with which he ſat down before this place. It will not be ſaid that this army was deſtroyed by any human power: on the contrary, while the Hebrews were engaged in their devotions, the

the angel of the Lord deſcended, and, in a ſingle night, confounded that immenſe army: for, on the following morning, Sennacherib found no leſs than one hundred and eighty-five thouſand of his troops dead on the ſpot, and the remainder flying in terror from the Hebrews, who were unarmed, and did not entertain a thought of purſuit.

"It is no ſecret to you that our anceſtors were ſeventy years under the Babyloniſh captivity, without attempting to obtain their liberty; till Cyrus, inſpired by Heaven, permitted them to return to their own country; where they inſtantly offered up ſacrifices to God, as to the great Author of their deliverance. In a word, what great atchievement, with or without arms, have our anceſtors ever effected, but by the immediate aſſiſtance of God, when acting in ſtrict obedience to his commands? When they remained at home, it often happened that victory was obtained without fighting, as it was the ſupreme will of God that it ſhould ſo happen: while they were always unſucceſsful, when they fought in a confidence of their own ſtrength. For inſtance; when the king of Babylon beſieged this city, our king, Zedekiah, in oppoſition to the advice of the prophet Jeremiah, would give him battle: the conſequence of which was, that the whole army of Zedekiah was put to the rout, himſelf taken priſoner, and the city and temple deſtroyed, even in his own preſence. It is worthy your regard, to obſerve the difference between the moderate conduct of that prince and people, and of yourſelves. The prophet aſſured them, that the diſpleaſure of God was the certain conſequence of their wickedneſs; and that the city would be taken from them by violence, if they did not ſurrender: yet, notwithſtanding this melancholy warning, he was not in the leaſt inſulted, either by the prince or people. I would not advert to your preſent conduct within the walls of the city; which is, in fact, more atrocious than I can expreſs. It is ſufficient if I hint at the inhumanity with which I have been treated, both by your words and actions; and of what crime have I been guilty, except it be criminal to offer you good inſtruction and advice, and freely to recount your faults? But the mere recital of your daily practices is more than you have patience to bear.

"Somewhat ſimilar to the caſe above-mentioned, is that reſpecting Antiochus Epiphanes, when he laid ſiege to this city. Our anceſtors, who, by various methods, had incurred the diſpleaſure of the Almighty, urged the enemy to a battle, without waiting the direction and aſſiſtance of Almighty God. The conſequence was, that the city was taken and plundered, and the ſanctuary was totally abandoned for the ſpace of three years and a half. It was owing to the incorrigible obſtinacy of our own people, that the Romans were firſt irritated againſt them. To what are we to attribute our ſlavery, but to the ſeditious diſpoſition of our countrymen, who, dividing themſelves into factions under Ariſtobulus and Hyrcanus, gave Pompey an opportunity of entering the city; when he made ſlaves to the Romans ſuch Jews as were undeſerving of liberty. After a reſiſtance of three months they ſurrendered the place, though they were then better able to have defended it than you are at preſent, and had by no means ſuch offences againſt the laws and liberties of their country to anſwer for as you have. The fate of Antigonus, the ſon of Ariſtobulus, is known to us all. In his reign, the ſins of the Jewiſh people were viſited by another judicial captivity. You are not unacquainted that Herod, aſſiſted by the Roman general Soſius, and at the head of a Roman army, laid ſiege to Jeruſalem; when, after a reſiſtance of ſix months, the judgment of Heaven puniſhed the ſins of the inhabitants, by a reduction of the city, which was entirely plundered by the conquerors.

"I have ſaid ſufficient to make it evident that this mode of proceeding by arms and battle hath always been fatal to the Jews, and that inevitable ruin would be the conſequence of ſuch a war. For my part, I heſitate not to declare, that they who are in poſſeſſion of this ſacred place, ſhould rely implicitly on the diſpenſations of the Divine Providence, which will never fail thoſe who worſhip God in ſincerity, and obey his righteous commands. For your parts, your lives have been ſpent in a total oppoſition to his holy will, foraſmuch as you have done every thing that was forbidden, and left undone all that was commanded you. Thoſe whom you have known to have been deſtroyed by the avenging hand of juſtice, in the full career of their wickedneſs, have been, in many inſtances, leſs guilty than yourſelves! The ſins of treachery, fraud, theft, and adultery, you have conſidered as venial offences; while you have prided yourſelves in oppreſſion, murder, and other crimes of the blackeſt dye, which ought never to be thought of. You have even made our holy temple the ſcene of your horrid impieties; a place which the Romans themſelves venerated, though their religion be ſo inconſiſtent with ours: this very temple, which even they have held in ſuch veneration, has been blaſphemed and polluted by you, who were educated to worſhip therein. How then can you expect to receive aſſiſtance from that Divine Power whom you have defied in ſo impious a manner? But admitting, for the ſake of argument, that you are righteous, humble, and juſt, and that your hands are as unpolluted as were thoſe of our king, when he lifted them towards Heaven, to pray for aid againſt the Aſſyrians, and the conſequence was the deſtruction of the enemy's army on the following night; if you can prove that the Romans conduct themſelves as the Aſſyrians did, you might expect that the vengeance of the Almighty would puniſh them in a ſimilar way: but the caſes are widely different; for the Aſſyrian, after having received a ſum of money to ſpare the city, afterwards violated his oath, and cauſed the temple to be ſet on fire: whereas the Romans demand nothing more than an annual tribute; and of this they aſk not a greater ſum than has been paid them in former times. Let then this tribute be paid, and you will have nothing to apprehend for your city and

temple: you will be ſecure in your perſons, your families, your liberty, your fortunes: the free exerciſe of your religion, and the full diſpenſation of your laws, will be granted you. You ought to underſtand that tyrants and murderers, and men of juſtice and honour, will be treated according to their deſerts by the Almighty; and this will ſtrike you forcibly, if you reflect that vengeance, in his hand, is but the work of a moment.

"The above recital informs you how the Aſſyrians were deſtroyed on the firſt night they ſat down before the city; and if the divine vengeance had determined that one party ſhould be chaſtiſed and the other protected, that vengeance would have fallen on the Romans, as it did on the Aſſyrians. This would have been evident when Jeruſalem was reduced by Pompey; when Soſius made a ſimilar aſſault; when Galilee was ravaged by Veſpaſian; and in this final attack made by Titus. But the vengeance of Heaven did not purſue either Pompey or Soſius, for they were both ſucceſsful in their attempts on this place. With regard to Veſpaſian, the command of the empire was the reward of the ſucceſsful war he made againſt us. What idea can you form of an affair which appears almoſt miraculous, and which has happened in favour of Titus? You know that Siloa, and the other fountains without the city, were ſo defective of water before the arrival of Titus, that it was ſcarcely to be purchaſed at any price: but ſince he came, the ſprings have ſupplied them ſo plentifully, that the Romans have not only ſufficient for their own immediate uſe and accommodation, but likewiſe for the uſe of cattle, and the watering of the gardens. A ſimilar circumſtance happened, when the king of Babylon, whom I have already mentioned, advanced to Jeruſalem with his army, took poſſeſſion of the town and city, and burnt them both to the ground: and this portentous event preceded the ruin and conflagration.

"Now it is not within the ſcope of my imagination to conceive that the people of thoſe times were more abandoned than thoſe of the preſent; but it appears as if God took part with the enemy, to the puniſhment of his own houſe and people. Let us imagine the caſe of the maſter of a family, whoſe dependents are wicked and corrupt. If he be a man of ſtrict honour and character, he will abandon them, diſdaining a cohabitation with people of their infamous character. Is it then poſſible you ſhould think that God will abet your abominable proceedings? A God of infinite diſcernment, who is acquainted with all the ſentiments of your minds, and knows all your thoughts in the very moment you conceive them? But the fact is, that you have no reſerves, no ſecrets; but even your enemies are the confidents of all your tranſactions. You ſeem to endeavour at a rivalſhip in the proſtitution of your behaviour, and pride yourſelves in a diſplay of your enormities.

"You know that God is merciful to all ſuch as acknowledge and truly repent of their crimes; and this courſe you muſt purſue, if you expect to receive favour from Heaven. Wherefore I beſeech you to abandon your arms, and repent of the calamities your country has derived from your conduct. Look around you with attention: conſider the elegance of this ſituation, the magnificence of the city, and the dignity of the temple which you are labouring to bring to ruin. Reflect on the immenſe treaſure which it contains, and which conſiſts of offerings from all parts. Is it poſſible that any of you can patiently ſubmit that theſe valuable effects ſhould be plundered and burnt; or that you would wiſh to ſee thoſe things deſtroyed which are better worth preſerving than all others in the world? You would be influenced by theſe conſiderations, if your hearts were not leſs penetrable than a ſtone. But if nothing elſe will have weight with you, conſider the miſerable ſituation of your parents, your wives, your children, and of all thoſe who depend on you, to whom the famine or the ſword threaten equal deſtruction, even in the moment I am thus appealing to you. It is poſſible it may be urged that as I have a wife, a mother, and a family (heretofore of ſome conſideration), whoſe fate will be involved in the common danger, I have given this advice on their account, and with a view to my own intereſt: but I hereby pledge myſelf, that if the ſurrendering their lives, or my own, or the lives of all of us, will contribute to the common ſafety, the ſacrifice ſhall chearfully be made, on the ſingle condition that you will act with more wiſdom and integrity when our lives have paid the forfeit."

Effects of Joſephus's ſpeech.

Joſephus wept abundantly at the recital of his own ſpeech; but it appeared to make no impreſſion on the oppoſing faction, who did not think that they could, with ſafety, agree to the terms offered by the Romans, even if they had been diſpoſed ſo to have done. But of the common people, many were ſo impreſſed with what had been ſaid, that they began to conſider on the moſt effectual means of conſulting their ſafety by flight: and for this purpoſe they ſold all their moſt valuable effects, though at prices greatly inferior to their real worth; and ſwallowed the gold they received as the purchaſe money, leſt they ſhould be ſtripped of it in their journey. Thus provided, they repaired to the Romans, where they were ſupplied with what they wanted. In the interim, Titus permitted the deſerters to enjoy their full liberty; which was an encouragement to others to deſert, as they avoided the misfortunes of thoſe in the city, without being ſubjected to the enemy. However, Simon and John, and their adherents, placed guards at all the outlets, and were not leſs aſſiduous to keep the citizens from departing, than the Romans from making an entrance. The leaſt cauſe of ſuſpicion was ſufficient to deprive a man of his life; or even a pretence on which to found a ſuſpicion, had the ſame effect. Perſons in affluent circumſtances were certain to be ſufferers: thoſe who had any thing to loſe were aſſuredly ſuſpected, and that ſuſpicion ended in their final deſtruction.

The

Miſeries and diſtreſſes of the Jews.

The faction now grew more tumultuous, and the famine daily increaſed. When corn was no longer offered to ſale, they broke open houſes in ſearch of it; and, if none was diſcovered, the owners were tortured, to make them declare where their ſtores were depoſited: and if it was diſcovered, they were ſeverely puniſhed for concealing it. The very appearance of the wretched was conſtrued into the effect of guilt. If they ſeemed to be in health, it was inferred that they had a ſecret ſupply of proviſions. Thoſe who were in a low habit of body were immediately killed: though it appeared to be a work of ſupererogation to deſtroy thoſe who were already periſhing for want of the common neceſſaries of life. At length, ſuch was the diſtreſs, that people in tolerable circumſtances diſpoſed of their whole effects for a buſhel of wheat, and the poorer people for an equal quantity of barley. The purchaſes being made, they ſecluded themſelves from all obſervation, when ſome of them began to eat the corn before it was ground, while others waited till it was baked, according to the different degrees of their hunger. The ceremony of ſetting out a table was totally diſpenſed with, and happy was he who could ſnatch a morſel of meat, half raw, half roaſted, from the fire. The calamity above-mentioned afforded a ſight truly melancholy. The moſt powerful fared the beſt, while the weaker had only to lament their misfortunes.

The famine attended with the moſt dreadful conſequences.

Starving is certainly the moſt deplorable kind of death, as it deprives people of the common emotions of humanity. The wife ſeized the meat from the mouth of the huſband; the child from that of the parent, and even the mother from that of the infant which lay periſhing in her arms; thus depriving it of the laſt ſuſtenance in the moment of the utmoſt neceſſity: yet theſe horrid robberies were not ſo privately committed, but that others robbed them of what they had pilfered from their friends. Whenever the inhabitants ſaw a houſe ſhut up, they concluded that the people in it had ſomething to eat; wherefore, breaking it open, they ſeized the meat, even from the mouths of the perſons who were ſwallowing it. Neither age nor ſex was ſpared: the old men, who endeavoured to defend the proviſion they poſſeſſed, were violently beaten; while the women, who ſought to conceal any thing, were dragged by their hair. Even children at the breaſt eſcaped not the general fury: ſo that the ſame treatment attended infancy and old age.

Cruel treatment of the common people by the ſoldiers.

Among the free-booters, who were continually in ſearch of prey, nothing was deemed a more atrocious offence than for the unhappy man who was purſued to outrun him that followed, and eat his bread before he was robbed of it. No kind of cruelty was omitted in the ſearch for food: perſons were tormented in the moſt exquiſite manner, and in thoſe parts the moſt ſenſible of pain. Sharp ſticks were thruſt up their bodies, and they were otherwiſe ſo ſeverely treated that the recital would give horror; and all this, perhaps, in order to diſcover a handful of flour, or a loaf of bread, which had been concealed. Theſe crimes, however, were greatly aggravated by the conſideration that thoſe who executed the tyranny had not the plea of unavoidable neceſſity to urge in their behalf. In fact, it was the mere effect of barbarity, when they were provided with ſix days proviſion in advance. Some unhappy creatures, who had evaded the vigilance of the guards, and ſlipped out of the town by night, in order to gather ſallad and herbs, were unfortunate enough to fall into their hands at a time when they thought themſelves leaſt in danger; and having been ſtripped of all they had procured, at the hazard of their lives, were happy to receive a ſmall part of their own property, in conſequence of their earneſt prayers and intreaties.

Tyranny of the uſurpers towards others

Such was the treatment that the common people received from the ſoldiers: but perſons of a ſuperior degree were carried before the uſurpers, who directed that ſome of them ſhould be put to death, on a charge of treaſon; falſe witneſſes being continually produced, to ſwear that they had an intention of betraying the city to the Romans; and one of the conſtant charges againſt them was, that they were diſpoſed to have combined with the enemy. Thoſe who had been plundered by Simon were carried to John, and the priſoners brought to John were tranſmitted to Simon, as if they had mutually agreed to triumph in the diſtreſſes of their fellow-creatures. In a word, though Simon and John conteſted for the ſuperiority, they appeared to entertain ſimilar ſentiments with reſpect to the practices of uſurpation and the arts of tyranny. They were partners in robbery; and he was accounted the greateſt villain who cheated his accomplice of that part of the booty which each deemed to be equally his property.

Shocking depravity of the vagabond Jews.

To recite the whole hiſtory of their iniquities would be an endleſs taſk: but to ſum up all in a few words, I am fully convinced that ſo barbarous a people, or ſo miſerable a city, never before exiſted in the world. Theſe wretches, as a ſort of apology for their inhumanity to ſtrangers, calumniated the whole Hebrew people, and acknowledged themſelves to be, what they were in fact, an aſſociation of lawleſs vagabonds, and abandoned ſlaves. In truth, they were the occaſion that the city was laid in aſhes, and that the temple was burnt; for their precipitancy gave riſe to theſe horrid facts, againſt the inclination of Titus, who was compelled to the violent procedure. While the upper town was burning, the Romans gave many proofs of their benevolent feelings, as will appear in the ſequel; but the Jews neither heaved a ſigh, nor ſhed a tear on the occaſion. But of this I ſhall hereafter treat more at large, and make proper remarks on the event.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Many of the JEWS tortured and crucified. Four capital Works raised by the ROMANS. The Bulwarks burnt by the JEWS. A gallant Action performed by three of them. The ROMANS driven from their Works. An obstinate Encounter between the ROMANS and JEWS.

Miserable situation of the Jews, thro' famine.

TITUS plied his operations with incessant assiduity, in the course of which he lost many men from the walls. The Jews had a practice of quitting the city during the night, in search of the necessaries of life; and in these excursions they were often attended by soldiers, who could not obtain within the city sufficient to satisfy the demands of nature. The people who thus went out were chiefly very poor; but they were afraid to desert absolutely, lest their wives and children, whom they left behind, should be murdered: nor did they dare to take their families with them, from the apprehension of discovery.

Many of the poor, quitting the city in search of food, are taken by the enemy, and crucified, in terrorem.

These circumstances being well known to Titus, he sent a party of his cavalry to wait for the Jews in the valleys; and these latter, being reduced to despair through hunger, fell into the snare laid by the enemy. When they found their unfortunate situation, they were compelled to fight, in the dread of a punishment even worse than death in battle: and, in fact, it was now too late for them to think of demanding quarter. In a word, the Jews were subdued; and having first been put to a variety of tortures, were crucified in sight of their brethren who were besieged. The exertion of this rigour was disagreeable to Titus, but he could not spare men enough from their military duty to attend them as prisoners, nor did he think it prudent to give liberty to such a number. Exclusive of these considerations, he hoped that the terrible example might tend to influence those within the city to avoid a similar fate. The unhappy persons above-mentioned were all crucified, but in a variety of forms, expressive of the hatred, contempt, or rage of the enemy: but the number of miserable wretches was so great, that crosses were wanted, and even room for executing them. Yet this horrid spectacle was so far from having its proper influence on the faction, that it wrought an effect directly contrary to what was intended; for the friends and relations of the fugitives, and all those who seemed inclined to listen to terms of accommodation, were compelled to come down to the walls, and observe what was to be expected by those who deserted to the Romans: and on this occasion it was insisted that the sufferers were not prisoners of war, but deserters who had made their submission, and implored mercy. By this contrivance many were prevented from going off, till the fact came to be known: though there were a number who escaped to the enemy, in the mere dread of being starved, which they considered as a more deplorable death than that of crucifixion.

Titus's severity has a contrary effect.

He sends some prisoners back to the city, having their hands cut off, with offers to treat, on their submission.

Hereupon Titus gave orders that several of the prisoners should have their hands cut off; and in this condition he sent them to John and Simon, so that it was not possible they should be mistaken for deserters: and by these people he sent his advice that an end might be put to the war, before he should be absolutely compelled to destroy the city; intimating that the Jews, on a proper submission, had yet an opportunity of preserving their lives, their country, and their temple. In the mean time, however, Titus did not neglect to forward his works, encouraging those who laboured on them to be indefatigable; having determined that his preparations should be followed by convincing proofs that what was not to be effected by the laws of reason should yield to those of force.

Obstinate perseverance and invectives of the besieged.

In the interim, the Jews on the walls vented their execrations, cursing both Vespasian and Titus; declaring that they held their liberties more sacred than their lives; that they were above the fear of death; and that if they could be happy enough to torment the Romans, they despised all consequences to themselves or their country, though Titus had asserted that both were on the point of destruction. With regard to their temple, they said the universe was by far the more magnificent edifice: or, at any rate, they entertained no doubt but that the Almighty would protect his own house: that they depended on him for protection, nor feared the threats of the Romans, which God would never permit to be carried into execution. This was the substance of what the Jews said on the occasion.

Antiochus Epiphanes arrives with a reinforcement.

By this time Antiochus Epiphanes was arrived, having under his command a body of armed troops, among whom was one particular company of young men, nearly of an age, who were accoutered, and had been trained after the Macedonian fashion, from whence they obtained the name of Macedonians; though their birth gave them no claim to that name, nor did their characters correspond therewith. There never was a prince who had been so fortunate and successful in the former part of his life as the king of Comagena: but fortune forsaking him in the decline of life, he furnished a proof of the truth of the ancient observation, that "No man is to be declared happy till his death." This king had a son distinguished by great personal strength, a spirit uncommonly enterprising, and a degree of courage that approached to rashness. On a particular day this son observed that it was amazing the Romans should thus lose their time before the walls, and not vigorously assault the place. To this Titus, in a smiling manner, replied, that the way was open to

Headvances to the attack, and his men are almost all cut off.

thoſe who were diſpoſed to make the attack. He had no ſooner ſpoken theſe words than Antiochus advanced with his Macedonians, and in the courſe of the aſſault gave equal proof of his courage and military ſkill; while his followers, who had heretofore boaſted what wonders they would perform, thought it inconſiſtent with their honour to retreat, and, in conſequence, moſt of them were either killed or wounded; the latter being brought off by their companions, who were obliged to abandon the attempt; and were hereby taught that Macedonian courage muſt be ſeconded by the good fortune of Alexander to enſure ſucceſs.

Deſcription of the Roman platforms, or banks.

The Romans began their platforms heretofore mentioned on the twelfth day of the month Artemiſius, and after ſeventeen days inceſſant labour, completed them on the twenty-ninth. There were four of theſe platforms, and they were works of a very capital nature. One of them, which was near the fortreſs of Antonia, was conſtructed by the fifth legion, oppoſite the middle of the Struthian Pool: the twelfth legion threw up another, at the diſtance of twenty cubits from the former: oppoſite to the pool named Amygdalon, another work was thrown up by the tenth legion, which was more numerous than the other legions: and a fourth mount was erected by the fifteenth legion, at a ſmall diſtance from the monument erected to the memory of John, the high-prieſt.

A method contrived by John, for deſtroying the enemy's work which proves ſucceſsful.

As ſoon as the works above-mentioned were completed, John gave directions for digging a mine under that facing Antonia, and that a number of props ſhould ſupport the earth from falling. This being done, the wood-work was covered with a bituminous inflammable matter; after which John ordered that the pillars ſhould be fired; and the props being deſtroyed, the whole fortification fell to the ground, with a hideous craſh. At firſt no fire appeared; only duſt and ſmoke, till at length the flames burſt forth to view. The Romans were aſtoniſhed at the ſight, and perfectly diſtracted to think that their views were thus defeated, in the moment that they thought themſelves certain of ſucceſs. As their ramparts were deſtroyed, they conceived it would be fruitleſs to attempt to quench the fire.

Other engines alſo conſumed by them.

Two days after this circumſtance Simon and his aſſociates made an attempt on the other two mounts, where the Romans had by this time planted their battering-rams, and began their operations. Jephthæus, a Galilæan, of the city of Gaſis, Megaſſarus, a domeſtic of queen Mariamne, and Agiras (otherwiſe the lame), the ſon of Nabatæus of Adiabena, greatly diſtinguiſhed themſelves on this occaſion. They ran with torches in their hands, and, forcing their way through the troops of the enemy with as much unconcern as if there had been no oppoſition, they ſet fire to the works; and though they were oppoſed by darts and arrows, they reſolutely perſevered in their intention till the whole erection was in a flame. Theſe three men were eſteemed among the braveſt that took part in the war of which I am relating the particulars.

Aſtoniſhing intrepidity of the Jews, who oblige the Romans to retreat.

When the flames began to aſcend, the Romans ſent a body of troops to the relief of their brother ſoldiers; but, in the mean time, the Jews violently aſſailed them with ſhot from the walls, and, in total diſregard of their own ſafety, made a vigorous attack on thoſe who were endeavouring to ſtop the progreſs of the fire. The Romans uſed every effort in their power to ſave the battering-rams, the covers of which were by this time conſumed; while the Jews advanced even into the flames to prevent them; nor would they let go their hold, though the iron work was then of a burning heat. There was now no poſſibility of preventing the fire paſſing to the ramparts; and when the Romans found that they were encompaſſed with flames, and that no hope remained of ſaving their works from deſtruction, they retreated to their camp.

Obſtinate encounter between the Romans and Jews.

Such numbers from without the city now came in as reinforcements to the Jews, that this additional aid gave them ſuch freſh ſpirits and courage, that, flushed with the hope of conqueſt, they advanced even to the camp, and made an attack on the guards. The office of the Roman guards, according to the ſtrictneſs of their diſcipline, was to perform their duty alternately, relieving each other; and the man who quitted his ſtation, under any pretence whatever, was certain of ſuffering death without mercy. Thus aſſured, from the very nature of their ſtation, that they muſt ſuffer the infamous death of deſerters, if they did not fall like men of honour, they made ſo reſolute an oppoſition, that ſome of thoſe who had fled thought themſelves under a neceſſity of returning; when they made ſuch reſiſtance by means of their engines, that the excurſions of the Jews from the city were ſtopped. Theſe Jews had ſallied forth with the utmoſt fury, unprovided even with weapons for their defence, attacking all they met with, without diſtinction, raſhly ruſhing among among their enemies, and throwing themſelves on the points of their pikes. In a word, the advantages the Jews at any time gained over the Romans were leſs acquired by real courage than raſh precipitancy: while the Romans, little afraid of any eſſential injury the Jews could do them, often yielded to the violent impetuoſity of their opponents.

Titus reprimands his troops, and is himſelf in great danger.

When Titus returned from Antonia, where he had been to fix on a proper ſpot for carrying on the ſiege, he ſeverely reprimanded his troops for permitting themſelves to be attacked in their own works, when they had poſſeſſed themſelves of thoſe of the enemy, and yielding to be beſieged by thoſe who could be conſidered as no other than priſoners. After this Titus made a ſelection of ſome of his beſt troops, and ſurrounding the Jews, charged them in the flank; while, they on the other hand, ſuſtained the charge with aſtoniſhing reſolution. When the parties met there was ſuch a horrid noiſe, and the

duſt flew in ſuch clouds, that it was impoſſible to ſee or hear any thing diſtinctly; nor could friends be diſtinguiſhed from foes. This obſtinate reſiſtance of the Jews aroſe more from deſpair than from any great idea they had of their own power. On the contrary, the Romans were ſo enraged, partly from a ſenſe of military honour, and partly from a concern for the ſafety of their general, who was in imminent danger, that if the Jews had not retreated to the city in the very moment that they did, every one of them would have been utterly deſtroyed. Still, however, the Romans were hurt at the reflection of having loſt their bulwarks; and that what they had been ſo long in erecting ſhould be demoliſhed almoſt in an hour. In conſequence of this diſappointment the Romans began to deſpair of accompliſhing their deſign.

CHAP. XII.

A Council of Officers ſummoned by TITUS, in which ſome adviſe a general Aſſault, others the Reparation of the Ramparts, and a third the preventing of Proviſions being conveyed into the City. Orders given by TITUS that a Wall ſhould be built round the City.

Titus calls a council of war

DURING this ſituation of affairs Titus iſſued orders that his principal officers ſhould be ſummoned to a council, to adviſe with him how to act in the emergency. Some of the moſt violent among them recommended an immediate attack with the whole army, and coming to a general battle, alledging that nothing had yet been done but by way of ſkirmiſh: but if once a vigorous aſſault was made, the darts and arrows alone would inſure victory over the Jews. Thoſe of more reflection gave their voices for the re-edification of the ramparts; while a third party were totally againſt the having any fortification, but adviſed that care might be taken that no proviſions ſhould be carried into the city: truſting that famine would effectually do the buſineſs, and that victory might be obtained without a blow being ſtruck: alledging that perſons driven to deſpair would hold their reſolution even to death.

Reſult of their conſultations.

Though Titus did not think it perfectly honourable to lie inactive at the head of ſo large an army, yet he was not diſpoſed to attack a people, who ſought their own deſtruction with ſuch determined reſolution. The want of materials rendered it impracticable that he ſhould erect new ramparts; and with regard to the preventing proviſions being carried into the city, he thought it would be equally impoſſible, on account of the extent of the place, and the number of avenues. He conſidered that if the common roads were to be all blocked up, yet the Jews, who were acquainted with all the ſecret paſſes in the neighbourhood, would, when driven to abſolute neceſſity, find out ſome ſecret places of conveyance. He reflected that if the Jews ſhould, by ſtealth, convey any relief into the city, it would tend only to protract the ſiege, and the delay thereby occaſioned would leſſen the honour of the victory.

A wall is ordered to be built round the city.

Titus directed his officers immediately to begin the erection of the wall, and let the whole army take a ſhare in the buſineſs, aſſigning to each party its proper ſtation. Theſe orders were no ſooner iſſued than every ſoldier was animated with a wiſh to exceed his fellows in this work. The ground was meaſured out, the legions were divided, and every man was emulous who ſhould moſt effectually diſtinguiſh himſelf. The common ſoldiers copied the example of the ſerjeants; the ſerjeants that of the captains; the captains that of the tribunes; and the tribunes that of their ſuperior officers; the whole being under the direction of Titus, whoſe zeal for the diſpatch of this buſineſs was ſuch, that he was continually taking his rounds to ſuperintend the whole proceeding.

Courſe and direction of it.

This wall commenced at a place named the Camp of the Aſſyrians, where Titus himſelf held his head quarters. Hence it was continued to the Lower Cænopolis; carried forward by the way of Cedron to Mount Olivet, which was incloſed to the ſouth as far as the rock Periſtereon, and this incloſure comprehended an adjacent hill which commands the Vale of Siloah. From this place it inclined ſomewhat to the weſt, and was carried on to the Valley of the Fountain. Its next direction was to the ſepulchre of Ananus, the high-prieſt: after this it incloſed the mountain on which Pompey had heretofore encamped. It then turned to the north, and was extended to a village named Frebinthonicus. It included the ſepulchre of Herod on the eaſt ſide; and ſoon afterwards was joined to that part of the wall where the building originally commenced.

Extent of the wall, which is completed in three days.

Nine and thirty furlongs was the whole extent of this wall, and thirteen forts were erected on the outſide of it, ten furlongs being the compaſs of each fort. It is ſomewhat extraordinary, but no leſs ſo than true, that this amazing work was completed in three days, though an equal number of months might have been ſuppoſed a reaſonable time for it. As ſoon as it was finiſhed, garriſons were placed in all the forts, who did duty under arms every night. On each night, likewiſe, Titus went the firſt round in perſon, Tiberius Alexander the ſecond, and the officers who commanded the legions the third. Some perſons were conſtantly on guard in the forts during the whole night: but ſome of the ſoldiers were allowed to reſt, alternately with others who were appointed to watch.

CHAP. XIII.

Account of the exceſſive Diſtreſs occaſioned by Famine. Some of the ROMANS make an oſtentatious Shew of their Abundance, in order to mortify the JEWS.

Four

Four Ramparts, of greater Magnitude than the former, erected at the Fortreſs ANTONIA.

Extreme diſtreſs and mortality attending the famine.

THE above-mentioned incloſure of the Jews within the town reduced them to the laſt degree of deſpair; for by this time the famine had increaſed to ſuch a height, that whole families fell a ſacrifice to its rage. The dead bodies of women and children were ſeen in every houſe: the old men were found dead in all the narrow lanes of the city, while the younger men, who were yet able to walk, appeared like ghoſts parading the ſtreets. It became impoſſible to commit the bodies of the dead to the ground. Many of the living were unable to perform this charitable office; while others were unwilling to undertake it; partly diſcouraged by the numbers of the deceaſed, and partly by the reflection that themſelves could not ſurvive any conſiderable time. Numbers of them expired even while they were burying their fellow-citizens; and ſome, prompted by deſpair, fought their own graves, and interred themſelves, that they might be certain of a place of repoſe. Yet miſerably diſtreſsful as the preſent ſituation of theſe wretched people was, not a ſingle complaint or lamentation was heard: for the pangs of exceſſive hunger abſorbed every other paſſion. They who laſt expired beheld thoſe who had gone before them, with unweeping eyes, and looks marked with the near approach of death. The moſt profound ſilence reigned through every part of the city; and during the courſe of the night, heaps of dead bodies were frequently piled on each other. Yet a more melancholy part of the ſtory (if more melancholy can be) ſtill remains untold. This aroſe from the brutal inſolence of a number of abandoned thieves, who broke into the houſes, that at this time appeared like charnel-houſes, and having ſtripped the bodies of the dead, they derided their ſituation: excluſive of which they ran their ſwords into the bodies of perſons who lay half expiring. When any deſpairing wretch called for ſome friendly hand to diſpatch him by a ſword, that he might no longer endure the miſeries of famine, this earneſt requeſt was conſtantly refuſed with the moſt unfeeling barbarity. When any of the unfortunate reached the moment of death, they turned their faces to the temple, and thus cloſed their eyes; lamenting at the ſame time, that the vile incendiaries who had profaned the holy place, ſhould be yet left among the living. When the offenſive ſmells ariſing from the corruption of the dead bodies became inſupportable, an order was given that all of them ſhould be buried at the public expence: the abandoned incendiaries threw them from the walls into the vallies: a ſight that occaſioned ſo much horror to Titus, that while he was going his rounds, and found the ditches infected with dead bodies, and peſtilential vapours ariſing from them, he extended his hands towards heaven, and made a ſolemn appeal to God, that theſe misfortunes aroſe not from any orders that he had given. At the period of which I am writing, this was the unfortunate ſituation of the city.

The Romans make an oſtentatious diſplay of their plenty, by way of mortifying inſult to the miſerable Jews.

The inſurgents were now ſo pent up within the walls, that they found it impoſſible for any of them to quit the place. In the mean time they endured all the pangs of famine, aggravated by the tortures of deſpair; while, on the contrary, the Romans lived at their eaſe, and paſſed their time very agreeably, being amply ſupplied with the neceſſaries of life from Syria, and the adjacent provinces. Encouraged by their better fortune, many of the Romans advanced to the walls, and made an oſtentatious diſplay of their proviſions, with a view to reflect on the neceſſities of thoſe who were in circumſtances of diſtreſs. All this appeared to have no effect on the unfeeling minds of the ſeditious multitude: whereupon Titus, in mere compaſſion to the reſidue of an unhappy people, determined immediately on the erection of new works, and reſolved that no time ſhould be loſt in their completion. One conſiderable difficulty, indeed, now occurred, which was the providing the proper materials for carrying theſe works into execution; for all the wood in the neighbourhood of the city had been cut down for the erection of the former works: wherefore they were under a neceſſity of fetching all the timber for this ſecond ſupply from a place at the diſtance of ninety furlongs: and herewith four ramparts, of greater magnitude than the former, were erected at the fortreſs Antonia. Titus carried on this buſineſs with great aſſiduity, and the beſieged being now at his mercy, he plainly hinted to them that he knew their ſituation. Still, however, they ſhewed no concern for what had happened: they ſeemed to have no regard for themſelves or each other. Thoſe who were decaying with ſickneſs they confined in priſons, and tore the dead in pieces, as dogs would have done.

Four large ramparts erected at Fort Antonia.

CHAP. XIV.

SIMON cauſes MATTHIAS to be firſt tortured, and then murdered. ANANIAS and others put to Death. JOSEPHUS wounded by a Stone, but recovers. The JEWS ſwallow their Gold. Horrid Butchery of Two Thouſand to obtain it; and TITUS's Reſentment of that Brutality.

Matthias cruelly treated and at length murdered by Simon.

THE ungrateful return which Matthias received from Simon, for procuring him to be admitted into the city, was, that he firſt cauſed him to be tortured, and then put to death. The ſtory of this event is as follows: Matthias was the ſon of a prieſt named Boethus, whom the people held in as high eſteem as any man of his function. The Zealots having treated the Jews with very unwarrantable ſeverity, and John having joined the former, Matthias

thias recommended that Simon might be called in to their aſſiſtance; but took no previous precaution, nor made any condition with regard to his conduct. Such, however, was the ingratitude of Simon, that as ſoon as he had become maſter of the city, he treated Matthias as one of his worſt enemies, and the advice the latter had given for opening the ports was attributed to mere thoughtleſsneſs and ſimplicity. On this ridiculous pretence he was brought to a trial, and charged with holding a correſpondence with the Romans; and, without any kind of proof, ſentence of death was paſſed on Matthias and three of his ſons: but without permitting them to urge a ſingle argument in their defence: but a fourth ſon had made his eſcape to the Romans. The venerable old man made it his earneſt requeſt, and the only favour he aſked, in return for his admitting Simon into the town, that he himſelf might firſt ſuffer: but even this poor favour was denied by Simon, who gave orders that Matthias ſhould be executed the laſt, with the cruel reſolution of prolonging the term of his ſufferings. The iſſue of this horrid affair was, that the good old Matthias was put to death on the bodies of his ſons, and within view of the Romans, agreeable to an order which Simon gave to Ananus, the ſon of Bamadus; which Ananus was diſtinguiſhed from all the dependents of Simon, by the extreme cruelty of his diſpoſition. Simon, however, was not contented with the ſimple execution of this barbarous ſentence; but in the moment that Ananus was preparing to give the fatal ſtroke, he ſaid to Matthias, with an air of the moſt inſolent deriſion; "You had intended to have deſerted to the Romans: let them now afford you aſſiſtance, if it be in their power." When the execution was over, the barbarity was carried ſtill farther; for Simon gave expreſs orders that the bodies ſhould be denied the rites of ſepulture.

Shocking inſtance of Simon's barbarity.

Ananias, and ſeveral others put to death.

About this time the following perſons were likewiſe put to death: Ananias, the prieſt, the ſon of Maſbalus, deſcended of a noble family: Ariſteus, a native of Emmaus, and fifteen others of the principal people in the city. The father of Joſephus was apprehended and committed to priſon, and a proclamation was iſſued that no man ſhould go near him, on pain of incurring the penalties of treaſon. It was likewiſe declared, that thoſe who expreſſed any ſentiments of pity for the unfortunate ſufferers ſhould be puniſhed with death.

Judas concerts the deſtruction of Simon.

Not long after theſe events, Judas, who commanded one of the turrets (and was ſon of Judas, one of Simon's officers), being concerned in a high degree for the ſufferings of the people, and being willing alſo to conſult his own ſafety, ſummoned ten of thoſe friends in whom he could implicitly confide, whom he addreſſed in the following manner: "Is it not unreaſonable that we ſhould longer bend beneath the yoke of tyranny? What expectation have we of ſafety while in the ſervice of ſo barbarous and treacherous a maſter? We have already the famine and ſword to contend with, and the enemy is almoſt within our walls. Simon is certainly the moſt ungrateful of any man exiſting: he lives in perpetual fear of the puniſhment he deſerves. On the contrary, the faith and honour of the Romans is not to be doubted. Wherefore the moſt prudent meaſure we can take will be to ſurrender our walls, thereby conſulting our own ſecurity equally with that of our country. With regard to Simon, he can have nothing to complain of, only that his ſufferings will be in ſome degree accelerated."

They reveal their project to the Romans, but are not regarded.

Judas and his ten aſſociates having come to a reſolution in what manner they would act, he ſent the reſt of his people different ways, in order to keep his intentions ſecret; and, about the third hour of the day, he advanced to the turret, and addreſſed himſelf to the Romans, intimating what had been agreed on. Some of the Romans paid no regard to what he ſaid; others who heard him did not believe his aſſertions; while a third party thought the conqueſt of a place which they might poſſeſs without danger was not worth the leaſt hazard.

Simon ſurpriſes the city; and Joſephus, being wounded by a ſtone, is reported to be killed.

Titus had by this time advanced ſome of his troops quite cloſe to the wall; but the city being inſtantly ſurpriſed by Simon, he killed a number of the guards, even in ſight of the Romans, and threw the bodies over the wall. As Joſephus was taking his rounds, and offering every aſſiſtance poſſible to the Jews, by advice and encouragement, it happened that he was wounded by a ſtone from the battlements, which beat him to the ground. Hereupon the Jews ſallied forth in a violent manner, and would have carried him off a priſoner, but that Titus, in the critical juncture, ſent a number of men to his relief. While the oppoſite parties were conteſting the matter, the friends of Joſephus carried him off, before he recovered his ſenſes. The faction, ſuppoſing that Joſephus had been ſlain, gave themſelves airs of great exultation on the occaſion.

Diſtreſs of his mother on the occaſion; and the recovery of her ſon.

This report being currently ſpread through the city, the inhabitants were exceedingly concerned for the loſs of a man whom they conſidered as their friend and mediator among the Romans. Intelligence of the death of Joſephus being conveyed to his mother, who was then in priſon, ſhe told the guards that ſhe had been already informed of the circumſtance, and that ſhe ſhould never again have the happineſs of ſeeing her ſon. The women attending her condoled her on this melancholy occaſion, while ſhe deplored her own unhappy fate, in having been the mother of a ſon who ſhe hoped would have committed her remains to the ground; yet, as things had happened, ſhe was not now in a ſituation to pay the funeral honours to her ſon. This ſuſpenſe, however, ſoon ended: the faction received no advantage, nor Joſephus's mother any injury from the falſe report that had been propagated. The danger that Joſephus had been in from his wound was

ſoon at an end; and, on his returning to his former ſtation, he intimated that the delinquents ſhould ſeverely ſuffer for the outrage they had been guilty of: but he ſtill, in the moſt earneſt manner, recommended ſubmiſſion to the people. Joſephus's friends were highly pleaſed, and the faction as much diſpirited on ſeeing him make his re-appearance.

Many of the Jews deſert to the Romans.

At this juncture a number of the inhabitants went off to the Romans. Some of them deſerted under pretence of purſuing the enemy with ſtones; while others made their eſcape by leaping over the walls. But while they ſought to avoid the diſtreſſes which prevailed within the city, they met with greater calamities without; for they contracted ſurfeits in the camp, ſtill more haſtily deſtructive than the famine from which they had fled: for after long faſting, and being infected with a dropſical complaint, they durſt not venture to eat freely, for fear of burſting. But the moſt melancholy part of the hiſtory remains yet to be recounted.

Execrable effects of the curſed thirſt for gold.

Among the Syrians a fugitive Jew was diſcovered while he was ſearching for gold which he had ſwallowed, and which had paſſed through his body. At the period above-mentioned there was a very great ſcarcity of gold in the town, and twelve attics were as valuable as twenty-five had been in former times; and the faction had ſearched all the people in the ſtricteſt manner. On the above-mentioned diſcovery it was immediately reported through the camp, that the Jews who had deſerted had ſwallowed all the gold. Hereupon the Arabians and Syrians ſeized on the deſerters, and cut open the bodies of two thouſand of them in one night. This I deem to have been the moſt inhuman butchery that ever was perpetrated on the Jews.

Titus reſents with horror the brutal acts of the murderers.

The horrid inhumanity of this action gave ſo much offence to Titus, that he would undoubtedly have ordered his cavalry to deſtroy every one of the offenders with darts, if their number had not been more conſiderable than that of thoſe they had murdered: but as this was the caſe, he ſummoned together his officers, as well the Romans as the auxiliaries; and finding that ſome of his own people had been concerned in this inhuman butchery, he delivered his ſentiments on the occaſion in the following manner. In the firſt place, addreſſing himſelf to the Romans, he ſaid, "I am aſtoniſhed that any ſoldier of mine ſhould be guilty of an action ſo unmanly, in order to poſſeſs himſelf of ſo uncertain an advantage, without bluſhing at the meanneſs to which he had been induced by his avarice." Then turning to his auxiliaries, he exclaimed, "Do you think it reaſonable that the inſolencies offered, and the inhumanities perpetrated by the Syrians and Arabians in a foreign war, in which they act without controul, ought to be imputed to the Romans; and that the crimes of one party ought to be laid to the charge of the other?"

The Romans ſeverely threatened for joining in the barbarity.

Titus, ſo far from excuſing his own people, was tranſported to the higheſt degree of rage at their conduct, and threatened immediate death to any man who ſhould be guilty of ſimilar acts of barbarity for the future. At the ſame time he gave orders to his legions to make a ſtrict ſearch after every perſon who ſhould be ſuſpected, and declared that he himſelf would ſit in judgment on his trial. The love of money, however, will combat every danger. The cruel are covetous by nature; and avarice is the moſt inſatiable of all our appetites and inclinations. In ſome caſes it may happen that a reaſonable and upright conduct may be the conſequence of fear: but when people are loſt to all ſenſe of moral honeſty, their deſtruction may ariſe from the very efforts made to ſave them. What Titus prohibited publicly with ſuch ſeverity, was repeatedly practiſed in ſecret on the deſerters from the Jews. Their mode only of proceeding was varied: for when any of the deſerters were taken, the cuſtom of the murderers was, firſt to be aſſured that they were not within view of any of the Romans, and then to rip up the bodies of the Jews, in ſearch of treaſure: though they were ſeldom ſucceſsful in the finding money ſought after by theſe infamous means. However, the ſhocking practice had ſuch an effect on the Jews, that they now no longer deſerted to the Romans, being apprehenſive of the fatal conſequences that would enſue.

Avarice the moſt inſatiable and powerful paſſion.

CHAP. XV.

JOHN proceeds to Sacrilege. Immenſe Numbers of the JEWS deſtroyed.

John ſacrilegiouſly plunders the temple.

JOHN having obtained all he could by plunder, then proceeded to ſacrilege, ſeizing and appropriating to his own uſe ſeveral cups, diſhes, tables, with other neceſſary veſſels appropriated to divine ſervice, which had been preſented as gifts, or offered as oblations; not excepting even the pieces dedicated to the honour of the temple, by Auguſtus and the empreſs. The Roman emperors had ever entertained a great eſteem and veneration for the temple, though at this time it was profaned by a Jew, who ſtripped it of the preſents beſtowed on it by ſtrangers, and encouraged his companions to make free with every thing that was ſacred; ſaying, "It was but reaſonable that thoſe ſhould live by the temple, who had fought for it." In purſuance of theſe ſentiments, he made no ſcruple of diſtributing among his people the holy wine and oil which had been reſerved for ſacrifices in the interior part of the temple: and as John was free of his diſtributions, the people were equally free of receiving them, drinking and anointing without ceremony. On this occaſion, I am ſo diſtreſſed that I cannot expreſs my feelings. I am fully convinced that if the Romans had forborne to puniſh the atrocious wickedneſs of theſe people, the city would either have been drowned, or ſwallowed by an earthquake; or it would have been deſtroyed by thunder and lightning, in the ſame manner as Sodom; for the Jews were a more abandoned people than thoſe of

that place. However, in the event, the whole race of them was deſtroyed, as the reward of their iniquity.

A very great mortality in the city.

The taſk of recounting the various miſeries of the Jews on this occaſion would be endleſs. One of the gates of the city was commanded by Mannæus the ſon of Lazarus, who deſerting to Titus, informed him that from the day when Titus firſt encamped before the city, which was on the tenth of the month Xanthicus, to the firſt of the month Panemus, no leſs than one hundred and fifteen thouſand and eighty dead bodies were carried through that gate; this being the number that he had kept a regiſter of, in conſequence of the duties of his office. But this did not include thoſe buried by their relations, or, more properly, thrown out of the city, for they had no other mode of burial. Some time after this ſeveral men of eminence, who had deſerted, made a computation, by

600,000 dead corpſes carried out of the gates.

which it appeared that ſix hundred thouſand dead bodies had been carried out of the gates; beſides which, incredible numbers, who had not friends to carry them out of the city, were either incloſed in large buildings, or laid in heaps in the open air.

Exceſſive price of wheat, and diſtreſs from the famine.

At this juncture wheat had ariſen to the price of a talent for a buſhel: and ſince the city had been ſurrounded with the wall, the inhabitants were prevented from obtaining any kind of proviſions; and were at length reduced to ſuch an extremity of diſtreſs, that they were under a neceſſity of ſearching vaults and ſinks for ſuſtenance; and even fed on ox dung, and other articles too offenſive to be mentioned in this deſcription.

Obſtinacy and inſenſibility of the factious Jews

This bare recital of their misfortunes engaged the compaſſion of their enemies: yet, in the mean time, the rebellious faction in the city, who witneſſed, and even felt theſe ſufferings, ſeemed inſenſible that they aroſe intirely from their own pertinacious obſtinacy. Still they continued, fatally blinded by an infatuation which led them inſenſibly to the deſtruction of themſelves, and the ruin of the city.

BOOK VII.

CHAP. I.

Dreadful Miſeries in JERUSALEM, and the circumjacent Parts. The ROMANS aſſault the City, which is bravely defended by the JEWS. SABINUS performs an heroic Exploit.

Miſerable ſtate of the city.

IN proportion to the calamities which prevailed in Jeruſalem, and continued daily to increaſe, the faction became more deſperate and outrageous. The famine had now arrived to ſuch a height that all ranks of people were equally affected by it; the ſtreets and paſſages afforded a moſt dreadful proſpect, being encumbered with dead bodies, by which the air was infected to an intolerable degree; and ſo dead to every ſenſe of remorſe were the people, that they trampled upon the carcaſes with as little ſcruple as they would have done in a field of battle; nor did they appear to be in the leaſt affected by the conſideration that every moment threatened to number them among the deceaſed. In the domeſtic contentions they barbarouſly murdered their countrymen, and then directed their attention to a war with a foreign enemy; thereby ſeeming to offer an impious inſult to the Divine Being for having with-held the puniſhment due to their enormous crimes; for their deſpair and rage urged them to a war with the Romans, in which they entertained but little hope of eſcaping deſtruction.

A horrid ſcene of devaſtation in the country.

The Romans were put to great difficulty in procuring the neceſſary materials for completing their works: but they cut down all the woods within the circuit of ninety furlongs of the city, and finiſhed their platforms in the ſpace of twenty-one days. A moſt diſmal alteration took place in this delightful part of Judæa, which abounded in curious gardens, plantations, and houſes of pleaſure: not a building or tree was now to be ſeen, but the marks of devaſtation and ruin occupied the whole proſpect. So great was the difference between the preſent and the former ſtate of Jeruſalem, that even ſtrangers could not refrain from tears on the compariſon. So terrible was the devaſtation and havock of the war, that people in the heart of the city might reaſonably have enquired where Jeruſalem, that place ſo peculiarly favoured by Heaven, was ſituated.

Alarms affect both the contending parties.

The Romans having raiſed the mounts, the Jews became greatly alarmed; for matters were now arrived to ſuch an extremity that they were conſcious they muſt inevitably ſurrender the city if their endeavours to deſtroy the Roman works proved ineffectual: on the other hand, the Romans were exceedingly apprehenſive leſt the attempts of their adverſaries ſhould prevail; for the wood of the adjacent parts of the country being wholly exhauſted, and the men greatly haraſſed by inceſſant and hard duty, if the mounts were deſtroyed, all hopes of ſucceſs muſt end,

end, ſince there appeared no poſſibility of conſtructing other works.

Apprehenſions of the enemy from the fortitude and perſeverance of the Jews.

Notwithſtanding the enmity ſubſiſting between the parties, the Romans were more concerned on account of the miſeries of the Jews than they were themſelves. In deſpite of all the difficulties and dangers they had undergone, and the proſpect of what they had ſtill to encounter, the Jews preſerved their ſpirits and reſolution. The diſadvantage they had ſuſtained in ſeveral combats, the inefficacy of their engines againſt a wall of ſuch ſurpriſing ſtrength, and the diſappointment of divers ſtratagems by the ſuperior policy of the enemy, proved highly diſcouraging to the Romans. They reflected that they had to contend with people, who, notwithſtanding the diſadvantages of inteſtine diviſions, the miſeries of famine, and the horrors of a foreign war, ſuffered no abatement of fortitude and courage; but, on the contrary, appeared to derive additional vigour from the difficulties in which they were engaged; and they exclaimed, "Were theſe people favoured by fortune, to what great undertakings would they not be equal, ſince, in deſpite of the great diſadvantages under which they at preſent labour, they conduct themſelves with ſuch ſurpriſing courage and addreſs!" The Romans now doubled the number of their guards, and took ſuch other precautions as occaſion required.

The attempts of the beſieged to fire the Roman engines are fruſtrated.

Before the rams were mounted no meaſures that were likely to prove effectual were omitted by John and his adherents, who guarded the caſtle of Antonia, to prevent a breach being made in the walls. They made a ſally, with a view of ſetting fire to the mounts, but they went out in ſmall parties, and they did not act with that courage and unanimity which was uſual to the Jews. Their meaſures were not well concerted, nor were they carried into execution with the neceſſary ſpirit, to which may be attributed the failure of their deſign. The Romans became unuſually vigilant; and, leſt their works ſhould be ſet on fire, they planted a ſtrict guard upon the bulwarks, and adopted ſuch other precautionary meaſures as were neceſſary for preventing any advantages being taken by the enemy. Rather than ſubmit to the irreparable injury of relinquiſhing their advantageous ſtation, they unanimouſly reſolved to die in defending the mounts. They conſidered that the honour of the Roman name would incur indelible diſgrace, if they ſuffered their courage and diſcipline to be baffled by the headſtrong impetuoſity of a deſperate and outrageous multitude; and to ſubmit to the power of the Jews was a circumſtance that they could not reflect upon with any tolerable degree of patience.

Vigorous and ſteady oppoſition of the Romans.

The Romans were prepared with darts to encounter the enemy as they advanced; and ſuch of the foremoſt as were ſlain or wounded obſtructed the progreſs, and damped the courage of their companions. They who preſſed forward were aſtoniſhed and deterred upon obſerving the exact regularity of the Roman diſcipline; others were alarmed at the great numbers of the enemy; and they who were wounded availed themſelves of the firſt opportunities that offered for effecting an eſcape. In ſhort, all the Jews retired, each man endeavouring to preſerve himſelf from cenſure by attributing the common calamity to the miſconduct of his companions.

The tower of Antonia aſſaulted by the Roman battering rams.

The Jews having retreated, on the firſt day of the month Panemus, the Romans advanced their rams in order to batter the walls of the caſtle of Antonia. To prevent the approach of the engines, the Jews had recourſe to their ſwords, fire, ſtones, and ſuch other means as were likely to prove effectual; and they defended themſelves with ſingular reſolution: they greatly depended on the walls being ſufficiently ſtrong to reſiſt the force of the machines, but ſtill they exerted every poſſible effort to prevent their being advanced, and placed in a manner proper for action. Hence the aſſailants concluded that the great activity of the Jews proceeded from a conſciouſneſs of Antonia being in danger. For a conſiderable time the battery was continued without effect; but, deſpairing of being able to effect a breach by means of their engines, the Romans applied themſelves to mining, carefully guarding themſelves with their bucklers from the ſtones, lances, and other weapons diſcharged from above. With immenſe labour, they, at length, looſened four ſtones of the foundation. The night now arrived, and both parties retired to repoſe. In the mean time, that part of the wall which John had undermined, with a view of deſtroying the former works, ſuddenly gave way. This unexpected event had a contrary effect upon the contending parties, The Jews, who, by a proper attention, might have prevented the accident, were but little concerned when it arrived; for they deemed the place to be ſtill ſufficiently ſecure. The Romans were greatly rejoiced at a circumſtance ſo favourable to their views as the falling of the wall: but their tranſports abated, upon obſerving a wall which John had conſtructed within the circuit of that wherein the breach appeared. They ſtill, however, entertained hopes of conquering the place; for the ruins of the outward wall greatly facilitated acceſs to the other, which was not yet ſufficiently ſettled and hard to make any conſiderable reſiſtance to the force of the battering-rams. The aſſailants judged that inſtant death would inevitably be the fate of thoſe who ſhould attempt to ſcale the walls; and therefore all thoughts of that exploit were declined.

Part of the wall gives way

Being ſenſible that by plauſible inſinuations, the force of argument, encouraging exhortations, and the promiſe of reward, men of enterpriſing ſpirits were to be animated to an equal diſregard of dangers, difficulties and death, Titus aſſembled ſuch of his people as were moſt remarkable for bravery and military ſkill, and addreſſed them to the following effect:

"My

Encouraging addreſs of Titus to the army.

"My faithful followers and brave fellow-ſoldiers! To exhort you to undertakings where the danger is not great, would be equally inglorious to you and to myſelf. But the cauſe in which we are engaged is worthy the Roman character. I muſt acknowledge that the wall before us is an obſtacle which we ſhall find it difficult to ſurmount: but enterpriſing ſouls are given us for the performance of great and heroic atchievements; and to yield our lives when the reward will be immortal glory, is an event too deſirable to be conſidered with indifference. Such of you, my friends, as ſhall manifeſt a conduct entitling you to favour will find me neither inſenſible to merit nor deſtitute of liberality. The fortitude, conſtancy, and perſeverance of the enemy, inſtead of depreſſing your ſpirits, ſhould animate you to an extraordinary exertion of courage; for true valour conſiſts in a generous contempt of danger, and a readineſs to attempt the removal of every obſtacle that obſtructs the way to honourable victory. It is the conſtant practice of the Romans to ſtudy the art of war in times of tranquillity; and their ſucceſſes have been ſo great and frequent, that to conquer ſeems to be almoſt natural to them. How degrading then will it prove to the character we have hitherto maintained, if, at this time, when we are evidently favoured by the providence of Heaven, we ſhould ſuffer our reſolution to relax, and yield to the ſuperiority of the Jews, who do not maintain the war from a principle of martial honour, but are urged to acts of deſperation by the extravagance of deſpair! Their inteſtine diviſions, famine, ſiege, and the deſtruction of their wall, rendering our endeavours to effect a breach unneceſſary, ſufficiently indicate that we purſue the war under the immediate protection of Heaven, while our adverſaries daily ſuffer the judicial vengeance of an offended Creator. To ſubmit to the enemy would not only brand us with eternal ignominy, but would be even offering an inſult to the Almighty, who, in his divine pleaſure, hath granted us aſſiſtance and protection. Being accuſtomed to ſlavery and ſervitude, the Jews have but little reputation at ſtake: and ſhall the proſpect of being again reduced to a ſervile ſtate inſpire theſe people with ſufficient courage to ruſh amidſt the body of the Roman troops? They cannot entertain the moſt diſtant proſpect of ſucceſs, but their ſituation has rendered them deſperate and regardleſs of death. We are actually the lords of the univerſe, having ſubjected ſo great a part of the land and ſea to our dominion; and to be conquered, or fail in our endeavours to ſubdue our enemies, would reflect upon us an equal ſhare of diſgrace: and ſhall we neglect to attempt ſome glorious enterpriſe, and remain in a ſhameful ſtate of inactivity, till famine and other calamities ſhall deliver the enemy into our power, and deprive us of the honour of conqueſt? Let us aſſault Antonia, and when that place is ſubdued we may conſider ourſelves as under an abſolute certainty of obtaining a complete victory. If any oppoſition ſhould be offered from the city (but that is a circumſtance that we have no ſufficient reaſon to apprehend will arrive), it muſt neceſſarily be ſo feeble as ſcarcely to deſerve our attention; for having poſſeſſion of the more elevated ground will afford us ſo conſiderable an advantage over the enemy that they muſt inevitably yield.

"It is not my purpoſe to extol thoſe heroes who, having glorioufly concluded their lives in the field of battle, ſhall ſtill ſurvive in the memory of the lateſt poſterity. Let thoſe contemptible creatures, who can deſcend ſo far beneath the dignity of human nature, as to wiſh their ſouls and bodies may ſink into the grave together; let them, I ſay, meet their fate in a manner proportioned to the abject and groveling ſtate of their minds. Are there any among you ſo groſsly ignorant of the ſtate of departed ſouls as to imagine that upon being ſeparated from the body the ſpiritual part is not inſtantly tranſlated to the heavens, and placed among the ſtars, there to influence their deſcendents, and prepare them for the regions of eternal bliſs? This is the caſe with men of honour, who fall by the chance of war. But they who fall miſerable ſacrifices to the infirmities of the body, and inglorioufly die in their beds, how virtuous ſoever their diſpoſitions, are ſunk in obſcurity, and their names are buried in eternal oblivion. Since death is the inevitable lot of the human race, and the ſword is to be greatly preferred to any other means of yielding our lives, muſt not that man be degenerate and baſe who has not virtue ſufficient to hazard his exiſtence in the ſervice of the public, when life is a debt, which, according to the courſe of nature, muſt unavoidably be diſcharged? From what I have ſaid, you may, perhaps, infer that I ſuppoſe death will be the certain conſequence to thoſe who ſhall adventure to aſſault the walls: but bravery and fortitude are ſuperior to every danger; and the man who boldly deſpiſes fear can never deſpair of ſucceſs, in deſpite of obſtacles which to mean ſpirits may appear impoſſible to ſurmount. The ruin of the outward wall has opened a paſſage for victory; and the ſecond wall will prove an obſtacle of no material conſideration, provided that you animate and ſupport each other with a generous firmneſs and reſolution. Our numbers are ſo great that it is ſcarcely poſſible we can ſuffer a repulſe: and perhaps we may be able to effect a complete conqueſt without proceeding to ſuch extremities as will be attended with the loſs of blood. Reſt firmly aſſured that the enemy will not be able to withſtand our force; and that the man who ſhall firſt mount the breach, whether it proves his fortune to fall or to ſucceed in the glorious exploit, ſhall have ſignal honours paid to his memory, or be rewarded with benefactions worthy his heroic character."

Though it might have been expected that the generous addreſs of Titus would have inſpired his ſoldiers with extraordinary valour, the danger of the intended enterpriſe had made ſo deep an impreſſion upon them, that a ſoldier of the guards, named Sabinus, a Syrian by birth, was the only man who had

courage to undertake the hazardous commiſſion of making the firſt aſſault. He was a man of remarkable courage and military ſkill; but ſo unpromiſing was his appearance, that ſtrangers would ſcarcely have ſuppoſed him to be of a martial character. He was of a low ſtature, thin, and of a black complexion; but he was of a diſpoſition ſingularly active and enterpriſing. He made a reverential obedience to Titus, and addreſſed him to the following purpoſe: "I preſume, mighty prince, to offer myſelf as the man to be entruſted with the honour of making the firſt aſſault upon the enemy's walls. May the ſucceſs of the Roman arms prove correſpondent with the hopes of Sabinus. If it ſhall be my fortune to fail in the propoſed enterpriſe, I ſhall be amply recompenſed for the loſs of life in the glorious reward of yielding my laſt breath in the ſervice of my general; life and death are, therefore, with me conſiderations of equal indifference."

Heroic exploit of Sabinus.

Having delivered the above words, Sabinus graſped his ſword in his right-hand, and caſting his ſhield over his head with the other, he advanced towards the wall, being followed by eleven men, who were induced to ſupport him merely by an emulation of his ſuperior bravery and generous contempt of danger. It was about the ſixth hour of the day when Sabinus attempted the brave exploit: and he was annoyed by innumerable darts and arrows diſcharged by the enemy; notwithſtanding which he continued to purſue his purpoſe with a degree of reſolution that appeared to be more than human; and in the action ſome of his followers were ſlain. Having nearly mounted the wall, his extraordinary courage, and eſcape amidſt ſuch a variety of dangers, proved ſo alarming to the Jews, that they quitted their ſtations, fearing that the example of Sabinus would encourage his companions to ſupport him, and that they ſhould be oppreſſed and overpowered by numbers.

After a brave ſtruggle, he is beat down by a ſtone, and afterwards killed by the Jews.

But the fate of Sabinus affords reaſon for lamenting the inconſtancy and malevolence of fortune, who frequently delights in the diſappointment of glorious deſigns. When Sabinus had nearly accompliſhed the great exploit, he was moſt unhappily encountered by a ſtone of conſiderable bulk, which forced him to the ground. The noiſe occaſioned by the fall of the ſtone induced the Jews to return; and upon obſerving Sabinus lying alone on the earth, without motion, and apparently ſenſeleſs, they violently aſſaulted him with darts and other weapons. He raiſed himſelf upon his knees, and throwing his buckler over his head, bravely revenged himſelf with his ſword, by killing many of the enemy, and wounding others. But ſuch immenſe ſhowers of darts were aimed at him, that he became wholly unable any longer to maintain ſo unequal a conteſt, and, at length, he reſigned his breath.

Three of his companions ſlain, and the other eight, being wounded, are conveyed to the camp.

When we conſider the aſtoniſhing bravery of Sabinus, we cannot but lament that he did not experience a more happy fortune: but his death, however, like his life, was perfectly conſiſtent with the character of a true hero. The death of Sabinus happened on the third day of the month Panemus. Three of the companions of Sabinus were cruſhed to death by the fall of ſtones from the wall; and the other eight, being wounded, were conveyed to the Roman camp.

CHAP. II.

A ſilent March to the Walls of ANTONIA. *An obſtinate Engagement enſues, wherein terrible Slaughter is committed. The* JEWS *prove victorious, after a Conteſt for the Space of ten Hours.*

The tower of Antonia ſurpriſed and taken by the Romans.

TWO days having elapſed, twenty of the guards of the platforms, the enſign of the fifth legion, two cavaliers, and a trumpet, aſſembled; and in the dead of the night theſe people ſilently advanced over the ruins of the wall up to Antonia. They marched without meeting the leaſt obſtruction, and finding the advanced guard oppreſſed with ſleep, they cut their throats, and having gained poſſeſſion of the wall, the trumpeter ſounded his inſtrument, which arouſed the reſt of the guard, who were thrown into ſo great a conſternation that they inſtantly fled, being ignorant that only a ſmall number of the enemy had entered the place, but ſtrongly poſſeſſed of the opinion that they were exceedingly numerous.

A ſharp conflict, with much confuſion, enſues.

Upon receiving intimation of the ſtate of affairs at the fort, Titus put himſelf at the head of his moſt reſolute troops, and immediately marched thither over the ruins already mentioned. So aſtoniſhed were the Jews by the ſudden and unexpected attack, that ſome fled for ſafety to the interior temple, and others to the mine that John had formed with a view of deſtroying the Roman works. The factions under the command of John and Simon were convinced that every proſpect of ſucceſs muſt end if the enemy obtained poſſeſſion of the temple: and hereupon a deſperate engagement enſued before the doors of the ſacred building; one party fighting for the preſervation of life, and the other for the honour of conqueſt. Neither party could uſe lances or darts with effect; for they were ſo cloſely engaged that the ſword was the only weapon on which the iſſue of the battle was to depend. Jews and Romans were promiſcuouſly crouded together, and neither order or diſcipline was obſerved, but the utmoſt confuſion prevailed. The outcries were ſo loud and various, that, notwithſtanding the difference of language, there was no poſſibility of diſtinguiſhing from which party they reſpectively proceeded. A very conſiderable ſlaughter was made on either ſide, and the ground was encumbered with the bodies and weapons of the

ſlain and wounded. The ſpot where the battle took place would not admit of a retreat, or a purſuit: but when either party obtained an advantage, they preſſed forward with ſhouts of triumph, while the other retired, exclaiming againſt the ſeverity and injuſtice of fortune.

An obſtinate conteſt during ten hours, after which the Romans retreat.

The rear of each army ſo violently preſſed forward, that the ſoldiers in front were wholly unable to retreat; and therefore they had no alternative but either to deſtroy their adverſaries, or ſurrender their own lives. The encounter was maintained for the ſpace of ten hours, being commenced at the expiration of the ninth hour of the night, and not concluded till the end of the ſeventh on the following morning. The determined rage of the Jews, however, proved too powerful for the diſcipline and bravery of the Romans; and that this was the caſe prove a fortunate circumſtance for the former, whoſe laſt adventure being at ſtake, had they been vanquiſhed in this action, utter deſtruction to them muſt inevitably have been the conſequence. The Romans judged that they had reaſon to be ſatisfied with the advantage they had acquired in gaining poſſeſſion of the fort of Antonia; for they had performed the exploit with only a part of the army, the legions on whom the greateſt dependence was placed not being yet arrived.

CHAP. III.

A Centurion, named JULIAN, performs an heroic Exploit, but is at length ſlain by the JEWS.

A ſignal act of bravery by Julian, a centurion.

A CENTURION in the Roman army, named Julian, who was a native of Bithynia, and a man deſcended of an honourable family, obſerving, while he ſtood near Titus in the fort of Antonia, that the Romans were ſo hard preſſed as to be on the point of retiring before the enemy, availed himſelf of a favourable opportunity, and with a degree of intrepidity truly aſtoniſhing, made a ſudden and deſperate leap into the thickeſt part of the adverſe forces, whom, by the efforts of his ſingle arm, he put to flight, and purſued to the moſt interior court of the temple. The bravery and great exploits of this man ſo aſtoniſhed the Jews, that they could not believe but that he was influenced by a ſupernatural power. Julian continued his progreſs with undaunted courage and unremitting agility, fearleſs of danger, and inſenſible of fatigue, putting ſome of the enemy to death, and wounding others; and the wonderful feats of valour that he performed proved a moſt glorious and pleaſing ſpectacle to the Romans, while the Jews were affected in a very different manner, being terrified and aſtoniſhed beyond the power of deſcription.

He loſes his life by a remarkable incident.

A fatal accident, however, which neither his wiſdom could foreſee, nor his beſt judgment avoid, attended this heroic ſoldier: according to the cuſtom of the martial people among the Romans, he wore ſhoes ſtudded with iron, which, while in purſuit of the enemy, upon a part that was paved with ſtones, occaſioned him to ſlip down. Upon hearing the ſound cauſed by the daſhing of his armour againſt the pavement, the Romans united in a loud and general outcry, being terribly apprehenſive of his having received ſome injury by the fall. At the ſame inſtant the Jews turned, and furiouſly aſſaulted him with ſtones and darts. He for ſome time bravely defended himſelf againſt the aſſailants, ſeveral of whom he wounded, and made divers efforts to riſe, but was as conſtantly oppreſſed and overborne by multitudes. Being unable any longer to guard himſelf with his buckler, he fell at his length upon the ground: and even while in this ſituation, the Jews found ſome difficulty in depriving him of life. The loſs of blood, the pain occaſioned by his wounds, and fatigue, produced ſuch weakneſs, that Julian, being unable any longer to contend with the frailties of human nature, yielded to inevitable fate: but by his heroic actions his memory is immortalized; and he died an honourable object of admiration to both friends and enemies.

Titus laments his death.

I may ſafely aſſert that I have not heard of a man, who, in the whole courſe of the war, was ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed by military qualifications as Julian. Titus was exceedingly grieved upon ſeeing ſo great and valuable a warrior fall, and be expoſed as a public and miſerable ſpectacle; and when he had obſerved him to be in danger from the Jews, he was deeply concerned, and ſeverely lamented the total impracticability of haſtening in perſon to the ſpot where ſo valuable a life was threatened with deſtruction. There were, however, many of the Roman army, who, on account of their ſituation, might have gone to the reſcue of Julian, had they poſſeſſed ſufficient bravery to venture their own perſons for the preſervation of a man of the moſt exalted martial character. Alexas and Gypthæus, (otherwiſe called Tipthæus) adherents to the faction under the conduct of John; Judas the ſon of Merton; James the ſon of Sozas, captain of the Idumæans; Simon and Judas, the ſons of Jair; and Malachias, who were attached to the intereſts of Simon, were the Jews who ſignalized themſelves in the above-recited action.

CHAP. IV.

JOSEPHUS commiſſioned to urge JOHN to an Encounter with what Number of Forces he may think proper to lead into the Field. The ſcurrilous Reply of JOHN. TITUS confutes a Calumny of the JEWS.

JEWS. The ROMAN Army venerate the Holy Temple.

Titus authorizes Joſephus to challenge John to an encounter in the open field.

HAVING formed the determination of breaking up the foundations of Fort Antonia, and forming a level paſſage for the more convenient march of his army, Titus commanded Joſephus into his preſence, and, underſtanding that on this day, being the ſeventeenth of the month Panemus, the Jews were greatly diſtreſſed on account of their incapacity of performing the daily ſacrifices and oblations, through the want of a congregation, commiſſioned him to repair a ſecond time to John, and repeat a former propoſal, which was to the following effect: that if John was ſtill diſpoſed to reſiſt, the Romans would be ready to give battle to any numbers that he might bring into the field: that he propoſed this method of deciding the controverſy from no other motive than that of preſerving the city and temple from being involved in the common deſtruction: if John accepted the propoſal, it was to be on the condition that he ſhould offer no farther profanations to the ſacred name and worſhip of the Almighty: and it was added, that if he was inclined to reſtore the ſervices of religion, he had full liberty to nominate ſuch Jews as he approved to officiate in the duties of the ſacred function.

Inſtance of the benevolence of the Roman general.

Remonſtrances of Joſephus to his countrymen.

Joſephus was not ſatisfied with acquitting himſelf of the matter which Titus had intruſted him to communicate to John; but repairing to an eminence, for the purpoſe of being more diſtinctly heard, he exalted his voice, and in the Hebrew language related to the multitude what, in obedience to the command of Titus, he had already reported to John. He exhorted the Jews to reflect upon the miſerable ſtate to which their country was reduced, and, leſt the opportunity ſhould elapſe, immediately to purſue the neceſſary meaſures for preventing the deſtruction of the temple; adding that they would not be abridged of the privilege of ſolemnizing prayer, offering ſacrifices, and obſerving their other cuſtomary ceremonials of religion.

The Jews affected, John oppoſes, and Joſephus replies.

The Jews were greatly affected by the diſcourſe of Joſephus, but they dared not venture to expreſs their ſentiments. John violently exclaimed againſt Joſephus, and ironically ſaid, that "Since Jeruſalem was the city of God, it could not poſſibly be liable to danger." He was now interrupted by Joſephus, who, raiſing his voice to a louder tone than before, ſpoke as follows:

Speech of Joſephus to the Jews beſieged in Jeruſalem.

"The great concern you manifeſt for preſerving the city, in purity and holineſs, muſt, undoubtedly, inſure to you the favour and protection of Heaven! Should a man deprive you of the means of daily ſubſiſtence, you would naturally conſider him as your bittereſt enemy. And yet you make no ſcruple of committing the moſt horrid impieties, and are ſo aſtoniſhingly abandoned as to apply to profane uſes the victims dedicated for the daily ſacrifices and oblations in honour of the Almighty. Whence ariſe your contentions with the Romans, but becauſe they reſolutely undertake the defence of the legal inſtitutions and religious worſhip, as eſtabliſhed by your anceſtors, which even yourſelves labour aſſiduouſly to aboliſh? Without being ſenſible of the moſt poignant ſorrow, what man, who is not diveſted of every virtuous principle, can behold the deplorable change in the ſtate of civil and religious matters? Strangers and enemies, who are actually engaged in hoſtilities againſt you, are left to aſſume the friendly office of reſtoring your religious worſhip. The Jews, connected by blood, and educated according to the laws of our nation, are guilty of more ſhocking acts of cruelty to each other than could be expected from the moſt uncultivated barbarians. Notwithſtanding the enormity of your guilt, a ſincere humiliation and repentance may ſtill prove acceptable to the Almighty. That repentance is not rejected, even in moſt deſperate caſes, may be proved in the inſtance of Jechonias, king of the Jews: the Babylonians having entered Judæa with a mighty army, Jechonias quitted Jeruſalem, ſurrendering himſelf, his mother, and other near relations, as hoſtages to the enemy; and to this pious conduct he was influenced by the deſire of preſerving the holy city and temple from the deſtruction with which it was threatened. An anniverſary ſolemnity is obſerved, even to this time, in acknowledgment of the great obligations which our nation owe to Jechonias; whoſe illuſtrious conduct in the above inſtance, I earneſtly recommend to your ſerious conſideration, as a precedent inſtructing you in the only means by which you can relieve yourſelves from your preſent calamities. Deſperate as your ſituation is, an happy change may yet arrive; for I here ſolemnly pledge my word that the Romans will pardon your offences againſt them, and relieve your calamities, provided you do not ſo exaſperate them as to render yourſelves wholly unworthy of forgiveneſs. That you may repoſe a due confidence in what I ſay, recollect that it is one of the Jewiſh profeſſion who has given a promiſe to inſure your ſafety; conſider his character, the motives by which he is influenced, and under the authority of whoſe name it is that he thus exerts his endeavours to perſuade you to avert impending deſtruction. Heaven defend me from degenerating into ſo great a wickedneſs as that of diſregarding the place to which I owe my birth, and the laws eſtabliſhed by our anceſtors! Is it juſt that my zeal in your ſervice ſhould meet ſo ungrateful a return as new and repeated injuries and inſults? But I acknowledge that I deſerve this treatment from you, ſince I have preſumed to interfere in behalf of a people whom the juſtice of Heaven has condemned to exemplary puniſhment. You cannot be ignorant of the frequent predictions that are to be found in hiſtory, evidently alluding to the utter ruin of this moſt calamitous city: and the prophecies are ſo far verified, that not only the habitations are rendered impure, but even the holy

holy temple is polluted with the blood and carcaſes of thoſe of your own tribes, who have been moſt barbarouſly maſſacred. Hence we can draw no other concluſion than that the Romans are ſent as the inſtruments by which the Almighty means to expiate by flames the various abominations of this miſerable and devoted city." Joſephus's voice was now interrupted by ſobs and tears, and he was unable to continue his diſcourſe; which had already impreſſed the Romans with an admiration of the great tenderneſs he entertained towards his country. But as Joſephus's grief increaſed, ſo did the inveteracy of John and his adherents againſt the Romans; and they became ſtill more anxious to diſcover ſome ſtratagem by means of which they might get him into their power. Joſephus's addreſs, however, was not entirely without effect; for it had made a deep impreſſion upon many people of diſtinguiſhed rank.

Many of the principal Jews deſert, and are courteouſly received by the Roman general.

The arguments of Joſephus prevailed with divers of thoſe people who compoſed the faction, and heartily diſpoſed them to revolt to the Romans; but, notwithſtanding they deemed it impoſſible that the city ſhould eſcape ruin, a dread of the guards which many of them entertained prevented a compliance with their inclinations: others ſeized the opportunity of eſcaping to the Romans; and in the number of theſe were Joſeph and Jeſus, the high-prieſts; the three ſons of Iſmael, who was beheaded at Cyrene; four ſons of Matthias; and one ſon of another Matthias, who eſcaped to the Romans, after Simon the ſon of Gorias had put his father and three brothers to death, as we have already related; and excluſive of the above, a conſiderable number of other perſons of rank revolted to the enemy. They experienced a moſt gracious and generous reception from Titus, who conceiving that it would prove both inconvenient and diſagreeable to reſide among people whoſe laws, cuſtoms and manners, ſo materially differed from thoſe under which they had been uſed to live; ordered them to Gophne, promiſing to grant them conſiderable poſſeſſions when the war ſhould be concluded: and the fugitives expreſſed the warmeſt ſentiments of gratitude for the liberal treatment they had received from the Roman general.

Slanderous report of the Jews confuted by a ſcheme of Titus.

When the faction obſerved that the fugitives were no longer to be ſeen from the city, they circulated a rumour that the Romans had put them to death. For ſome time this ſtratagem had the deſired effect, by deterring other Jews from following the example of the deſerters: but being appriſed of the deſign with which the report had been propagated, Titus recalled the deſerters from Gophne, and ordered them to make the tour of the walls attended by Joſephus. The calumny being thus refuted, a ſtill greater number of the people were induced to revolt to the Romans. Being aſſembled on this occaſion within ſight of the Romans, with tears and lamentations they ſupplicated the faction to preſerve their country by admitting the Romans into the town; or, at leaſt, to depart from the temple rather than provoke the enemy to deſtroy it by fire, to which extremity they would not proceed, unleſs aggravated to adopt the meaſure by an inconſiderate perſeverance in a fruitleſs oppoſition. This conduct ſerved but to inflame the faction to a more extravagant degree of outrage; and having planted machines even at the gates of the temple, they aſſailed the deſerters with darts, arrows, ſtones diſcharged from ſlings, and other miſſive weapons; ſo that the ſacred building had a greater reſemblance to a place of war and ſlaughter, than a houſe dedicated to the worſhip of God; and the bodies of the deceaſed lay in ſuch numbers in the ſpace of ground before the temple as to give it the appearance of a cemetery. They forcibly entered the holy ſanctuary, their hands yet reeking with the blood of the murdered citizens, and were guilty of the moſt horrid impieties, which proved the ſource of great affliction to the Romans, there not being a man in the army under Titus that did not obſerve a due reſpect to the holy temple, and the rights and ceremonies of the Jewiſh religion, and entertain the higheſt veneration towards the eternal Being to whoſe ſervice the ſacred edifice was dedicated; and they were unanimous in the wiſh that the faction would repent of their horrid impieties and abominations, and thereby avert the deſtruction with which they were threatened. Greatly affected by the miſerable ſituation of the Jews, Titus determined to adopt another effort to reclaim them to reaſon; and addreſſing himſelf to John and his aſſociates, he ſpoke to the following purport:

Implacable, bloody, and impious behaviour of John.

"Ye barbarous and ſacrilegious people, are you not conſcious that your anceſtors environed the holy place with partitions, and that the pillars bear Latin and Greek inſcriptions, on ſevere penalties prohibiting all perſons from treſpaſſing beyond the incloſure? Have not the Romans given a ſignal proof of their tender regard to your privileges, by denouncing death as the puniſhment of thoſe who ſhould preſume to paſs the preſcribed limits, without exception even of their own countrymen? Whence is it then, that you ſuffer yourſelves to be tranſported by an extravagant rage to profane the ſanctuary with maſſacres and aſſaſſinations, and pollute the holy temple with domeſtic and foreign blood? I here ſolemnly appeal to the gods of my country; to that Power who was of late the patron of the temple, but who has now abandoned it; to the army under my command; to the Jews who have revolted to me; and even to yourſelves, that I have in no manner been concerned in, or acceſſary to, any of the profanations that have been committed; and I pledge my word that, if you will acquieſce in my deſire of quitting the holy place, it ſhall be my peculiar care to prevent its being approached, or the leaſt violation offered to it by the Romans; and that, even in oppoſition to your inclinations, I will exert my utmoſt endeavours to preſerve and protect the ſacred edifice."

Speech of Titus to the Jews.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

TITUS determines to profecute the War. An Aſſault is made from Fort ANTONIA in the Night, and a terrible Confuſion enſues. An obſtinate Engagement. The Paſſes about Fort ANTONIA are levelled, and four Mounts erected. A deſperate and bloody Engagement. The JEWS ſet Fire to part of the Temple Gallery. A JEW named JONATHAN inſolently propoſes to encounter any Man of the ROMAN Army in ſingle Combat. PUDENS is ſlain by JONATHAN, and JONATHAN by PRISCUS.

JOSEPHUS, as the interpreter of Titus, delivered the above addreſs in the Hebrew language; but the faction put a falſe conſtruction upon it, attributing the application made by the Roman general as proceeding from motives of fear rather than good will; and in conſequence hereof their inſolence increaſed.

The Jews remaining refractory, Titus proceeds in the war.

Finding that the Jews were wholly regardleſs of their own ſafety and the preſervation of the temple, Titus determined vigorouſly to proſecute the ſiege. The place not being ſufficiently extenſive for drawing up his whole army, he ſelected from each company thirty of the moſt reſolute troops, appointing a tribune to head every thouſand men, and Cerealis to the chief command of the party that was thus choſen for making the aſſault. He ordered all neceſſary preparation for proceeding to action about the ninth hour of the night, intending himſelf to lead his troops to the attack. The officers of Titus's army being aſſembled in a council of war, they were unanimouſly of opinion, that it would be highly impolitic for the general to expoſe his perſon to danger; and therefore they adviſed him to ſtation himſelf upon the fort Antonia, whence he might iſſue orders, and obſerve the behaviour of his troops, who would be inſpired with extraordinary valour by the conſideration of fighting under the immediate inſpection of their general.

Titus propoſes to ſtation himſelf on Fort Antonia.

Titus informed his troops that, in compliance with the advice of his officers and friends, he meant to withdraw to Antonia, whence he might give the neceſſary inſtructions to his officers, and, at the ſame time, accurately diſtinguiſh thoſe who, during the action, ſhould merit puniſhment or reward; adding, that they who ſhould prove themſelves worthy the character of Roman ſoldiers ſhould be recompenſed with liberal donations, and that, on the other hand, the delinquents ſhould be conſigned to the ſeverity of the martial law. The hour was now appointed for making the aſſault, and Titus repaired to a watch-tower in the fort Antonia.

An attack made by the Romans in the night is attended with great confuſion, many of the Jews deſtroying each other.

The Romans were deceived in the expectation they had formed of ſurpriſing the Jews while aſleep: the advanced guards reſolutely oppoſed the aſſailants, and, at the ſame time, joined in a general ſhout, which awakening their companions, great multitudes immediately came to their ſupport. The Romans bravely withſtood the ſhock made by the advanced guard; and when the other Jews came up, a ſcene of horror took place: through the darkneſs of the night, the confuſed ſound of voices, fear, and the impulſe of rage, their conſternation was ſo great that they deſtroyed both friends and enemies without diſtinction; and the Jews who fell by the hands of their own countrymen were conſiderably more numerous than thoſe who were ſlain by the enemy. The loſs on the part of the Romans was not great; for they preſerved a regular diſcipline, carefully defended themſelves with their bucklers, and had the advantage of knowing each other by means of the watch-word.

On the return of day, the Jews are reſtored to order, and convinced of their fatal error.

Upon the appearance of day-light the Jews diſcovered their error, and purſued the encounter with more regularity. Each party now employed darts, arrows and other weapons, and, notwithſtanding the conteſt that had been maintained in the night, they appeared to ſuffer no abatement of courage or ſtrength. The Romans, conſcious that their general was poſted in a ſtation where he could form an exact judgment reſpecting the behaviour of his troops, and conſidering that their future proſpects in life would depend on their conduct in the preſent action, fought with a noble emulation to ſurpaſs each other in martial exploits. The preſence of John, who threatened and even ſtruck thoſe of his people who appeared to be tardy in their duty, and encouraged the reſt with promiſes of reward, added to the conſideration that their own lives and the ſafety of the temple were at ſtake, induced the Jews to exert their utmoſt endeavours in oppoſing the enemy. Neither party was able to make any conſiderable retreat, the place not being ſufficiently large for that purpoſe, and the battle was moſtly maintained hand to hand, victory ſometimes appearing to incline to one and ſometimes to the other ſide.

Titus encourages his men; but the deſperate conteſt ends in a drawn battle.

The fort of Antonia was as a theatre, whence Titus and his friends commanded a full and perfect view of thoſe who were actively engaged in the ſcene, urging the Romans reſolutely to purſue the advantages they gained, and exhorting them firmly to maintain their ground when they appeared to be in danger of a repulſe from the Jews, and giving ſuch directions as circumſtances required. In ſhort, the conteſt continued from the ninth hour of the night to the fifth on the following day; and when it was concluded, ſo reſolutely had the combatants maintained their ground, it could not be decided which party had gained the advantage.

Names of ſeveral Jews who ſignalized themſelves in the action.

In the above action ſeveral noble Romans diſtinguiſhed themſelves by feats of great heroiſm; and the Jewiſh captains who ſignalized themſelves on this occaſion were the following: Judas, the ſon of Merton, and Simon the ſon of Joſias, adherents to the party under Simon; Jacob the ſon of Soſa, and Simon the ſon of Cathlas, who were Idumæans;

Gyfthæus and Alexas, friends to the party under John; and a Zealot, named Simon, who was the ſon of Jair.

The foundations of Fort Antonia razed and four mounts erected.

Titus ordered the foundations of Antonia to be broken up to the very bottom; and in the ſpace of ſeven days this work was completed, and a level paſſage formed for admitting the Roman legions to march conveniently up to the walls. Titus now employed his troops in erecting four mounts: the firſt facing the angle of the interior temple that looked towards the north and eaſt; a ſecond againſt the gallery, to the northward between the two gates; a third towards the weſt porch, and the fourth towards the north porth of the outward temple. The work was not completed without great difficulty and expence; for the Romans were under the neceſſity of conveying what materials they had occaſion for from places at an hundred furlongs diſtant from Jeruſalem; and placing great confidence in their ſtrength, they neglected to guard againſt ſurprizes from the Jews, who waiting for them on the way, frequently made deſperate ſallies from ambuſhes, and put them to conſiderable loſs and inconvenience.

The Jews ſeize the Roman horſes.

When the Romans went out in foraging parties, they frequently unbridled their horſes, and turned them to graze; and when opportunities offered, the Jews ſallied forth, ſeized and carried off the animals. This being often repeated, Titus attributed the loſs to the negligence of his troops, rather than to the enterpriſing ſpirit of the enemy. He was not deceived in his conjecture; for having cauſed one of his ſoldiers to be put to death, as a puniſhment for loſing his horſe, no inſtance of the like nature occurred in future.

Some Jewiſh deſperadoes attack the Roman guards on Mount Olivet.

The platforms being now raiſed, and the Romans having made every other preparation neceſſary to the aſſault they had meditated, on the following day a number of Jews belonging to the faction, who, being unable to procure the neceſſaries of life by their uſual practice of pillage, and nearly on the point of ſtarving, formed the reſolution of attacking the Roman guards who were ſtationed on Mount Olivet; and they advanced about the eleventh hour of the day, when they imagined their attempt would be moſt likely to ſucceed, as at that time it was uſual for the enemy to take ſome reſpite from the fatigue of duty.

An obſtinate and bloody engagement.

The Romans obſerving the approach of the ſeditious multitude, collected all their force in order to repulſe them. A terrible conteſt enſued, in which great exploits were performed by both parties. The Romans founded their hopes of ſucceſs on their ſuperior knowledge in the art of war: and the furious rage and impetuoſity of the Jews induced them to believe that they were able to ſucceed in the moſt deſperate attempts. The valour of one party was excited by the dread of ſhame, and that of the other by the preſſing exigency of their ſituation; for the Romans conceived that they ſhould incur indelible diſgrace if they did not revenge themſelves upon the Jews for the inſolent attempt they had made; and the Jews had no proſpect of eſcaping the vengeance of the enemy but by mere dint of force.

An heroic exploit of Pedanius, a Roman cavalier.

The following exploit, which is ſo remarkable as almoſt to exceed credibility, was performed by a Roman cavalier, named Pedanius: the Jews being repulſed, and purſued into the valley by the Romans, Pedanius rode after the fugitives, and overtaking a young Jew, bearing very heavy arms, who, in order to preſerve his life, was urging his horſe full ſpeed, he ſeized him by the leg, and carrying him away a priſoner, preſented him to Titus. The general complimented Pedanius on his courage, and ſurpriſing ſtrength and activity; and he conſigned the Jew to death for having been concerned in the audacious attempt to ſurpriſe the Romans in their camp. Titus continued to direct his principal attention towards completing the mounts, by means of which he entertained the hope of becoming maſter of the temple.

The Jews burn part of the temple gallery.

Finding themſelves conſiderably weakened by the loſſes ſuſtained in divers combats; that the war daily raged with additional violence; and that the temple was in the moſt imminent danger of being deſtroyed, the Jews reſolved to ruin a part of the ſacred edifice in order to preſerve the reſt: as it is uſual to amputate the extremities, leſt mortification ſhould be communicated to the more noble parts of the body. They ſet fire to that part of the gallery extending from the north to the eaſt, and facing the fort Antonia; and in a ſhort time as much of the building as occupied a ſpace of near twenty cubits was entirely conſumed. Thus were the Jews the firſt who actually put the deſign in execution of effecting the deſtruction of the ſuperb and holy ſtructure, ſo deſervedly celebrated throughout the univerſe.

The Romans ſet fire to the remainder.

Two days having elapſed, the Romans, on the twenty-fourth of the ſame month, ſet fire to the remaining part of the gallery; and when the flames had gained fourteen cubits, the Jews deſtroyed the roof, as well as every other matter which was likely to ſerve as a communication with fort Antonia, though they might, had they been ſo inclined, have ſaved the place from the rage of the flames: but they were wholly regardleſs as to what courſe the miſchief took, ſo it tended to promote their private views. During this time daily ſkirmiſhes took place in the neighbourhood of the temple.

Challenge of Jonathan, a fantaſtical and boaſting Jew.

A Jew named Jonathan, a man of obſcure birth, deſperate fortune, low ſtature, and every way contemptible in appearance, at this period repaired to the ſepulchre of John, the high-prieſt, and, making himſelf the ſubject of a vain-glorious diſcourſe, he inſolently challenged any man of the Roman army to come with his ſword in his hand, and engage him in ſingle combat. Some of the Romans were actually afraid of meeting the vain-boaſter; ſome held him in the moſt ſovereign contempt; others declined the combat,

bat, urging the folly of encountering a man grown desperate by despair, and equally regardless of God and man; and that the challenger being influenced by a brutal fury rather than the sentiments of honour, no share of glory could possibly be acquired by the conquest of so contemptible an adversary. Jonathan waited a considerable time before any champion appeared to oppose him; and during that interval he continued to insult the Romans, by charging them with cowardice. At length a Roman cavalier, named Pudens, being naturally of an impetuous temper, and no longer able to brook the provoking insults offered by Jonathan, inconsiderately accepted his challenge. The contemptible idea he entertained of his adversary rendered Pudens careless, and by some accident he unfortunately fell: the Jew seized the opportunity, and put him to death while he lay on the ground: he now trampled the body of the deceased under his feet; and, his sword yet reaking with blood in his right, and his buckler in his left-hand, he exultingly clattered his arms together, and vented the most scurrilous reflections upon his deceased adversary and the whole Roman army. A centurion, named Priscus, being provoked at the insolence and vanity of the Jew, discharged an arrow, which shot him through the heart, and he instantly expired, and fell on the body of Pudens. This circumstance caused a great clamour among both Romans and Jews, who were, however, actuated by very different motives. The fate of Jonathan was considered as a judgment upon him for having arrogated to himself the merit of performing a great exploit, when the advantage he had gained was not in consequence of any exertion of valour or other martial qualifications, but owing merely to an accidental circumstance.

He kills Pudens, a Roman cavalier, in single combat;

and is himself killed by Priscus, a centurion.

CHAP. VI.

The Faction in the Temple make War upon the ROMANS on the Mounts. The JEWS make use of a Stratagem to confound the ROMANS. The Sufferers compassionated by TITUS. The singular Valour of LONGUS.

The temple faction engage the Romans on the mounts.

AT this juncture the faction in the temple were engaged in open war with the soldiers on the mounts; and the Jews devised the following stratagem on the twenty-seventh day of the month above-mentioned. They placed a large quantity of dry wood, sulphur, and bituminous matter, between the timbers and the top of the roof of the western porch: and then affecting to give way, as if an attack had been made on them, they retreated with every appearance of being driven out of a place of which they could no longer hold the possession. Hereupon a number of their opponents pursued them closely, with the utmost eagerness, and put up ladders, to get possession of the place, which the others had abandoned: but they who reflected on the affair, deemed it to be a mere artifice, and therefore did not join the pursuit.

The Jews destroy their enemies by a stratagem.

As soon as the Romans had crouded into the porch, the Jews set it on fire, and the whole building was immediately in flames, to the horror and confusion of those who were within their power, and the astonishment of those who viewed the conflagration at a distance. Some of the unhappy people threw themselves into wells and pits; others leaped from the houses, and ran for their lives; others again were smothered in the flames, while some threw themselves on their swords, to avoid a death still more dreadful.

Titus laments the misfortunes of his men.

Titus was greatly affected by this horrid sight, compassionating, in a high degree, the misfortunes arising from so fatal a miscarriage. In the mean time, he was highly offended at his soldiers for having embarked in such an enterprise, without previously receiving his orders. They had, however, one satisfaction in the midst of their distress to compensate for the loss of life: that they were pitied by the prince in whose service they suffered; for they could behold him giving his orders, and using his utmost endeavours to afford them relief; and all the evidences he gave of his regard were deemed memorials to his lasting honour. With regard to those persons who escaped the fury of the flames, they were attacked by the Jews, and every man of them was slain, after they had made all the resistance in their power.

The Romans all cut off.

Singular valour, fortitude, and death of Longus.

Great numbers of gallant and courageous men fell on this unhappy occasion; among whom one of the most distinguished was Longus, whom it will be necessary to mention in particular, while I am paying all possible respect to the valour of the rest in general. Longus was by birth a Roman, and in the prime of life. The Jews, who were acquainted with his bravery, and thought him a dangerous person, saw no mode by which they could destroy him; unless they could prevail on him to come to them by pledging their honour that he should return in perfect safety. This being done, his brother Cornelius called to him, warning him, by all that was sacred, not to be guilty of any act, for which either himself or his country should have cause to blush. Thus situated, Longus stopped within sight of both parties, and killed himself with his own sword.

Surprising escape of Artorius.

On the above-mentioned occasion, a person named Artorius escaped from the fire in a very extraordinary manner. Being reduced to the utmost extremity of danger, he observed Lucius, his fellow-soldier and companion, within hearing: on which he called out to him, "Catch me in your arms, and break my fall, and I will make you heir to my estate." Lucius prepared himself to catch him; Artorius leaped down,

down, and with his weight cruſhed his friend to death, for he was daſhed to pieces on the ſpot. The misfortunes I have juſt related cauſed great uneaſineſs among the Romans for the preſent; but it made them in future more cautious againſt the ſubtle craft and inſidious artifices of the Jews; which were of the moſt dangerous tendency to thoſe who were not provided by prudence againſt their ſtratagems.

Progreſs of the fire, and further deſtruction by the Romans.

The fire deſtroyed the porch as far as the tower which John had built (during his war with Simon) on the pillars that led to this porch. After the Romans had been burnt by the Jews, in the manner above-recited, they deſtroyed the remainder of the building: and the following day the Romans ſet fire to the north porch, and continued this fire to the porch facing the eaſtward, which commands the valley of Cedron, from a precipice, to take a downward view of which affords a proſpect almoſt diſtracting.

Miſeries and diſtreſs attending the famine.

Thus unhappily were affairs ſituated in the neighbourhood of the temple. The extreme ſeverity of the famine had almoſt depopulated the city; and the miſeries conſequent on this calamity are beyond all number or recital. If it was but ſuſpected that there was any concealed food in a family, this circumſtance was ſufficient to diſſolve the tendereſt ties, and create a general inſurrection among the parties. They who abſolutely periſhed of mere hunger were not credited, even at the hour of death, when they declared that they had no food: for no ſooner had the breath left their bodies, than immediate ſearch was made about their perſons on the ſuppoſition that they had concealed ſome bread. When the ſurvivors found not what they ſearched for, they ranged the ſtreets like mad dogs, reeling like drunkards through weakneſs, repeatedly prying into every corner of ever houſe; ſeizing whatever they could find; even ſuch articles as a canine appetite would have refuſed. The ſkins of beaſts, leather girdles, and ſhoes were eaten, and even a handful of old hay bore the price of four attics. But wherefore ſhould I trouble myſelf with a deſcription of this dreadful calamity, in the mention of theſe inanimate ſubſtances, when I have before me a pregnant inſtance of a circumſtance never equalled among the Greeks and Barbarians; a ſtory of ſo horrid a nature that it ſhocks humanity but to think of it? I ſhould be willing to omit this unfortunate narrative, leſt future times ſhould cenſure me for relating falſehood: but I have ſo many teſtimonies of its veracity, that if I ſhould ſeek to ſuppreſs it through partiality to the deceaſed, I ſhould be deficient in duty to my country.

CHAP. VII.

The Fleſh of a Son dreſſed and eaten by his Mother.

TITUS ſolemnly declares his Innocence in the whole Affair.

Story of Mary the daughter of Eleazar.

IN the village named Vetezobra (that is the *houſe of Hyſſop*), beyond the river Jordan, lived one Eleazar, who had a daughter named Mary. The family was rich, and the deſcent reſpectable. Now this Mary fled, in company with ſeveral other perſons, and took refuge in Jeruſalem, where it was their misfortune to be beſieged. All the more valuable effects that this woman brought with her ſhe was deprived of by the tyrants; and with regard to ſuch articles as ſhe had concealed, whether goods or proviſions, the ſoldiers frequently broke open her houſe, and ſtole them from her. Irritated by this treatment, ſhe reviled the faction in terms of the utmoſt acrimony; but no language of which ſhe was miſtreſs, however ſevere, could provoke any of this abandoned ſet to put her to death, either from motives of rage or pity. At length, tormented with the excruciating pangs of a devouring famine, from which ſhe ſaw no poſſibility of eſcaping, having no farther means of ſuſtaining life, and being abandoned to the utmoſt rage of deſpair, ſhe determined on a reſolution more horrid than it is in the power of language to deſcribe.

Addreſs to her ſucking infant.

At this time, Mary had a child ſucking at her breaſt, whom ſhe took haſtily to her embraces, and regarding it with the tenderneſs of a mother, ſhe cried, "In what terms ſhall I addreſs thee, moſt unhappy infant, who art born during the raging of ſuch horrid judgments as rebellion, famine, and war! To which of theſe ſhall I reſerve thee? It is poſſible the Romans will grant thee thy life, but not thy liberty: famine will prevent ſlavery: but our preſent tyrants will be worſe foes than the other two. What, in thy preſent ſituation, canſt thou do better than to ſupply a meal to thy ſtarving mother, and terrify the party with the horror of the deed? Thus ſhalt thou complete the hiſtory of the Jews, with the only atrocious act that is yet wanting to render their miſery perfect."

She kills, boils, and eats her own child.

Having made this apoſtrophe, ſhe killed her infant, and having boiled it, ſhe ate the half of it, and covering up the remainder, put it away. This circumſtance ſoon came to the knowledge of the faction, ſome of whom went to the houſe of the woman, and threatened her with immediate death, if ſhe did not produce what proviſions ſhe had in the houſe. Hereupon ſhe fetched out that part of the child which ſtill remained undevoured, and told them that was all the food ſhe poſſeſſed. This ſight had ſuch an effect on the ſpectators, that they at firſt appeared petrified with horror, then trembled at the idea of what had paſſed, and were ſhocked at the conſequences to be dreaded from it. On this the woman addreſſed them as follows: "Be aſſured that this is my ſon, and that I have dreſſed this diſh, the half of which I have eaten myſelf, and requeſt that you will eat the remainder.

Her ſpeech to the ſpectators of the horrid ſcene.

I flat-

I flatter myſelf that you will not pretend to have more delicacy than a woman, or more compaſſion than a mother. But if you refuſe the oblation through ſcruples of conſcience, you are welcome to leave the food where you have found it; only remember that I have eaten a part of it already." She had no ſooner ended ſpeaking, than they departed with evident ſigns of terror, leaving, though againſt their inclinations, the remainder of the child with the unfortunate mother: the only circumſtance of their whole conduct attended with any degree of delicacy.

This ſhocking deed became immediately the ſubject of converſation thoughout the whole city; and every man appeared to deteſt the crime as much as if he himſelf had been immediately concerned in it. The famine now raged with ſuch violence, that the people wiſhed for immediate death, in the mere fear of ſtarving; and they who remained alive envied thoſe who had died before the calamity increaſed to ſuch an alarming degree. The melancholy tale ſoon ſpread from the Jews to the Romans, ſome of whom commiſerated the calamities of the Jews, while others hated them the more for their misfortunes, and a third ſort gave no credit to the recital. In the mean time, Titus ſolemnly declared his innocence reſpecting the whole matter, vowing, in the preſence of God, that he had exerted his utmoſt influence to render the Jews eaſy and happy in their fortunes, lives, and liberties: "But (ſaid he) if the Jews were determined rather to deſtroy each other, than to live in the bands of fraternal affection; if they preferred war rather than peace, and famine rather than plenty, it was not in my power to prevent them. As they were determined to ſet fire to the temple with their own hands, while I did every thing in my power to preſerve it, the fleſh of their own children is as good food as ſuch parents deſerve. For my part, I am reſolved that their iniquities ſhall but be the forerunners of their ruin; for I will not longer permit the exiſtence of a city, in which mothers feed on their own children; and the fathers, with a ſtill more horrid degree of impiety, continue the war, after ſuch plain and evident demonſtrations, that the ſo doing is contrary to the will of Almighty God." Having ſaid this, and reflected on the amazing obſtinacy, and incurable ſtubbornneſs of the faction, he looked on them as a people devoted to deſtruction: for he thought that the miſeries they had already endured would have changed their ſentiments, if it had been in nature that ſuch an effect could be wrought.

Titus clears himſelf of being the cauſe of the calamities of the Jews, which their wickedneſs was the ſole cauſe of.

CHAP. VIII.

Mines and Batteries are tried without Effect. The ROMANS have Recourſe to the Scaling-ladders. An obſtinate Reſiſtance on the Part of the JEWS.

No. 28.

TITUS commands his People to ſet fire to the Gates. The JEWS incircled in Flames, which totally deſtroy the Galleries. TITUS calls a Council of general Officers, to adviſe reſpecting the Temple, and delivers his Opinion for ſparing it. The JEWS ſally forth deſperately on the ROMANS, but TITUS compels them to take Refuge in the Temple.

The Roman mines and batteries found inſufficient.

TWO of the legions having completed their platforms, Titus directed his battering-rams to be planted againſt the weſtern gallery of the outward temple, on the eighth day of the month Lous. For the ſpace of ſix days ſucceſſively he played his beſt piece of battery againſt this place; but without effect; for the engines could make no impreſſion on the work. In the interim, ſome of the troops were employed in ſapping the foundations on the north ſide: but, after a prodigious labour, they found that they could only move the outward ſtones, the porch ſtill remaining firm: wherefore, finding that mines and batteries were ineffectual to anſwer the purpoſe, the Romans had recourſe to the uſe of their ſcaling-ladders.

Though the Jews were unable to prevent their enemies fixing their ladders, yet they made an obſtinate reſiſtance in every part where it was poſſible to be made. Thoſe who aſcended the ladders they attacked immediately, before they had time to put themſelves in a poſture of defence: others they threw down as they were aſcending: ſome they deſtroyed as they were advancing with relief, and ſometimes they overturned the ladders with the men upon them. On the whole, the Romans ſuſtained a very conſiderable loſs in this attack; eſpecially in thoſe conteſts which happened for the defence or recovery of their colours, which military people deem to be an affair of the utmoſt conſequence. In the end, however, the Jews killed a number of the enſign-bearers, keeping ſuch enſigns as they got poſſeſſion of; a circumſtance which ſo diſcouraged the reſt of the aſſailants, that they thought it prudent to retreat. However, to do juſtice to the beſiegers, it muſt be acknowledged that not a ſingle man among the ſlain diſgraced the character of a Roman. Their opponents of the faction, who had behaved well on former occaſions, loſt not their character for intrepidity; and Eleazar, the nephew of the tyrant Simon, was diſtinguiſhed by his courage. Titus now finding that his own men were only devoted to ruin, by his wiſhes to ſpare the temple of the enemy, he iſſued orders that his troops ſhould ſet fire to the gates without loſs of time.

Strenuous oppoſition of the Jews againſt the Romans on the ſcaling-ladders.

At this juncture, two deſerters from the Jews repaired to Titus, flattering themſelves that their abandoning the faction at the time they had ſome advantage in their favour, would ſecure them the better reception. One of theſe deſerters was Archelaus, the ſon of Magadathes, and the other

Two deſerters from the Jews repair to Titus, who ſuſpects, but pardons them.

other Ananus of Emmaus, one of Simon's guards, and deemed the moſt inhuman of all his attendants. The character of theſe men for cruelty was ſo well known to Titus, that he entertained ſome thoughts of putting them both to death, notwithſtanding their pretended attachment to his intereſt; being convinced that it was not an affection for his ſervice, but the conſideration of their own ſafety, that influenced their conduct. He thought that thoſe who had firſt inflamed their country, and then abandoned it, were unworthy to live: but having reflected more ſeriouſly on the affair, he came to a reſolution to ſpare them.

The gates of the temple ſet on fire, which, with the galleries, are deſtroyed.

By this time, the gates of the temple were burning furiouſly; the timbers being all on fire; and the ſilver work above the gates melted, while the flames extended even to the adjacent galleries. The Jews were ſo much ſurpriſed by this unexpected event, that, finding themſelves encompaſſed by the flames, they regarded each other with looks of the moſt extreme aſtoniſhment, not even attempting to preſerve what yet remained uninjured, or affecting any concern for what was already deſtroyed. In a word, they were totally diſpirited for any kind of enterpriſe; ſo that the fire continued to increaſe all that day and the ſucceeding night, till at length the galleries were totally burnt to the ground.

Titus convenes a council, to deliberate concerning the temple.

On the following day Titus iſſued out orders for the ſuppreſſion of the fire, and that the roads might be levelled for the march of his troops. His next ſtep was to ſummon a council of his general officers, to concert the beſt mode of proceeding. Theſe officers were Tiberius Alexander, his lieutenant-general; Sextus Cerealis, the commander of the fifth legion; Lorgius Lepidus of the tenth; and Titus Tigrius, who preſided over the fifteenth; and to theſe were added Eternius Fronto, a captain of two of the legions of Alexandria; and Marcus Antonius Julianus governor of Judæa; excluſive of colonels and other officers, whoſe opinions it was thought proper to take, on the mode of proceeding requiſite to be purſued with reſpect to the affair of the temple. Of theſe ſome recommended a ſtrict adherence to the law of arms, urging, that while the temple remained, and the Jews continued their frequent aſſociations in it, they would never deſiſt from their oppoſition. Others gave their votes for ſparing the temple, on the condition that the Jews ſhould abandon it, and that it ſhould be no longer conſidered as an object of contention: but that if poſſeſſion of it ſhould be acquired by dint of the ſword, in this caſe that they ſhould not heſitate to burn it; not conſidering it as a temple, but as a caſtle: ſince the blame would then reſt with thoſe who compelled the burning it, not with thoſe whom neceſſity urged to the deed. Hereupon Titus gave his opinion, ſaying, "If the obſtinacy of the Jews will convert a temple to a citadel, ſhall I take vengeance on their perverſeneſs, by wreaking my wrath on the ſtones of the building, and burn to aſhes the moſt magnificent ſtructure in the world on their account? Indeed I am of opinion that the robbing the empire of ſo diſtinguiſhed an ornament would be a diſgrace to the characteriſtic majeſty of Rome." Alexander, Cerealis, and Fronto, hearing the ſentiments of Titus, coincided with him in opinion, on which the council was diſmiſſed. Orders were now iſſued that the army ſhould be allowed to reſt, and take refreſhment, in order to be better prepared for future enterpriſes. In the mean time, ſome ſelect battalions were directed to obſerve the ravages made by the fire, and to make proper paſſages through the ruins.

Result of their conſultations.

Opinion of Titus for ſparing the temple.

The Jews make a deſperate ſally on the Romans, by whom they are driven back to the temple.

The courage and ſtrength of the Jews beginning now equally to fail them, they remained at peace during this day: but on the following day, about the ſecond hour, having by that time recruited their ſpirits, and acquired freſh reſolution, they made a deſperate ſally through the eaſtern gate, on the guards of the outward temple. At firſt the Romans, under the protection of their bucklers, ſuſtained the ſhock with the utmoſt reſolution, it making no more impreſſion than it would have done againſt a ſtone wall: but all their courage and perſeverance would not have enabled them long to hold out in oppoſition to ſo fierce and numerous an enemy, if Titus (who beheld the action from Antonia) had not inſtantly come to their relief, before they had yielded to their antagoniſts. On this relief, ſome of the Jews fell back, and the Romans breaking in on their front, the main body fled with precipitation. After this, the Romans retreated in their turn, while the Jews rallied and advanced in order of battle. Thus they continued, alternately advancing or retreating, one party having now the advantage, and then the other; till about the fifth hour of the day, when the Jews were compelled to retreat into the temple, and there incloſe themſelves. Hereupon Titus retired to Antonia, having come to a determination to make an aſſault on the temple on the following day with his whole army. But it ſeemed evident that divine Providence had originally deſtined this place to be deſtroyed by fire, and that the period was at length arrived: that is to ſay, the tenth day of the month Lous, being the return of that day on which it had been heretofore burnt by Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon. Of this laſt conflagration, however, the Jews themſelves were the evident occaſion; for no ſooner had Titus left them at their repoſe, than the inſurgents made a violent ſally on his guards, while they were engaged by the general's orders, in extinguiſhing the fire. But on this occaſion the Romans routed the Jews, and compelled them to retreat to the temple for refuge.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

A Soldier, under Pretence of a divine Impulſe, ſets fire to the Temple. TITUS endeavours to ſtop the Progreſs of the Flames. A horrid Maſſacre enſues.

The temple ſet fire to by a ſoldier.

AN event happened at this period which took riſe from the conduct of a private ſoldier, who thought himſelf actuated by a divine impulſe, without pretending to any other authority for what he tranſacted. Having got on the ſhoulders of one of his comrades, he threw a firebrand into the golden window that was oppoſite the apartments on the north ſide of the temple. This action was no ſooner done than the place was in flames, which occaſioned ſo violent a tumult among the Jews, that their countrymen haſtened as faſt as poſſible to their relief; for the preſent juncture, when every thing dear to them was at ſtake, was not a period in which to think of ſaving their lives, or indulging themſelves.

On hearing of the temple being in flames, Titus gives orders for extinguiſhing the fire, but in vain.

Titus was juſt now laying down to repoſe himſelf in his tent, after the fatigue of the action, when intelligence of the conflagration was brought to him; on which he immediately aroſe, and ordering his chariot, proceeded to the temple, to uſe all his authority towards the extinction of the fire. He was followed by his principal officers, and the legions, but in a confuſed manner, as may be ſuppoſed of ſuch an immenſe number, who had not received regular orders for their proceeding. Titus exerted himſelf to the utmoſt of his power, both by words and ſigns, in giving directions to ſtop the progreſs of the flames: but all his efforts were vain: the leſſer noiſe was loſt in the greater; nor were his words more heard than the ſigns and motions of his hand attended to. The ſoldiers were not to be governed by commands or threatenings; but, following the impulſe of their rage, ſome were trodden on, and preſſed to death by the crowd, while others were ſuffocated by the ſmoke ariſing from the ruins of the galleries over the porches. The common ſoldiers who were in the temple, urged, in excuſe of their diſobedience of the general's orders, that they could not hear what he ſaid; while thoſe who followed them gave orders that they ſhould throw fire. In a word, the faction had no way to prevent what happened, and on which ſide ſoever they turned, deſtruction ſtared them in the face. The poor people, the ſick, and the unarmed, were deſtroyed by the ſword where-ever they were found: numbers of unhappy wretches were left ſtreaming in their own blood: dead bodies were piled in heaps around the altar, and the ſtairs were floated with deluges of blood.

A dreadful confuſion and maſſacre enſues.

Notwithſtanding the utmoſt efforts of Titus to ſave the inner part of the building, the whole is conſumed.

The fury of the ſoldiers had now ariſen to ſuch a height, that Titus, finding it impoſſible to reſtrain it, and that the fire continued to make additional ravages every day, he immediately proceeded, with ſome of his officers of the firſt rank, into the interior temple, where, on a careful ſurvey of the place, he found that its ſplendor and magnificence greatly exceeded what common fame had reported, and were at leaſt equal to the very account propagated reſpecting them even by the Jews. Titus having now remarked that the fire had not reached the ſanctuary, and being of opinion that it might not yet be too late to preſerve the holy place undeſtroyed, he inſtantly exerted himſelf, and intreated the ſoldiers, in the moſt earneſt manner, to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to ſtop the progreſs of the flames; at the ſame time iſſuing ſtrict orders to Liberalis, a centurion of the guards, to urge the accompliſhment of this buſineſs, and to puniſh thoſe who refuſed their aſſiſtance. But ſo violent was the rage of the ſoldiers for revenge, that they were not reſtrained within the bounds of their duty, either by the motives of reſpect or fear. There were great numbers of them whoſe avarice prompted them to ſeek for plunder, as they entertained no doubt but that the inſide of that place was filled with hidden treaſure, the very doors of which were plated with gold. At the very time that Titus was thus exerting his utmoſt endeavours to preſerve the temple, one of the ſoldiers ſet fire to ſeveral of the door-poſts: on which Titus and his officers were obliged to retire to ſuch a diſtance that their ſervices could no longer avail: ſo that, in the end, the temple was deſtroyed, notwithſtanding every generous effort Titus had made for his protection.

All events fore-ordained.

It is a painful taſk to recite the circumſtances of this misfortune; which ruined the moſt aſtoniſhing fabric that ever was conſtructed, whether we conſider its architecture, its dimenſions, its ſplendor and magnificence, or the ſacred purpoſes to which it was dedicated. But one circumſtance ariſes, equally for our inſtruction and conſolation: we learn that all the works of the created univerſe, whether animate or inanimate, are governed by an inevitable deſtiny; and that all things muſt come to an end. It is not a little remarkable (as hath been already mentioned), that this conflagration ſhould happen on the ſame month and day as the former in the time of Nebuchadnezzar. From the commencement of the firſt temple by Solomon, to the deſtruction of this in the ſecond year of Veſpaſian, we reckon a period of eleven hundred and thirty years, ſeven months, and fifteen days; and we account ſix hundred and thirty nine years, and forty-five days, from that of Haggai, in the ſecond year of king Cyrus*.

The burning of this temple happened on the ſame month and day with that of Solomon by Nebuchadnezzar.

CHAP.

* It may not be amiſs to remark here, as one of the puerilities wherewith the modern Jewiſh cuſtoms abound, that on the Paſſover night, in the houſes of many of the Jews, it has been obſerved, that as ſoon as the out-doors are ſet open, and the maſter of the houſe hath uttered

CHAP. X.

The Cruelty of the Soldiers, who ſhew no Diſtinction to Age, Sex, or Rank. A Number of Prieſts engaged in this Conteſt with the ROMANS. An Impoſtor adviſes a Proceeding that terminates in the Deſtruction of near Six Thouſand People.

Dreadful ſlaughter of the people by the ſoldiers.

DURING the time that the temple was in flames, the ſoldiers ſeized every perſon they could find, and having firſt plundered, they ſlew them, without paying the leaſt attention to age, ſex, or quality. The ſlaughter on this occaſion was immenſe: the old, the young; thoſe of the prieſthood, and thoſe of the laity; perſons of all ranks and all degrees; whether they ſued for quarter or otherwiſe, were all involved in the general calamity of the war.

Deplorable ſcene of fire and bloodſhed.

As the fire continued to increaſe, the noiſe of the flames was heard intermixed with the groans of perſons in the agonies of death; and to thoſe at a diſtance the whole city appeared to be on fire, owing to the extent of the conflagration, and the depth of the hill. The confuſion and diſorder occaſioned by this event were ſo great, as it is not in the power of language to deſcribe them. The Roman legions made the moſt horrid outcries: the rebels, when they found themſelves at the mercy of the fire and ſword, ſcreamed in the moſt dreadful manner; while the unhappy wretches, incloſed between the enemy and the fire, lamented their ſituation in the moſt pitiable complaints. Thoſe on the mountain and thoſe in the city ſeemed mutually to return the groans of each other. Thoſe who were already on the point of expiring through famine, acquired freſh ſpirits to deplore their misfortunes, when they ſaw the dreadful effects of the raging flames. The complaints and lamentations from the city were repeatedly echoed from the adjacent mountains and places beyond Jordan: but the calamity exceeded in reality all that could be expreſſed by the bewailings of the ſufferers. The flames of fire were ſo violent and impetuous, that the mountain on which the temple ſtood reſembled one large body of fire, even from its foundation. The blood of the ſufferers flowed in proportion to the raging of the flames; for the number of thoſe who were ſlain exceeded that of their executioners. Dead bodies ſtrewed the ground on every ſide, and the Roman ſoldiers trampled on the bodies of the ſlain in purſuit of the ſurvivors. At length, however, a body of the inſurgents repelled the Romans, and having forced a paſſage into the outward temple, effected their eſcape into the city; while the outward porch was gained by the remainder of their number.

Exertions of the prieſts to annoy and repel the Romans.

Many of the prieſts who had engaged in this conteſt with the Romans made uſe of the ſpits belonging to the temple, inſtead of darts; and, in the place of ſtones, they threw their ſeats, which had lead in them; but at length, finding that the efforts of all their reſolution were fruitleſs, and that fire purſued wherever they attempted to fly, they took refuge for ſome time under a thick wall that was not leſs than eight cubits in breadth. Among the principal perſons who exerted themſelves on this occaſion, were Meirus the ſon of Belgas, and Joſeph the ſon of Dalæus, who might have preſerved their own lives if they would have taken part with the Romans; but they rather choſe to adhere to their aſſociates, and plunging themſelves into the fire were buried in the conflagration that deſtroyed the temple.

The enemy deſtroy all the gates, galleries, treaſury, and wardrobe.

The Romans now finding that the temple was reduced to aſhes, were leſs anxious as to the preſervation of any particular buildings; wherefore they ſet fire to moſt of the gates and galleries at the ſame time; ſparing only one on the eaſt ſide, and another on the ſouth: but, in a ſhort time afterwards, theſe underwent the fate of the former. They likewiſe burnt the treaſury and the wardrobe, containing an immenſe treaſure in jewels and money, and rich habits to a very large amount: for, in fact, the Jews had made this place a repoſitory of every thing that they deemed moſt valuable. There was yet ſtanding one gallery on the outſide of the temple, to which had reſorted a very great number of women and children, with a variety of perſons who had fled from the multitude; the whole number amounting to almoſt ſix thouſand. The ſoldiers, enraged to the utmoſt degree of fury, ſet this place on fire before Titus had an opportunity of giving any directions concerning it: and they continued their operations againſt it with ſuch vehemence, that not a ſingle perſon eſcaped with life, numbers throwing themſelves precipitately from the ruins, and all the reſt being conſumed by the flames.

6000 deſtroyed through the falſe prediction of an impoſtor.

This melancholy event happened through the artifices of an impoſtor, who, on that day, pretended to be commiſſioned by Almighty God to declare his will, which was that they ſhould immediately go up to the temple: and he accompanied this order with an

uttered theſe paſſages of ſcripture, namely, Pſ. lxxix. 6. lxix. 24. and Lam. iii. 66. ſome one ſlips cunningly, as if he would not be ſeen, into the room where they ſup, clad in linen or other extraordinary veſtments, to the end the children may believe that Elias is preſent, while the company perform the ordinary cloſing religious offices at table, concluding all with the following moſt ſingular prayer for the rebuilding of the temple: "Almighty God, now ſpeedily and quicky build thy temple; quickly, in our days, out of hand; now build it, now build it, now build it, now build it, now ſpeedily build thy temple. Merciful God, great God, gentle God, higheſt God, good God, ſweet God, excellent God, God of the Jews, ſpeedily reſtore thy temple; quickly, quickly, in our days; now build it, now build it, now build it, now quickly build thy temple. Powerful God, living God, mighty God, famous God, mild God, eternal God, terrible God, choiceſt God, royal God, rich God, beautiful God, faithful God, now ſpeedily reſtore thy temple: quickly, quickly, in our days; ſpeedily, quickly; now build it, now build it, now build it, now build it, now quickly build thy temple."

aſſurance

assurance that the divine favour and protection would be manifested by an infallible sign. It was no unusual custom with the faction to pretend to have received revelations of the will of God, in order to prevent their people from deserting, and to induce them to encounter every kind of danger. Persons in circumstances of distress, when they are flattered with relief, even on the report of a false prophet, are generally inclined to believe that their real misfortunes have been magnified by their fears.

CHAP. XI.

Account of a Comet resembling a Sword. Of a remarkable Light seen round the Altar. A Lamb produced by a Cow. A Brasen Gate opens without Hands. Chariots and armed Men seen in the Air. A Countryman, named JESUS, makes a strange Exclamation. He is first punished, and then dismissed as a Man out of his Senses. At length he foretells his own Ruin.

Reflections on the credit usually given to false reports.

WITH what readiness did these enthusiastic wretches give credit to impostors, counterfeits, and false reports! While admonitions flowing from the lips of truth, and confirmed by prodigies, and other prognostics of their approaching ruin, made no impression on them. On these occasions they seemed to be deprived of the faculties proper to make a right application of the events, and of course they paid no regard to them. This may be instanced by the following singular examples:

A comet resembling a sword.

A comet, which bore the resemblance of a sword, hung over the city of Jerusalem for the space of a whole year.

A remarkable light round the altar.

A short time before the revolt, a most remarkable and extraordinary light was seen about the altar. This spectacle, which continued for about half an hour, gave a light equal to that of the day, and happened on the eighth of the month Xanthicus, at the ninth hour of the night, preceding the celebration of the feast of the passover. Ignorant persons considered this unusual and wonderful appearance as a happy omen: but those of superior judgment averred that it was a prediction of approaching war; and their opinion was fully ratified by the event.

A cow brings forth a lamb in the temple.

At the time of the festival above-mentioned another singular prodigy occurred. As the proper persons were leading a cow to the altar to be sacrificed, she was delivered of a lamb in the midst of the temple.

A brasen gate opens without hands.

Solid brass composed the eastern gate of the interior temple; and this gate was of such an immense weight, that it was the labour of twenty men to make it fast every night. It was secured with iron bolts and bars, which were let down into a large cavity dug out of one intire stone. About the fifth hour of the night this gate opened without any human assistance; and immediate notice of this event being given to the officer on duty, he lost no time in endeavouring to restore it to its former situation; but it was with the utmost difficulty that he accomplished it. There were not wanting some ignorant people, who deemed this to be a second good omen, insinuating that Providence had hereby set open a gate of blessings to the people: but persons of superior discretion were of a contrary opinion; and concluded the destruction of the city, and the success of the enemy, were predicted by the opening of the gate.

Chariots and armed men appear in the air.

On the twenty-first day of the month Artemisius, not long after the festival was ended, a vision of so extraordinary a kind made its appearance, that I should be scrupulous of venturing to relate it, but that the events which were foretold have already actually happened, and I could yet produce several witnesses who saw the circumstance to testify its truth. Before the setting of the sun, chariots and armed men were seen in the air, in various parts of the country, passing round the city, among the clouds.

A voice, urging departure, heard in the temple.

While the priests were going to perform the duties of their function according to custom, in the inner temple, on the feast of Pentecost, they at first heard an indistinct murmuring made, which was succeeded by a voice, repeating, in the plainest and most earnest manner, "Let us be gone, let us be gone."

Strange exclamation of Jesus, a countryman.

But the most extraordinary story of the whole yet remains unrelated. About four years before the commencement of the war, and while the city appeared to be in the most perfect peace, and abounded in plenty, there came to the feast of Tabernacles, which is annually celebrated to the honour of God, a simple countryman, named Jesus, who was the son of Ananus, and who, without any previous intimation, exclaimed in the following manner: "A voice from the east; a voice from the west; a voice from the four quarters of the world; a voice to Jerusalem, and a voice to the temple: a voice to men and women newly married, and a voice to the nation at large." In this manner did he continue his exclamations night and day, in various places, through all the streets of the city. Some persons of eminence in the government were so offended at the freedom of the ill-omened exclamation, that they directed that the man should be apprehended and whipped severely. He bore his sufferings not only without complaint of the injustice of them, but without saying a word in his defence: but his punishment was no sooner ended, than he proceeded as before with his denouncing exclamations. By this time the magistrates were suspicious (and indeed not without reason) that what he had said proceeded from the divine impulse of a superior power that influenced his words. Hereupon he was sent to Albinus, the governor of Judæa, who directed that he should be whipped with such severity that his bones appeared;

His astonishing fortitude and perseverance.

yet, even in this ſituation, he neither wept nor ſupplicated; but in a voice of mourning he repeated, after each ſtroke; "Woe, woe to Jeruſalem!" On this extraordinary conduct, Albinus was induced to interrogate him with reſpect to his character, and the places of his birth and reſidence; and what could induce him to proceed as he had done: but he replied not to any of theſe queſtions: wherefore Albinus found himſelf under a neceſſity of diſmiſſing him, as a man out of his ſenſes. From this period to the commencement of the war, it was not known that Jeſus viſited or ſpoke to any of the citizens; nor was he heard to ſay any other words than that melancholy ſentence, "Woe, woe to Jeruſalem!" Thoſe who daily puniſhed him received no ill language from him; nor did thoſe who fed him receive his thanks: but his general ſpeech to every one was an ominous prediction. It was remarked that on public feſtivals he was more vociferous than on other occaſions: and in the manner above-mentioned he continued to proceed for the ſpace of ſeven years and five months; nor did his voice or ſtrength appear to fail him till his predictions were verified by the ſiege of Jeruſalem. When this event had taken place, he went, for the laſt time, on the wall, and exclaimed, in a more powerful voice than uſual, "Woe, woe to this city, this temple, and this people;" and concluded his lamentation by ſaying, "Woe, woe be to myſelf!" He had no ſooner ſpoken theſe words, than, in the midſt of his predictions, he was deſtroyed by a ſtone thrown from an engine.

He foretells his own death

Vindication of Providence, and mankind the authors of their own miſeries and ruin.

From what has been above-recited it will be evident to mankind in general, that our deſtruction ariſes from our miſconduct; and that Providence, by the gift of our reaſonable faculties, as well as by the aids of prediction and revelation, has contributed, in an abundant degree, to the general good, and laſting advantage, of all its creatures. Our ruin is certainly to be attributed to ourſelves, when we refuſe to take warning after being premoniſhed of future events. It is aſtoniſhing that the Jews, after poſſeſſing themſelves of Antonia, ſhould have reduced the temple to a ſquare form, when they knew that the ſacred writings contained a prediction, importing that the city and temple ſhould be both taken, whenever it ſhould be reduced to that figure. But the principal motive by which they were induced to undertake this deſtructive war, was the doubtful meaning of another text, which intimated that, in thoſe days, a perſon ſhould come out of Judæa, who ſhould have the command of all the world. This text they applied to their own nation; and the error prevailed even among men of ſuperior rank: while, in fact, the prophecy related to Veſpaſian, who became an emperor while in Judæa. Fancy appears to be the general guide in interpretations: thus, at leaſt, it happened with the Jews, till the deſtruction of themſelves and the country convinced them of the error in which they had been involved.

The Jews fatally miſapply a prophecy to their own nation, inſtead of referring it to Veſpaſian.

CHAP. XII.

The Army proclaims TITUS Emperor. TITUS commands that the Prieſts ſhould be put to Death. He offers Terms to the Faction; which are rejected, the JEWS alledging that they were bound to the contrary by Oath. Hereupon Titus orders that no JEWS ſhould be allowed either Protection or Quarter.

BY this time the inſurgents had fled into the city, while the temple, and all its adjacencies, continued on fire. The Roman army now placed their enſigns againſt the eaſtern gate, where they made ſacrifices of thankſgiving, and proclaimed Titus emperor with every poſſible demonſtration of joy. So large a treaſure in gold was now obtained in Syria, that it was reduced to half its accuſtomed value.

Titus proclaimed emperor.

Among the prieſts on the wall there happened to be a child, who requeſted the Roman guards to give him a draught of water to quench his thirſt: this, on the promiſe of good faith on both ſides, they readily did, in compaſſion to his tender age and great neceſſity. On going down to drink the water, he took with him a flaggon, which he filled, and run off with it to his friends with ſuch expedition, that the guards found it impoſſible to catch him. On this the Romans accuſed the boy with having forfeited his word: but, in his defence, he alledged that he had only contracted with them for permiſſion to fetch the water, but not to remain with them when poſſeſſed of it, and of courſe had not violated his agreement. The Romans ſubmitted to the impoſition in conſideration of the innocence of the fraud.

Ingenious artifice of a child under the preſſure of thirſt.

The prieſts having continued on the wall yet five days longer, an extremity of hunger at length compelled them to go down, and ſurrender themſelves priſoners; whereupon the guards conducted them to Titus, before whom they humbled themſelves, and intreated his merciful regard. To this the emperor replied, that they were too late in their application: for as the temple was now deſtroyed, it was not unreaſonable that the prieſts ſhould ſhare its fate; ſince they ought to periſh with the temple to which they belonged: and hereupon he ordered them to be put to death.

By extremity of hunger, certain prieſts are obliged to ſurrender themſelves, and are put to death.

The leaders of the faction now finding how they were beſet on all ſides, and ſurrounded, ſo that there was no poſſibility of their eſcape, propoſed to enter into a treaty with the emperor; to which he, from his wonted benevolence of diſpoſition, lent a favourable ear, partly indeed, on the recommendation of his friends, and partly with a view to ſpare the city, in the hope that the inſurgents, by their future conduct, might deſerve his mercy. Titus took his ſtation on the weſt ſide of the interior temple, near the gates which led to the gallery; and between the temple and the upper town there was a bridge of communication,

A treaty requeſted by the faction, which Titus inclines to grant.

tion, by which the Romans and Jews were at this time ſeparated. On each ſide the ſoldiers crowded round their commanding officers; the Romans, on the one part, eager to ſee how Titus would receive the ſupplicants; and the Jews, on the other, equally eager to learn what chance there was of their being pardoned. Titus having ordered his men to forbear making any acclamations, and to keep the ſtricteſt peace and moſt profound ſilence, intimated to the Jews, by an interpreter, that it was his province to ſpeak firſt; and then addreſſed himſelf to them in the following manner:

Addreſs of Titus to the Jews.

"Are you not yet convinced that your country has already ſuffered ſufficient variety of wretchedneſs? Will you never ſo far recover your ſenſes as to be convinced of your own weakneſs, and the power of the Romans; but ſtill perſiſt, like ideots and madmen, to the deſtruction of your city, your temple, your countrymen, even when you know yourſelves will be included in the general ruin? Is there a period, ſince the time that Pompey reduced your city to aſhes, when you have been free from tumults and contentions? Why then will you perſiſt to make open war on the Romans? You cannot, certainly, depend on your numbers, when you muſt be already convinced that you are not able to cope with the half of our army. It you flatter yourſelves with the ſteady adherence of your auxiliaries and allies, you ſhould recollect that there is not a people in the world, who is not in ſome degree under our ſubjection, or that would not much rather have the Romans than the Jews for their friends. If you value yourſelves on the number of your people, remember that the Germans are in ſubjection to us. If you depend on the ſtrength of your walls, they are leſs able to protect you than the ocean, which guards Britain; and yet the people of that country oppoſed us in vain. If you rely on the good conduct and magnanimity of your officers, remember that even the Carthaginians have ſubmitted to the Romans. But the enemies that our countrymen have made, have ariſen from their own humanity; in permitting you to poſſeſs lands, and allowing your tribes to be governed by kings choſen from among themſelves. We have likewiſe permitted you the free exerciſe of the laws of your own country; and conſented to your living in the way agreeable to yourſelves, whether in your own country or in diſtant places. But above all, and which is a favour you could not have expected, we have permitted you to receive, collect, and employ all the contributions and ſums of money within your department, to ſupport your religion and the worſhip of your God in the way moſt agreeable to yourſelves, and thoſe of your opinion. But you have made no other uſe of all this ſingular favour and indulgence, than the accumulation of riches which have enabled you to employ our own treaſures againſt ourſelves. In a word, your conduct bears a near reſemblance to that of the ſerpent, that ſtings to death the man whoſe boſom affords him protection.

"I muſt acknowledge that the ſupine behaviour of Nero inſpired you with a degree of contempt that induced you to forget the eaſe and repoſe you then enjoyed, and gave riſe to the future extravagance of your ambition.

"It is proper that I tell you that my father did not viſit Judæa with a view to chaſtiſe your defection from Ceſtius, but wiſhing to give you ſuch advice and premonition as might tend to your reformation. If it had been his object to depopulate the nation, he would at once have ſtruck the important ſtroke, beginning with Jeruſalem rather than Galilee; but he choſe the latter proceeding, to admit leiſure for your repentance: but his benevolence was conſtrued into weakneſs; and your future inſolence hath been founded on the lenity of the Romans.

"Agreeable to the practice of other abandoned people, you took advantage of our inteſtine diviſions after the death of Nero. No ſooner had my father and I retired grom Egypt, but, in our abſence, you ſought the opportunity of laying the foundation of a war: and notwithſtanding all the benevolent exertions of which we gave proof in the government of that diſtrict, you were yet hardened enough in iniquity to concert meaſures againſt us, at the period when my father was declared emperor, and myſelf his ſucceſſor. Nay you proceeded ſtill farther; for after our dignities were confirmed by the general conſent, and we were in the actual poſſeſſion of the empire, and were congratulated by deputies from all the foreign powers on our acceſſion to the government, the Jews ſtill continued our enemies. This was evident by their ſending ambaſſadors even beyond the Euphrates, to ſolicit forces to aſſiſt them in their revolt. I would forbear to mention your newly-erected fortifications, and the factious contrivances by which you have produced a civil war; ſince they are proofs of ingratitude worthy only of the moſt abandoned of the human race.

"At the time my father, much againſt his inclination, diſpatched me to ſubdue this obſtinate city to obedience, I flattered myſelf that the inhabitants would be glad to accept of terms of peace. Did I not beſeech you to prevent a war, before a blow had paſſed on either ſide? Was I not afterwards anxiouſly ſolicitous to render it as eaſy to you as poſſible? Did I ever refuſe to receive any man who ſurrendered himſelf to me, or violate my faith to any one after he had ſurrendered? I treated your priſoners with unuſual tenderneſs, nor ever puniſhed one of your brethren who did not ſeek to extend the unhappy breach between us. It was with great reluctance that I firſt began to demoliſh your walls; and I prevented all executions among you to the utmoſt of my power. As often as I obtained any advantage over you, I beſought you to liſten to terms of peace, with as much earneſtneſs as if you had been the conquerors. When I approached your temple, I did not deſtroy it, as, by the right I had acquired by the law of arms, I might have done. I only deſired you to have mercy on yourſelves, and ſpare the ſacred places appertaining to you. At length I offered you full permiſſion to depart, and on terms of the utmoſt ſecurity:

ſecurity: but when you preferred war rather than peace, I left the choice of time and place to yourſelves: yet what is the conſequence of my humane conſideration, but that you have ſet fire to the very temple which I would have preſerved? And, after all that has paſſed, you have the aſſurance to invite me to a treaty, as if you had a ſingle argument to urge, in atonement for the devaſtation you have made. Is it to be thought that I can on any terms grant a pardon to thoſe who would not ſpare their own temple? You even preſent yourſelves now in arms, nor put on the leaſt appearance of petitioners for favour. But let us examine the foundation you have for this confident behaviour. Your people are totally diſpirited; your temple is deſtroyed; your city is mine by the law of arms, and you remain entirely at my diſpoſal: yet even to the preſent moment you perſiſt to demand terms of honour. But wherefore ſhould I longer remonſtrate with a folly ſo obſtinate? Lay down your arms and ſubmit, and I will yet ſpare your lives. It is true that I will cauſe exemplary juſtice to be done on the principal offenders; but the reſt ſhall feel the beſt effects of my humanity."

The inſolent reply and demand of the factious Jews provokes Titus, who forbids quarter to be given.

To this addreſs the faction returned an anſwer, importing that they could not ſurrender on any promiſe or aſſurance of ſafety that the emperor could make, as they were ſolemnly ſworn not to make any ſubmiſſion: but, with his permiſſion, they were ready to retire with their wives and children, into the deſert, and leave to the Romans the poſſeſſion of the city. Enraged by the idea of priſoners giving law, and preſcribing terms to the conqueror, Titus cauſed proclamation to be immediately made, intimating that, for the future, no Jew ſhould preſume to apply to him either for quarter or protection: but that they now might have recourſe to arms, and defend themſelves in the beſt manner in their power; for that the laws of war ſhould hereafter determine his conduct towards them.

The Romans burn ſeveral buildings of conſequence.

Hereupon the ſoldiers had immediate permiſſion to attack them with fire and ſword, and to apply the plunder they could obtain in the city to their own uſe. On the preſent day no ſtep was taken: but on the following morning they ſet fire to the council chamber, the caſtle, the regiſter-office, and a place named Ophlas; whence the flames ſpread to queen Helen's palace in the middle of the mount, deſtroying wherever they came, and burning a great number of dead bodies, which crowded the ſtreets and houſes in every part.

Titus extends his clemency to the kindred of king Izates

On the day laſt mentioned the ſons and brothers of king Izates, with divers other perſons of diſtinction, united in a petition to Titus to ſpare their lives; to which, agreeable to his accuſtomed humanity, he conſented; though he was highly enraged at their conduct. The ſupplicants, however, were all lodged in priſons; and the ſons and near relations of Izates were ſent to Rome as hoſtages, in a ſhort time afterwards.

CHAP. XIII.

The Inſurgents kill upwards of Eight Thouſand Perſons, and ſeize Money to a large Amount. Ruins, Vaults, and other Places being ſearched for the Deſerters, all thoſe who are taken are put to Death.

The Jews drive the Romans from the royal palace, put 8000 to death, and ſeize the treaſure.

THE next proceeding of the inſurgents was, to advance to the royal palace, a place of great ſtrength and ſecurity, in which treaſure to an immenſe amount was depoſited. From this palace the Jews routed the Romans, of whom they killed about eight thouſand four hundred, and made prize of all the treaſure, to an immenſe amount. In the courſe of this engagement two of the Roman ſoldiers were made priſoners; one of them of the cavalry, the other of the infantry. The latter was firſt put to death, and then dragged through the ſtreets of the city; as if the intention had been to deride the whole nation, by the inſult offered to one unhappy wretch. The other priſoner, pretending that he had a circumſtance of ſome conſequence to diſcloſe, was immediately conducted to Simon: but, on his arrival, he had nothing to mention that was deemed of the leaſt conſequence; wherefore, Ardalas, one of Simon's officers, received orders to put him to death. Hereupon his hands were bound behind him, a cloth was tied over his eyes, and he was conducted from Simon's preſence, to be beheaded within view of the Romans: but juſt in the inſtant that the executioner was drawing his ſword, to perform his duty, the priſoner ſlipped from him, and effected an eſcape to the Romans. This circumſtance being made known to Titus, he conſidered the caſe, and would not adjudge him to death for deſerting from the enemy in ſo critical a ſituation, but deemed it ſo diſgraceful for a Roman ſoldier to be taken priſoner, that he ordered him to be diſarmed and caſhiered; a puniſhment even worſe than death in the opinion of a man of honour.

The Jews routed from the lower town, to which the Romans ſet fire.

On the following day it happened that the Romans routed the Jews from the lower town, on which occaſion they ſet fire to all the buildings as far as Siloah, and were happy to ſee the deſtruction occaſioned by the conflagration; but they acquired no treaſure; for the inſurgents had already ſafely depoſited this in the upper town. It is worthy of remark, that the rebels were not of a diſpoſition to lament any calamities their vices had occaſioned; and they comported themſelves with their accuſtomed pride, even when fortune appeared to be their determined foe. They ſeemed to behold the burning of the city with a degree of pleaſure; and publicly ſaid, that, as affairs were then ſituated, the approach of death would not create in them the leaſt degree of concern or regret. They had ſeen the deſtruction of the people, almoſt to annihilation: they had been witneſſes to the temple being burnt to the ground: they had viewed the city in flames; and were now pleaſed that the Romans, who were to ſucceed them,

could not take poſſeſſion of any thing that might afford them ſatisfaction.

They pay no regard to the good advice of Joſephus.

While affairs were in this ſituation, Joſephus exerted his utmoſt endeavours for the preſervation of the few remaining inhabitants of a ruined and almoſt depopulated city. He applied himſelf to the paſſions of the people by every art of invective, complaint, advice, and encouragement: but all that he could ſay tended to anſwer no valuable purpoſe: the Jews were not only bound by the ſacred obligations of their oaths, but almoſt ſubdued by the ſuperior numbers of the Romans: excluſive of which they were inured to blood, and familiar with deſtruction.

Deſerters to the Romans ſearched for, and, when taken, put to death.

In this unhappy ſituation of affairs they diſperſed themſelves throughout the city, ſearching all the ruins, vaults, and other places of ſecretion, for ſuch as had deſerted. Great numbers of theſe being ſeized, they were all put to death, for they were ſo weak that they could not ſeek their ſafety by flight; and the dead bodies were thrown to the dogs. Still, however, famine threatened a death more dreadful than any other. Many of the Jews now deſerted to the Romans, in mere deſpair, for they could not entertain any other expectation than that they might be immediately put to death, to prevent the miſeries of ſtarving. The inſurgents likewiſe ſhared the ſame fate, having been inſtigated by the ſame motives. At this unhappy juncture there was not a ſingle ſtreet in the city but what was beſtrewed with dead bodies, ſome of which had been ſtarved, and the reſt fallen a ſacrifice to the rage of the famine.

Fruitleſs reſources of the inſurgents.

The inſurgents placed their laſt hope in concealment. They ſought every private place of retreat, vainly hoping that they might remain concealed till the conteſt ſhould be at an end, and the Romans had abandoned the place: they then imagined that their eſcape might be ſafely effected; without reflecting that the all-ſeeing eye of juſtice could penetrate into the moſt ſecret receſſes. The Jews who had taken poſſeſſion of the ſubterraneous retreats, were the authors of more calamity than the Romans in ſetting fire to the place. They firſt robbed, and then murdered all who retired for ſafety to theſe places. The famine now raged to ſuch a degree, that violent contentions aroſe reſpecting the coarſeſt and moſt loathſome food: and I am of opinion that if the famine had continued for any conſiderable time longer, they who ſurvived would have made no ſcruple of feeding on the bodies of the deceaſed.

Singular miſery attending the famine.

CHAP. XIV.

TITUS prepares to erect new Mounts. Five IDUMÆAN Deputies offer the Service of the People, and ſolicit his Forgiveneſs. SIMON cauſes them to be put to Death. TITUS grants Liberty to above Forty Thouſand Perſons who had deſerted to him.

A Prieſt, named JESUS, compounds with TITUS for his Life.

New mounts raiſed by Titus.

SUCH was the ſituation of the upper town, on crags and precipices, that Titus thought it would be an impoſſibility to get poſſeſſion of it, without the erection of new mounts; wherefore he ordered that theſe works ſhould be commenced on the twentieth day of the month Lous. It has been heretofore remarked that carriage was very expenſive, and attended with great trouble; for, to the diſtance of a hundred furlongs from the town, the materials had all been cut down, for the conſtruction of the works heretofore erected. The four legions now threw up a mount on the weſt ſide of the city, oppoſite the royal palace; while the auxiliaries and the other forces threw up another mount near the gallery and the bridge, and fortified the place known by the name of Simon's Tower, which had been conſtructed by Simon, during his war with John.

Five Idumæan deputies from the city favourably received by Titus.

At this period ſome of the Idumæan officers held a council together, concerting how their whole body ſhould go over to the intereſt of the Romans. Having fixed on their plan, they diſpatched five deputies to Titus, to make an offer of their ſervices: and by theſe they ſent a petition, imploring the emperor's mercy in the name of their whole people. It muſt be acknowledged that this application was made very late in point of time; but Titus, thinking that Simon and John would make no farther reſiſtance after ſo capital a deſertion, diſmiſſed the deputies with an anſwer importing that he would grant the petitioners their lives; for the truth was, that he deemed the Idumæans to be the moſt formidable of his opponents.

The Idumæans are put to death by Simon, yet many others deſert to the Romans.

The above-mentioned plot having been diſcovered, Simon gave orders that the five deputies ſhould be inſtantly put to death, and that impriſonment ſhould be the lot of thoſe from whom they had received their directions; of whom James the ſon of Soſas was deemed to be the principal. As the leaders were now in ſubjection, no great miſchief was apprehended from the common ſoldiers: notwithſtanding which a ſtricter guard was kept over the remainder of the Idumæans than had been heretofore thought neceſſary: but every effort that could be deviſed proved ineffectual to prevent their deſerting to the Romans. It is true that many of them were ſlain in the attempt; but ſtill greater numbers effected their eſcape, all of whom were received by Titus, who had ſo much generoſity and benevolence, that he declined to preſs the rigorous execution of his former orders: while even the common ſoldiers, partly ſatiated with the blood that had been ſpilt, and partly in the hope of obtaining booty began now to conduct themſelves with more lenity and moderation than they had heretofore done.

Multitudes of Jews, with

By this time there were none remaining but the inferior kind of people; and theſe,

their wives and children, publicly sold in the market

together with their wives and children, were publicly sold like beasts in the market; and at very low prices too, for the purchasers were but few in number. Titus now reflecting on this circumstance, and on the proclamation which he himself had issued, directing that no more of the Jews should desert to him singly, thought it his duty, as a man of humanity, to preserve as many of them as possible; and therefore determined to revoke his former order, and to receive as many of them as should come to him separately; but he would not receive any number together. He appointed proper persons to inquire into their characters, to discriminate between the worthy and the unworthy, and to treat every man according to his deserts.

Jesus presents many valuable things to the emperor, who saves his life.

At this period, there was a priest named Jesus, the son of Thebuth, who compounded for his life with the emperor, on the condition of his delivering up several of the ornaments belonging to the temple, with some vessels, and other articles that had been presented thereto. In pursuance of this contract, he conveyed out of the temple, and handed over the wall, several tables, goblets, and cups, with a pair of candlesticks, all made of the finest gold. He likewise presented the emperor with a considerable number of the vessels used in sacrifice, with precious stones, veils, and the habits used by the priests.

Phineas, treasurer of the temple, makes a valuable discovery, and is also spared.

About this time, likewise, Phineas, the keeper of the sacred treasure, being taken prisoner, he gave up a vast number of the habits and girdles belonging to the priests; together with scarlet and purple stuffs, which had been carefully laid by for future use. He likewise made a discovery of a quantity of cinnamon, cassia, gums, and perfumes, which were used for the incense daily offered; together with a number of sacred ornaments and effects which were the property of private persons. Now though Phineas was a lawful prisoner, regularly taken in open war, yet, in consideration of these discoveries, he was treated with as much lenity as if he had made them through the mere effect of his own inclination.

CHAP. XV.

The ROMANS advance with their Engines for Battery. SIMON and JOHN are terrified. They at length abandon three strong Forts. TITUS acknowledges the divine Interposition in Favour of the ROMANS. Orders issued by him, respecting the Prisoners.

The mounts completed, and the Romans advance.

AFTER the expiration of eighteen days the erection of the mounts was completed, on the seventh day of the month Gorpiæus (answering to September), at which time the Romans advanced with their engines for battery. Many of the insurgents now despairing to hold possession of the place any longer, abandoned the walls, and retired to the castle; while others concealed themselves in vaults, and subterranean passages. Still, however, there were some, more obstinate than the rest, who were determined to oppose those who had the management of the batteries. In the mean time the enemy was greatly superior to them in numbers and strength; and the Romans had the farther advantage that their troops were in full health and spirits, and animated with the success they had obtained over an enemy that, having been unfortunate in their undertakings, were dejected by their losses, and almost abandoned to despair.

Simon and John terrified by false alarms

As often as any of the Jews observed a flaw in the wall, or that any of the turrets yielded to the impression made by the battering engines, they sought their safety by immediate flying from the place of apprehended danger; till, at length, even Simon and John were terrified even to the borders of despair, and fled, before the Romans were advanced within such a distance as to be able to do them a personal injury: for their fears operated to such a degree that they were frightened at danger, whether real or apprehended. Though these men were some of the most abandoned of the human race, yet the extreme calamity they endured could scarcely fail of exciting pity in the breasts of those who so lately knew them boasting of their imagined consequence, and triumphing in all the height of presuming arrogance. The change in their affairs was indeed very great, and distressing in the highest degree.

They attempt to destroy the Roman wall, in which they make a breach but, being deserted, retreat in disorder.

John and Simon now made an attempt on the wall which had been erected round the city by the Romans. They succeeded, in fact, so far in this attempt, as to make a breach in the wall; and their intention was to have attacked the guards, and by that means to have effected their escape. But when they expected to have been properly supported in this attack, they found that all their friends had abandoned them: wherefore they retreated in confusion, as they were led by their fears and apprehensions.

Distracted state of the people, and their leaders.

In this distracted and wretched state of affairs, every man told such a tale as was inspired by his own apprehensions. While one brought intelligence that the whole of the wall to the westward was overthrown, others asserted that the Romans were at the foot of this wall; and a third party declared that they had entered the city, and that some of them were in actual possession of the towers. Their imaginations appeared to realize their fears: they fell prostrate on the ground, lamenting their unhappy fate, bewailing their follies; and remained in a state of desperation of which no language can convey an idea.

John and Simon, now in-

The goodness and the power of God were remarkable, and likewise equally

con-

infatuated, abandon three of their ſtrongeſt forts to the Romans.

conſpicuous, on this ſingular occaſion: for the tyrannical leaders of the oppoſition were, eventually, the occaſion of their own deſtruction, by abandoning thoſe forts of their own accord, which could never have been taken, unleſs the beſieged had been ſtarved out: and this they did after the Jews had in vain ſpent much time on other erections of inferior ſtrength. By this providential turn of affairs the Romans became maſters of three impregnable forts, which they could never have acquired in any other manner; for the three towers I have mentioned were abſolute proof againſt battery of every kind.

They aſſault the new wall, and are repulſed.

No ſooner had Simon and John, influenced by the impulſe of a judicial frenzy, abandoned the towers above-mentioned, than they hurried away to the vale of Siloah, where they repoſed themſelves for a ſhort time, after the fatigue they had undergone. Having refreſhed themſelves, and recalled their ſcattered ideas, they aſſaulted the new wall at the above-mentioned place: but their efforts were ſo feeble, that they were eaſily repulſed by the guards; for their miſery, deſpair, and fatigue, had ſo reduced them, that they had no ſtrength remaining, and were glad to creep away, with their adherents, and conceal themſelves in vaults and caverns.

The Romans ſet up their ſtandards on the towers.

The walls being now in poſſeſſion of the Romans, they hoiſted their colours on the towers, and exulted with the moſt chearful acclamations, at the happy concluſion of a war which promiſed ſo little in the commencement: for they were compelled to believe that the war was at length ended, unleſs they had been diſpoſed to diſcredit the evidence of their own ſenſes.

The Roman ſoldiers make a terrible butchery of the inhabitants.

By this time the ſoldiers had ſpread themſelves into every part of the city, ranging through the ſtreets with drawn ſwords, and ſacrificing to their rage every one they ſaw, without diſtinction. They ſet fire to the houſes, and burnt them, and all their contents, to the ground. In many houſes into which they entered in ſearch of plunder, they found every perſon of the families dead, and the houſes in a manner filled with the bodies of thoſe who had periſhed through hunger; wherefore, ſhocked at ſuch a ſight, they frequently returned without ſeizing their intended booty. Yet, notwithſtanding this apparent reſpect they ſhewed to the deceaſed, they gave no proofs of their humanity to the living; for they put every man to the ſword who fell in their way, till at length the bodies of the dead filled up all the alleys and narrow paſſes; while their blood flowed to ſuch a degree, as to run down the channels of the city in ſtreams. Towards night they gave over the practice, but renewed their depredations by means of fire.

The calamity of Jeruſalem, in being deſtroyed by her own ſons.

The conflagration of the city of Jeruſalem ended on the eighth day of the month Gorpiæus. Jeruſalem was a city that muſt undoubtedly have been the envy of the univerſe, if all the proſperity that attended it from its original foundation had borne any proportion to the misfortunes and calamities which befel it in the courſe of the ſiege above-mentioned: and what aggravated theſe judgments was, that her own ſons proved her deſtruction; and that ſhe had nurſed a race of vipers to prey on the body of the parent.

Titus, taking a ſurvey of the ruins, makes a pious reflection, aſcribing all his ſucceſſes to the agency of the divine Being.

Titus employed himſelf in taking a ſurvey of the ruins of this diſtinguiſhed city: while admiring the works and fortifications, and particularly the fortreſſes, which the uſurpers, in the extravagance of their folly, had abandoned: while he was contemplating the ſituation, dimenſions, and elevation of the towers, with the elegance of the ſtructures, the curioſity of the deſign and workmanſhip, and the maſterly execution of the whole, he expreſſed himſelf in the following manner: "If our military operations had not been aided by the immediate interpoſition of Heaven, it would have been impoſſible that we ſhould have ever poſſeſſed ourſelves of theſe fortreſſes. In a word, it was God who fought for, and aided us, againſt the Jews: for a deed has been accompliſhed which the hands of men, or the force of engines, could never have effected."

He reſtores to liberty the priſoners left in the towers by the tyrants

Titus having delivered himſelf to this effect, and ſaid much more to the ſame purpoſe, his next buſineſs was, to reſtore to liberty all thoſe priſoners whom the oppreſſors had left in the towers. This being done, and the razing and demolition of the city completed, theſe towers alone excepted, he gave orders for the ſparing them, as a memorial of his good fortune and ſucceſs; for, unleſs they had been abandoned, this ſucceſs could never have ariſen.

His determination with reſpect to the captives.

By this time the ſoldiers were perfectly fatigued with the work of ſlaughter, notwithſtanding much appeared yet to be done. However, Titus commanded his men to deſiſt, ſo far as to the ſparing all who ſhould not be found in arms, or offer to make reſiſtance: yet, notwithſtanding theſe directions, the ſoldiers exceeded their orders, and put to death the ſick and the aged, without pity or remorſe. They who appeared to be in full health, and fit for ſervice, were impriſoned in the temple, in that quarter heretofore deſtined to the uſe of the women. Fronto, one of the freed-men and friends of Titus, was deputed to enquire into the caſes of the priſoners, and to treat them according to their deſerts. The abandoned, the ſeditious, and thoſe who mutually charged each other with crimes, were put to death without mercy: but Titus reſerved the young and healthy, particularly thoſe of a comely appearance, to grace his triumph on his entrance into Rome. All thoſe who remained after this ſelection, and were above ſeventeen years of age,

Robbers and the ſeditious, who impeached each other, are put to death.

age, were ſent in chains into Egypt, to be employed as ſlaves; and thoſe who were under ſeventeen expoſed to ſale; ſome only excepted, who were ſent into the various provinces of the empire, to be engaged as gladiators in the ſeveral theatres.

11,000 Jewiſh priſoners ſtarved to death.

In the interim, no leſs than eleven thouſand of the priſoners who were under the care of Fronto were ſtarved to death; partly owing to their own obſtinacy in the refuſal of proviſions, and partly to the ſeverity of their overſeers, who neglected to ſupply them in a proper manner: but one great cauſe which aggravated this calamity was the want of ſufficient proviſions for ſuch an immenſe number.

CHAP. XVI.

Number of the Priſoners, and ſlain in the War. JOHN detained Priſoner for Life, and reſerved for the Triumph. The remainder of the City burnt, and the Walls deſtroyed by the ROMANS.

97,000 made priſoners, and 1,100,000 periſhed.

IN the war of which we are ſpeaking no leſs than ninety-ſeven thouſand perſons were made priſoners, and the number of thoſe who loſt their lives during its progreſs was eleven hundred thouſand. Of theſe far the greater part were Jews, though not born in Judæa: and as the event happened at a time when they had aſſembled, from all parts of the country, to celebrate the feaſt of the paſſover, at Jeruſalem, many of them were engaged in the war without having any ſuch intention. The multitude which had got together on this occaſion was ſo immenſe, and they were ſo crouded together, that the confined air occaſioned a peſtilence; and this calamity was ſoon followed by a famine. Yet, if the calculation of Ceſtius may be relied on, the city was quite large enough to have afforded accommodation to this amazing concourſe of people. Of this calculation it may be proper to take notice.

Computation of the populouſneſs of the Jewiſh nation.

The emperor Nero entertained ſo great a degree of contempt for the Jews, that Ceſtius, with a view to convince the emperor that the Jewiſh nation was by no means ſuch an object of deriſion as he thought it, made application to the high-prieſt to fix on a method of numbering the people. This computation was commenced at the time of the celebration of the feaſt of the paſſover; and the following mode was adopted. From the ninth to the eleventh hour of the day the people came to offer their ſacrifices; when they counted no leſs than two hundred and fifty-five thouſand ſix hundred oblations; and reckoning that ten perſons at leaſt were to eat of each lamb (though in ſome inſtances there were twenty), the number would amount to two millions five hundred and fifty-ſix thouſand perſons, all of them in perfect health: for neither perſons troubled with the ſcurvy or leproſy, nor men infected with a particular diſorder, nor women in certain circumſtances, nor any who were labouring under malignant diſtempers, were admitted to any ſhare in this ſolemnity; neither were any ſtrangers admitted ſo to partake, unleſs they came to Jeruſalem on motives of devotion.

Over-ruling hand of divine juſtice, in cauſing ſuch multitudes of the Jews to reſort to Jeruſalem, there to ſuffer various deaths.

Thus did the all-wiſe providence of God decree that theſe immenſe numbers of people who had come to Jeruſalem before the ſiege ſhould be afterwards pent up within the city, as in a priſon: and the number of ſlain in the courſe of the ſiege gave proof of a divine judgment unequalled in the annals of hiſtory. Many of them were killed openly in the ſtreets; while great numbers, retreating to the vaults and ſepulchres, were purſued by the Romans, who put to the ſword all they could find. Excluſive of thoſe who periſhed in conſequence of the ſeverity of the famine, there were above two thouſand who either died by their own hands, or mutually conſented to deſtroy each other. Not a few, likewiſe, were poiſoned by the putrid effluvia ariſing from the dead bodies: ſome bore the nauſeous ſmells as long as they could endure them, and then retired to conſult their own ſafety; but others, intent on acquiring all the booty in their power, rifled ſome of the bodies of the deceaſed, while they trampled on others which were in an abſolute ſtate of putrefaction: but avarice diſclaims all ideas of delicacy.

Numbers of priſoners releaſed; and the puniſhment of the tyrants John and Simon.

A great number of priſoners were releaſed, who had been laid in chains by the two uſurpers, whoſe cruelty continued as long as they had the leaſt power to exert it: but at length the vengeance of Heaven effectually purſued thoſe monſters of iniquity: John and his aſſociates, who had ſecreted themſelves in the vaults, were reduced even to the point of ſtarving; ſo that, at length, they were compelled to implore that protection from the Romans which they had heretofore affected to deſpiſe; while Simon ſurrendered himſelf, after a long ſtruggle with the moſt pinching neceſſity; as will be hereafter mentioned. John was committed to priſon for his life, and Simon reſerved to grace the triumph. Soon after this, the Romans demoliſhed the walls, and burnt the reſt of the city.

CHAP. XVII.

MELCHISEDEC was the firſt Founder of this City, and changed its Name from SOLYMA to that of JERUSALEM. The City and Temple laid level with the Ground.

By what kings Jeruſalem had been taken.

IT was in the ſecond year of the reign of Veſpaſian, and on the eighth day of the month Gorpiæus, that Jeruſalem was thus finally taken and abſolutely deſtroyed. Before this,

this, however, it had been taken five times; viz. by the Egyptian king Azochaus; by the Syrian king Antiochus Epiphanes; by Pompey; and by Herod, aſſiſted by Soſius: but all theſe preſerved it after they had conquered it. The fifth capture of which I ſpeak was that of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, who laid it waſte after it had been built one thouſand three hundred and ſixty years eight months and ſix days.

The firſt founder.

Melchiſedec, a king of Canaan, was the firſt founder of the city of Jeruſalem. In the Hebrew language, the name Melchiſedec ſignifies an "Upright king;" and this prince was ſo in a diſtinguiſhed degree. *He firſt dedicated this city to God; built a temple therein, and officiated as a high-prieſt; and changed its former name of Solyma to that of Jeruſalem.

In a ſeries of time, when David, the king of the Jews, drove out the Canaanites, he placed his own countrymen in Jeruſalem; and after this, the Babylonians deſtroyed the city, at the expiration of four hundred and ſeventy-ſeven years and three months.

There elapſed eleven hundred and ſeventy-nine years between the reign of David in Jeruſalem, and the deſtruction of the city by Titus; and this laſt event happened at the expiration of two thouſand one hundred and ſeventy-ſeven years from its foundation. But by this great event it is evident that the inevitable decrees of fate pay no regard to antiquity, riches, fame, or even the dignity of religion.

The city and temple levelled with the ground.

Thus ended the important and melancholy ſiege; and the Roman ſoldiers having no living object on which to wreak their farther vengeance (for if they had, that vengeance would have been continued), Titus gave orders that they ſhould reduce the city and temple to a level with the ground; and not to leave any building ſtanding, except the three diſtinguiſhed towers, ſo often mentioned, which bore the names of Hippocos, Phaſael, and Mariamne; and a part of the wall to the weſtward of the city, on which he intended to erect a garriſon. The towers were ordered to remain as an evidence to future times of the ſkill and power of the Romans in becoming poſſeſſed of them. This order was executed with the utmoſt ſtrictneſs, and the reſt of the city totally demoliſhed, and raſed even to the ground; ſo that it ſcarcely appeared to have been the reſidence of human creatures. Thus the factious multitude, whoſe ſeditions had created all the misfortunes, were reduced; and thus, likewiſe, was reduced the moſt diſtinguiſhed city on the face of the earth.

Titus reſolves to reward the valour of his ſoldiers.

A reſolution was now formed by Titus to leave ſome ſquadrons and battalions of horſe and foot, together with the tenth legion, in garriſon in Jeruſalem. The duty of a careful and vigilant general having been fully diſcharged by Titus, he now conſidered how he ſhould moſt effectually encourage and reward thoſe whoſe ſervices had tended to contribute to his preſent glory. For this purpoſe, he aſcended a tribunal in the front of his camp, and on an eminence where he might be heard to the greateſt advantage; and being ſurrounded by a ſelect number of his principal officers, he from thence made a ſpeech to his army, the ſubſtance of which is as follows:

His addreſs to the army.

"My gallant fellow-ſoldiers! I have no language in which to expreſs the ſenſe of that gratitude I entertain for your faithful and reſpectful behaviour to me during the courſe of the late war. Your regular obedience and ſtrict diſcipline have been commendable beyond all example. You have been reſolute in your behaviour, on every occaſion, and firm in all dangers, even the moſt alarming. You have acquired the higheſt degree of reputation, in having advanced the honour and enlarged the territories of your country. It is proper that all the world ſhould know that neither the ſuperiority of numbers, the advantages of forts, the ſtrength of ſituation, the power of well-peopled cities, nor the deſperate zeal, and aggravated fury of the moſt brutiſh adverſaries, can ever be an equal match for the calm conduct and courage of the Romans. It is true that ſome favourable and advantageous turns of fortune have occaſionally attended the Jews: but you have amply performed your duty in putting a happy end to a war of ſo long continuance, in a way as flattering to our wiſhes as could have been hoped for on its firſt commencement. A circumſtance ſtill more happy than this ariſes, on which to congratulate you; for the choice that you have made of Roman emperors and generals is not only admitted, but univerſally approved and applauded. It is impoſſible that I ſhould ſufficiently admire and eſteem you, on account of what you have already ſo admirably performed. With regard to thoſe who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their ſingular bravery and by their exemplary conduct in hazardous adventures, by which they have done honour to their private characters and public profeſſion, it ſhall be my particular care to ſee that they do not go unrewarded. They who have proved themſelves emulous to excel their fellow-ſoldiers ſhall be certain of meeting with an acknowledgment adequate to their merits; for I have leſs pleaſure in puniſhing the guilty, than in promoting and rewarding the meritorious."

His courteous and munificent behaviour to them.

Titus addreſſed himſelf to the proper officers, demanding a liſt of the names of ſuch of the ſoldiers as had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in an exemplary manner in the courſe of the war. Theſe being ſeparately called, and their names announced, Titus acknowledged their merit, ſaying he was as anxious for their welfare as for his own. Having addreſſed them in the moſt obliging terms, he proceeded to give them ſubſtantial proofs of his friendſhip, and princely bounty. He placed coronets of gold on

* The learned Bochart ſays, that in the following lines are "almoſt as many errors as words."

their heads; adorned them with chains of gold; preſented them with lances pointed with the ſame metal, and with medals of ſilver, and promoted every man in proportion to his rank. He alſo gave them gratuities of minted money in gold and ſilver, out of the treaſure that had been taken, and likewiſe preſented them with robes, and other valuable articles. Every man being thus rewarded according to his merit, by the proper diſtribution of the imperial bounties, Titus deſcended from his tribunal, amidſt the acclamations, vows, and prayers, of the whole army.

He offers a ſacrifice of thankſgiving for his ſucceſſes.

The next proceeding was to offer ſacrifices and return thanks for the victory. A number of oxen had been previouſly provided, and brought near the altars, which were ſacrificed on this occaſion, and diſtributed to the army; and Titus feaſted his officers, at his own expence, for three days. Soon after this, the troops were diſmiſſed to their reſpective quarters; and the tenth legion, which had been brought from the Euphrates, took poſſeſſion of the city of Jeruſalem.

The twelfth legion appointed to watch the Jews at Maletine.

The affront which the Jews had offered to the Romans under Ceſtius was yet freſh in the memory of Titus; wherefore he diſpatched the twelfth legion (which had formerly been ſtationed at Rapanæa), to Maletine, which is ſituated near the Euphrates, on the borders of Cappadocia and Armenia. The fifth and the fifteenth legions he retained, as a guard to attend himſelf into Egypt. From Egypt he went a coaſting paſſage to Cæſarea: but as the winter was now ſet in, he did not think it prudent to proceed to Italy: wherefore, for the preſent, he depoſited his treaſure in Cæſarea, and ſecured his priſoners in the moſt effectual manner.

CHA. XVIII.

VESPASIAN viſits the Sea-ports during the Siege. Further Particulars concerning SIMON and his Companions. Birth-days of DOMITIAN and VESPASIAN celebrated with uncommon Splendor and Magnificence.

Several of the ſea-ports viſited by Veſpaſian.

AT the time that Titus was laying ſiege to Jeruſalem, Veſpaſian employed himſelf in viſiting the ſea-ports. Having embarked on board a trading veſſel for Rhodes, he engaged a galley at that place, in which he ſailed from Ionia to Greece, calling at all the towns on the coaſt, where he was received and entertained in a manner conſiſtent with his rank. Hence he went to Corcyra, and ſo on to Japygia; from whence he continued his journey by land.

When Titus had returned from Cæſarea on the ſea-coaſt to the place called Cæſarea Philippi, he there remained a conſiderable time, amuſing himſelf with a variety of public entertainments; particularly combats between men and beaſts, likewiſe between one ſingle man and another; and engagements between different parties of men; and the lives of a conſiderable number of ſlaves were ſacrificed in theſe amuſements.

Simon's project to eſcape; which failing, he is apprehended, and put in chains.

About this period Simon the ſon of Gioras was made a priſoner, in conſequence of the following ſingular circumſtance. When Jeruſalem was ſo cloſely beſieged that Simon was compelled to take refuge in the upper town, and when the Romans had actually got into the city; he was almoſt diſtracted to know how to diſpoſe of himſelf; and at length he adopted the following plan. Having ſent for a number of ſtone-cutters, miners, ſmiths, and perſons well ſkilled in iron works; and having provided a great number of tools and materials proper for their purpoſe, and proviſions for a conſiderable time, they deſcended all together into a dark and private vault. In this place they worked their way as far as they were able; but finding the paſſage too narrow to anſwer their intentions, they began to dig and mine, with a view to open a paſſage through which they might effect their eſcape: but though they managed their proviſions in the moſt frugal manner poſſible, they fell ſhort before they had made any conſiderable progreſs in their work; by which the whole plan failed. Reduced to the utmoſt neceſſity, Simon had recourſe to a ſingular device to terrify the Romans. In purſuance of his plan, he dreſſed himſelf in a white garment, which was buckled round him, over which was thrown a purple cloak. Thus habited, he aſcended from the ground, under the ruins of the late temple, to the aſtoniſhment of the ſoldiers, and others who beheld the apparition. As he advanced towards them, the ſoldiers aſſumed ſufficient courage to demand his name and buſineſs; but Simon refuſed to anſwer their queſtions, and demanded to ſpeak with the captain of the guard. Hereupon they immediately ſent to Terentius Rufus, who at that time had the command; and he ſoon diſcovering who Simon was, ordered him to be immediately put in chains, and then related all the particulars of the affair to Titus.

His crimes juſtly retaliated on himſelf, by his own means.

Thus did divine juſtice purſue and puniſh an execrable tyrant, who had, by the means of ſuborning falſe evidence, cauſed the deſtruction of ſo many of his own countrymen, on the pretence that they were about to deſert to the Romans: thus was he, by an act of his own, delivered into the hands of his enemies, without any contrivance on their part, to take him priſoner. But the vengeance of Heaven will always purſue the guilty: juſtice and innocence will finally prevail: the puniſhment which is deferred is frequently felt more ſeverely from that circumſtance; ſince the danger is then thought to be at an end, and the guilty deem themſelves ſecure. This was the ſituation of Simon, with reſpect to the Romans; and his aſcent from the vault, in the ſtrange manner above-mentioned, proved the means of diſcovering

covering the place where his companions were concealed.

He is reſerved to grace the triumph of Titus.

When Titus had returned from Cæſarea, on the ſea-coaſt, Simon was preſented to him bound in chains: whereupon he gave orders that he ſhould be detained a priſoner, to grace his triumphal entry into Rome. Some ſhort time after his arrival he appointed a day for the celebration of the nativity of his brother Domitian with the utmoſt grandeur and magnificence. On this occaſion a great number of condemned perſons were ſacrificed to the ſplendor of the ceremony: for of thoſe who were deſtroyed by beaſts, by fire, or in combats with each other, it was calculated that not leſs than two thouſand five hundred periſhed; yet ſuch was the inveteracy of the Romans againſt the Jews, that they thought even this number too ſmall.

Titus celebrates the anniverſary of Veſpaſian's birth.

Some time after this Titus went to Berytus, a city of Phœnicia, and one of the Roman colonies. In this place he continued ſome time, and there celebrated the anniverſary of the birth of his father Veſpaſian, even with a greater degree of pomp and ſplendor than he had done that of his brother, both with reſpect to the article of expence, and the public ſhews exhibited.

CHAP. XIX.

Diſperſion of the JEWS. The City of ANTIOCH ruined by ANTIOCHUS, the Son of a JEW. The Pagan Worſhip eſtabliſhed, and the Obſervance of the Sabbath ſuppreſſed by him. The JEWS are unjuſtly accuſed of firing the City.

THE ſituation of the Jews in Antioch was at this time very uncomfortable; for the citizens were their determined enemies, on account of their former miſbehaviour, aggravated by ſome improper conduct of which they had been lately guilty. In this place it may not be improper to make mention of ſome particular circumſtances, by which the meaning of what is to follow will be the more readily comprehended.

Great numbers of the Jews ſettle in Syria and at Antioch.

There is ſcarcely a part of the habitable globe, in which ſome of the Jewiſh people are not diſperſed: but they particularly abound in Syria, which borders on their own country; and there are immenſe numbers of them in Antioch: a circumſtance which ariſes not only from the city being very large and populous, but from the particular privileges with which they have been gratified in this place, from the time of Antiochus Epiphanes (as he was called), who totally reduced the city of Jeruſalem, and plundered the temple. All the braſen veſſels which had been taken from the Jews at Jeruſalem, were reſtored to them by the immediate ſucceſſors of Antiochus, for the purpoſe of their being applied to the ſervice of their temple at Antioch. Theſe ſucceſſors likewiſe allowed the Jews to enjoy the ſame freedom of the city that the Greeks did: and the kings who followed thoſe above-mentioned behaved with a ſimilar degree of lenity and indulgence; ſo that the Jewiſh temple became rich and flouriſhing, and the numbers of their people continually increaſed. Several of the Pagans, likewiſe, became proſelytes to their religion, and incorporated with the body of the people.

Antiochus, the ſon of a Jew, cauſes diſturbances in the city, by charging his father and other Jews with a deſign to burn the place.

When the war was now completely ended, and Veſpaſian had gone by ſea into Syria, the Jews rendered themſelves extremely odious; of which the following circumſtance will ſerve as an inſtance. During a public aſſembly in the theatre, Antiochus came in, and, before all the company, charged his own father, and ſeveral other foreign Jews, whoſe names he mentioned, with a deſign of ſetting fire to the city during the night. This aſſertion cauſed a violent inſurrection, and during the diſturbance, the people procured fire, and burnt the ſuppoſed conſpirators in the midſt of the theatre. The mob were now diſpoſed to have burnt every man who was but ſuſpected, in order to ſave their country from an apprehended ruin. Antiochus did every thing in his power to aggravate the preſent malicious diſpoſition; and as a proof of the regard which he entertained for the Pagan worſhip, and his abhorrence of that of the Jews, he ſacrificed after the Pagan manner himſelf, and likewiſe iſſued orders that others ſhould do the ſame, or ſuffer death if they refuſed. In conſequence of this peremptory order, the people of Antioch in general complied, the Jews only excepted, great numbers of whom were put to death for refuſing their obedience to the mandate.

He eſtabliſhes the Pagan worſhip.

The obſervance of the ſabbath ſuppreſſed.

By this time Antiochus had a command beſtowed on him by the governor, which enabled him ſtill farther to gratify his rage againſt the Jews; wherefore he began by infringing on the ſacredneſs of the ſabbath, compelling the people to labour on that day as they did on others; and he inſiſted on this point with ſuch rigid ſeverity, that the obſervation of this ſacred day was at length totally ſuppreſſed in Antioch; while other places were in danger of following the fatal example.

It was not long before another misfortune ſucceeded this perſecution of the Jews at Antioch; the particulars of which are as follow. A fire happened to break out in the ſquare market, which burnt ſeveral magnificent buildings, and public offices for the regiſtering of records: and the flames raged ſo furiouſly, that the total deſtruction of the whole city was greatly endangered. Antiochus accuſed the Jews with being the authors of this conflagration; and the inhabitants of Antioch, already greatly prepoſſeſſed againſt thoſe people, were very fond of giving credit to the charge: in fact, ſo ſtrong were their prejudices againſt the Jews, that they were ready to ſwear that they ſaw thoſe people in the very act of ſetting fire to the city: wherefore,

The Jews accuſed as incendiaries.

wherefore, taking it for granted that all was true that their imaginations ſuggeſted, they made ſo ſudden and violent an attack on the accuſed parties, that it was with no ſmall degree of difficulty that Collega, vice-governor to Ceſennius Petus, kept the people in tolerable ſubjection till the particulars of the affair could be tranſmitted to the emperor. At this time Ceſennius had received his commiſſion as governor, but was not arrived to take on him the command. Collega having examined into the affair in the moſt careful and cautious manner, the innocence of all the perſons who had been accuſed by Antiochus was made indiſputably evident: and it appeared that the city had been ſet on fire by a few abandoned miſcreants, and men of deſperate fortunes, who thought the deſtruction of their creditors would be the moſt effectual way of ſcreening themſelves from the payment of their debts. Notwithſtanding the falſeneſs of the accuſation, the Jews were under great uneaſineſs of mind for fear of the conſequences.

CHAP. XX.

The Happineſs of TITUS on receiving an Account of his Father's ſafe Arrival in ITALY; and the Reſpect ſhewn to VESPASIAN.

General joy on Veſpaſian's ſafe arrival.

AT this time Titus received the agreeable news that his father was happily arrived in Italy, and how magnificently he had been entertained in the ſeveral cities of that country, through which he paſſed: but what afforded him more ſatisfaction than any other circumſtance, was the ſincere affection with which he was received at Rome; which prevented the ſon from any farther anxiety on account of his father. In every place the people treated even the name of Veſpaſian with the utmoſt diſtinction; and ſupplied the want of his preſence by their perfect reſpect for him.

His diſtinguiſhed qualities admired by all ranks.

The ſenate of Rome, well remembering the unhappy revolutions to which they had been witneſs, on the transferring of the government from one prince to another, thought themſelves happy in having an emperor, whoſe character was ſo diſtinguiſhed by experience, conduct, and reputation. Nor were the people in general leſs pleaſed with the happy change in the face of affairs, as they were at that time embroiled in civil wars; and they repoſed the utmoſt confidence in the emperor; expecting that, through his means, they ſhould be reſtored to their former eaſe and freedom. The ſoldiers in general were profeſſed admirers of their imperial maſter, as he had, on a variety of occaſions, given abundant proof of his courage and military ſkill: and their regard for him was heightened by reflecting on the diſgrace they had frequently ſuffered under other commanders: wherefore they promiſed themſelves that, under the command of Veſpaſian, they ſhould meet with abundant ſucceſs and applauſe.

Inſtances of the reſpect with which he is every where treated.

So general was the eſteem in which Veſpaſian was held, that the moſt eminent people of the city, impatient of his arrival, went to a conſiderable diſtance, in order to meet him on the road; and theſe were followed by ſuch numbers, that there were ſcarce as many left in the city as came out of it. When intelligence arrived that Veſpaſian was near the place, and that his addreſs and affability were univerſally admired, the roads were crowded with the wives and children of the inhabitants, who flocked to ſee him. Every one now burſt into raptures of admiration at the elegance of his perſon, and the modeſty of his behaviour; and they called him by all the endearing names of benefactor, deliverer, protector; extolling him as the only prince in the univerſe who was worthy to wear an imperial crown.

Demonſtrations of the univerſal joy on his return to them.

On this occaſion the whole city was decorated with garlands, and looked as gay as a temple; and the ſtreets were crowded to ſuch a degree that it was with the utmoſt difficulty that the proceſſion could paſs to the palace. Veſpaſian now offered up ſacrifices of thankſgiving to his houſehold gods, in grateful acknowledgment of his ſafe return; and, in the mean time, the people in general indulged themſelves in feaſting, treating their families and neighbours, offering up their vows for a long and proſperous reign to Veſpaſian, and wiſhing that he might be ſucceeded in the imperial dignity by his ſon; and that there might never be wanting one of his illuſtrious family to ſway the ſceptre. Thus auſpicious was the entrance of Veſpaſian into Rome: and every kind of ſucceſs and happineſs ſucceeded this event.

CHAP. XXI.

A Revolt happens among the GERMANS, headed by CASSIUS and CIVILIS. PETILIUS CERE-ALIS puts a Stop to the Sedition by routing the Rebels; and DOMITIAN totally ſuppreſſes it without Bloodſhed. An Incurſion of the SYRIANS, who are routed by RUBRIUS GALLUS.

The Germans revolt.

WHILE Titus was laying ſiege to Jeruſalem, and not long before Veſpaſian came to Alexandria, a very conſiderable revolt happened among the Germans, to which they were in a great degree incited and animated by their neighbours the Gauls, who wiſhed to free themſelves from the yoke of the Romans. The Germans, being naturally of a vehement diſpoſition, bold, raſh, and inconſiderate, were forward enough to engage in an enterpriſe of this kind: beſides, they were inſtigated by an inveterate hatred they entertained for the Romans; as they ſtood in fear of no other people but them. To all theſe circumſtances may be added the critical ſituation of affairs; for the empire was rent in pieces by factious diviſions, and there had been a variety of revolutions in the government.

Authors and promotors of it.

At this time there were two perſons, named Caſſius and Civilis, who had great influence among the Germans; and theſe took advantage of the diſtracted ſtate of affairs to promote the ſedition: though, in fact, this was but carrying on a plan which they had long before concerted. On inquiring into the ſentiments of the people, they found that a great majority of them were admirably diſpoſed to acts of mutiny; and their example would moſt probably have been followed by all the reſt, but for the immediate interpoſition of divine providence. The particulars of this affair are as follows: Veſpaſian had ſent letters to Petilius Cerealis, heretofore governor of Germany, by which he advanced him to the dignity of conſul, and directed that he ſhould immediately march into Italy, to execute the duties of his new office. As Cerealis was on his journey, he received authentic information of the inſurrection above-mentioned; on which he immediately marched againſt the rebels, who were united in a body; and attacking them with great vigour, he totally routed them, great numbers being ſlain in the action; by which the reſt were at once reduced to a proper ſenſe of their duty.

The revolt totally ſuppreſſed by Domitian.

If Cerealis had not been ſo fortunate as to cruſh this rebellion in the bud, it muſt, nevertheleſs, have ſoon yielded to the valour of another commander; for no ſooner had intelligence of the inſurrection arrived at Rome, than Domitian, the ſon of Veſpaſian, a young prince of the greateſt hopes and expectations, in whom the heroic virtues of his father were hereditary, put himſelf at the head of an army, and advanced againſt the main body of the rebels; who no ſooner heard of his being on his march, than they were ſo terrified as to ſurrender, even without bloodſhed. When the affairs of Gaul were adjuſted, and there was no farther danger that the people would again rebel, Domitian loſt no time in returning to Rome, where he was received with the loudeſt acclamations; his good conduct extolled; and himſelf honoured as one who had produced happy conſequences to his country, and honour to himſelf, beyond what could have been expected from his age and experience.

The Roman territories invaded by the Scythians.

An incurſion of the Scythians (or Sarmatians) ſucceeded to the rebellion in Germany. Theſe people having privately tranſported themſelves over the Danube, with an immenſe number of men, broke into the country of Myſia, where they ſurpriſed ſeveral of the Roman garriſons; and put all they found in them to the ſword, with the moſt ſavage inhumanity. They ſlew Fonteius Agrippa, a perſon of the rank of lieutenant general, and of conſular dignity, at the head of his troops: and they ravaged the whole country, burning, waſting and deſtroying wherever they came. Intelligence of theſe circumſtances was brought to Veſpaſian, and he had no ſooner learnt ſome particulars of the depredations that had been made in Myſia, than he immediately ſent away Rubrius Gallus to chaſtiſe the offenders: a commiſſion that this officer executed ſo faithfully, that he deſtroyed great numbers of them, and the reſt eſcaped to their own habitations with no ſmall degree of difficulty: ſo that this war was ſoon at an end: and the commanding officer gave ſuch effectual orders for ſecuring the paſſes, as to render the repetition of ſimilar attempts and incurſions much leſs likely to take place in future.

Many of them deſtroyed by Rubrius Gallus, and the reſt diſperſed.

CHAP. XXII.

The triumphal March of TITUS. The Sabbatical River. TITUS rejects Petitions againſt the JEWS, and greatly commiſerates the deſolate Condition of JERUSALEM. Immenſe Treaſures buried in the Ruins of that City. The Order and Magnificence with which the Triumph was attended. SIMON GIORAS put to Death.

Titus marches in triumph through Syria.

TITUS having remained a little while at Berytus, he, on his return from that place (as hath been before obſerved) exhibited the moſt magnificent ſpectacles as he paſſed through Syria. In this journey he took with him the priſoners that he had made, to do honour to his arms, and to add to the ſplendor of his triumph.

Deſcription of the Sabbatical River.

In the courſe of his journey this prince took particular notice of a certain river, which is ſituated betwixt the cities of Arce and Raphane in the kingdom of Agrippa; which river is diſtinguiſhed by ſome very remarkable properties. During the flowing of the river the ſtream is full, and the current ſets ſtrong: but the ſprings failing on a ſudden, it leaves the channel dry, even to the middle, for the ſpace of ſix days: and it fills again on the ſeventh day, and flows as uſual, and purſues its former courſe, as if no interruption had happened. From theſe circumſtances it has obtained the name of the Sabbatical River, from the feſtival celebrated by the Jews on the ſeventh day.

Titus joyfully received at Antioch.

Intelligence of Titus being on his journey having reached the city of Antioch, the people were ſo overjoyed at the news, that immenſe numbers of both ſexes, and almoſt all ages, left their habitations, and went out to meet him. Many of them went to the diſtance of thirty furlongs, being impatient to congratulate him, and to welcome him on his journey. When he came near them they withdrew on each ſide, to make a paſſage for him, and thus conducted him into the city, with every poſſible demonſtration of joy and reſpect; but amidſt their ſhouts and acclamations they ſolicited him in the moſt earneſt and importunate manner, that he would baniſh all the Jews from the city. Titus heard all they had to ſay, but with ſuch apparent indifference, that it was impoſſible to diſcover his ſentiments on the ſubject; a circumſtance that gave the Jews great anxiety, as they were extremely apprehenſive for the event of the affair. Titus remained but a

He diſregards petitions in prejudice of the Jews;

very ſhort time at Antioch, from whence he proceeded to Teugma, which lies towards the Euphrates. At this place he was waited on by embaſſadors from Vologeſus, king of the Parthians, who ſent him a preſent of a crown of gold, and tranſmitted his congratulations on his late victory over the Jews. Titus received the preſent, entertained the embaſſadors in a manner ſuited to their rank, and then returned to Antioch.

Immediately after his arrival the ſenate and magiſtrates of the city gave him an earneſt invitation to honour the theatre with his preſence. With this he very readily complied, and there found a very great number of citizens waiting in expectation of his arrival. He had ſcarcely taken his place, when they began to re-urge him earneſtly on the ſubject of the expulſion of the Jews, to which Titus, with equal prudence and generoſity, replied, ſaying, "Their own country is laid waſte, and they cannot find admiſſion into any other." The citizens finding that Titus was not to be prevailed on to grant this requeſt, they immediately ſolicited another favour, which was, that he would order the pillars of braſs, on which were engraven the inſcriptions reciting the privileges of the Jews, to be either taken away, or the inſcriptions eraſed: but Titus paid no more regard to the latter requeſt than to the former; and departed towards Egypt, leaving the Jews of Antioch in poſſeſſion of the ſame privileges as at his arrival.

and a ſecond time rejects ſolicitations againſt them.

While he was proceeding on his journey he reflected ſeriouſly on the deplorable ſituation of Jeruſalem, and all the adjacent country, and could not help drawing a compariſon in his mind between its preſent and former condition. It was heretofore one of the moſt glorious cities in the univerſe, and now a heap of ruins: it was in former times a paradiſe, and now become a deſert. Reflecting on theſe unhappy changes, he ſincerely lamented the deſtruction of ſo diſtinguiſhed a city, and execrated the authors of the ſedition that had occaſioned it. So far, indeed, was he from wiſhing to extend his own fame on a public calamity, that he held in the utmoſt abhorrence thoſe to whom that calamity was owing.

Titus laments the ruinous ſtate of Jeruſalem.

Jeruſalem had been poſſeſſed of riches to an immenſe amount; and amazing treaſures of gold, ſilver, and other valuable effects were buried in the ruins, great part of which had been ſecreted by the proprietors, that the enemy might not obtain poſſeſſion of them. Of theſe effects many were diſcovered by the Romans, but the priſoners found many more.

Vaſt treaſures found in the ruins of the city.

In the interim Titus continued his journey into Egypt, and travelling with all poſſible expedition over that deſolate country, he arrived at Alexandria, at which place he took ſhipping for Italy; but previous to his embarkation he diſpatched the two legions that had attended him to their former ſtations; that is, the fifth legion was ſent to Myſia, and the tenth to Hungary. Simon and John, who had been the principal inſurgents, together with about ſeven hundred other priſoners, who were diſtinguiſhed by the comelineſs of their appearance, were ordered to be ſent into Italy, that they might dignify the triumph of Titus, on his entry into Rome.

Titus goes to Egypt, and ſends Simon and John, with about 700 captives to Italy, to adorn his triumph.

Titus had a moſt favourable and agreeable voyage, and was received with as great honour and reſpect as his father had been before him; and excluſive of this general reſpect from the people, Veſpaſian went out in perſon, to meet and congratulate him: a circumſtance highly grateful to the public, who now beheld the father and his two ſons meeting together in circumſtances of the moſt auſpicious nature.

Veſpaſian meets and congratulates him.

In a ſhort time after this the ſenate paſſed a decree for two ſeparate triumphs, the one in honour of the father, the other in that of the ſon; but, notwithſtanding this determination, Veſpaſian and Titus reſolved that the ſolemnity to their mutual honour ſhould be jointly celebrated. When the day was fixed, on which it was to take place, there was hardly a ſingle perſon in the city who did not attend as a ſpectator, ſo that when the whole multitude was aſſembled together there was ſcarcely room enough left for the emperor and his ſon to paſs. Before the break of day the ſoldiers marched to the palace gates near the temple of Iſis, in regular order, preceded by their officers, to wait the arrival of the princes; who had lodged the preceding night in the temple above-mentioned. Soon after the dawn of the morning Veſpaſian and Titus came forward, being clothed in purple robes, according to the cuſtom of their country, and having on their heads crowns of laurel. They proceeded to the Octavian walks, at which place the ſenate, nobility and knights of Rome waited for their arrival. Before the portal there was erected a tribunal, on which they aſcended, and repoſed themſelves on ſeats of ivory which had been placed there on this occaſion: and being thus ſituated, orations were made in their praiſe, while the ſurrounding multitudes teſtified their joy by the loudeſt acclamations. On this occaſion the princes wore no arms; and while the orators were rapidly declaiming in their praiſe, Veſpaſian made a ſignal for ſilence, which being ſtrictly obeyed by every perſon preſent, he ſtood up, and having thrown his robe over a part of his head, he offered up certain prayers, agreeable to the cuſtom on ſuch occaſions; and in this Titus followed his example. This being done, Veſpaſian addreſſed the company in a conciſe ſpeech, and then diſmiſſed the military people to regale themſelves at his expence. In the next place Veſpaſian and Titus proceeded to the triumphal gate, which received its name on account of the grand proceſſion paſſing that way. Here they took ſome refreſhment, and being then arrayed in their triumphal habiliments, they offered up ſacrifices at the gate, and then proceeded, in great pomp and ſolemnity, through the midſt of the crowd, that all the people might be gratified by a ſight of them.

Order and magnificence of the joint triumph of Veſpaſian and Titus.

It

Particulars respecting the splendor of it.

It is impossible for language to convey any adequate idea of the splendor and magnificence of this public exhibition; whether the expence and contrivance of it, or the novelty of its ornaments be considered. On this occasion all the most valuable curiosities which the Roman nation had been collecting through a long succession of ages, were combined to furnish the splendid triumph of one day, and displayed as a monument of the national grandeur. So great a number of very curious performances, in gold, silver and ivory, equally valuable for their cost and their admirable contexture, were now exhibited to the public view, that they seemed rather a confusion than a regular display of riches. There likewise appeared such an amazing variety of purple garments and Babylonian embroideries, together with jewels and other stones of great value, which were disposed into the forms of crowns, and other devices, that what used to be accounted curious was now no longer deemed so. Images of the gods of the Romans were carried in procession, which were extraordinary for their size and constructure; and besides these there were resemblances of various sorts of living creatures, which were dressed so as to answer their characters.

The pageants, and habits of those who attended them.

A great number of people, dressed in cloth of gold and purple, carried these pageants through the streets; and they who were more immediately appointed to attend the pompous train were habited in garments of a singularly splendid appearance. Even the very prisoners that made a part of the train were dressed with unusual decency, to hide the misery of their condition, and conceal the marks of slavery that appeared in their countenances: but in all the procession nothing was so extraordinary as the carrying of the machines, many of them were three, or four stories in height, so that it is astonishing how the bearers could support them. The expence of these was proportioned to the contrivance of them; for the furniture and hangings were embroidered with gold, ivory, and other things of high value.

Description of the machines.

Military representations.

In the procession were likewise the most lively and picturesque representations of war, and all its attendant circumstances. In one place was to be seen the appearance of a fruitful country totally laid waste: in another the destruction of armies; some being killed, some flying, and others taken prisoners: there were resemblances of walls levelled with the ground, forts destroyed, fortified cities entered through breaches, towns taken by surprize, and streets streaming with blood, while the vanquished were imploring mercy. Houses appeared to be falling on the heads of their owners, while temples were apparently in flames, and rivers found their course through the conflagrations, instead of supplying water to man and beast, and refreshing the fields and meadows with their streams. Nor was this any other than an admirable representation of the sufferings of the Jews, so finely contrived by the ingenuity of art, that to those who were unacquainted with the fate of Jerusalem, it might seem to be a well told story of the destruction of that celebrated city.

Views of shipping, and the rich spoils taken at Jerusalem.

On each of the pageants was a representation of the manner in which some town or city was taken, with a figure of the governor of the place. To these succeeded a view of the shipping, and then were exhibited the spoils that were taken in various places; of which the most considerable were the golden table, and the golden candlestick which were found in the temple at Jerusalem. The first of these weighed several talents; and the latter was never applied to the use for which it had been designed. This candlestick consisted of a large foot, from which there ascended a sort of pillar, and from that pillar, as from the body of a tree, there arose seven branches, the top of each branch resembling a lamp; and the number was seven in reference to the esteem in which the seventh day is held by the Jews. The next, and indeed the last trophy exhibited of the conquest which the Romans had made, was the code of Jewish laws; which was followed by figures of ivory and gold, intended as emblematical representations of victory; and the procession was closed by Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian, all mounted on fine horses, elegantly caparisoned, and appearing with a dignity becoming their high rank: and in this splendid manner they proceeded together to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and thus put an end to the procession.

The code of Jewish laws; and close of the triumphal procession at the temple of Jupiter.

Manner in which Simon was put to death, and universal joy expressed on that occasion.

When they had arrived at the temple they remained there for a short time; in conformity to an ancient custom which rendered it necessary that they should stay in that place till they received advice of the death of the general who had commanded the army of the enemy. The general on the present occasion was Simon Gioras (who had been led in triumph through the streets), round whose neck a rope being fixed, he was drawn through the market-place, those who drew him putting him to death, agreeable to the laws and usages of the Romans in the case of notorious offenders. Intelligence being brought that Simon was dead, the very air was rent with the shouts and acclamations of the multitude.

Vows and sacrifices offered up by the people.

The people then offered up vows and sacrifices; and this solemn business being discharged, Vespasian and his sons returned to the palace, where they gave a most magnificent entertainment on the occasion. Indeed the whole city exhibited one general scene of joy and festivity: and public thanks were every where offered for the final victory which had now been obtained over their enemies: a victory which seemed to promise a lasting tranquillity, while it redounded to the immortal honour of the heroes who had acquired it.

Vespasian erects a magnificent temple, which he dedicates to Peace.

As soon as the triumphs were ended, and the peace of the empire was secured, Vespasian caused a temple to be erected and dedicated to Peace. This edifice was remarkable for its richness and elegance,

and ſtill more ſo for the ſhort ſpace of time in which it was conſtructed. It was adorned with a great abundance of curious pieces of painting and ſculpture, which had been collected at an immenſe expence; and it was, on the whole, ſo magnificent and elegant a building, that perſons came from all parts of the world to obtain a ſight of it. The golden table and the candleſtick, as articles of ineſtimable value, Veſpaſian cauſed to be placed in this temple. With regard to the code of Jewiſh laws, and the purple veſtments of the ſanctuary, they were depoſited, with the utmoſt care, in the royal palace.

CHAP. XXIII.

Deſcription of MACHÆRAS. A great diverſity of Springs and Fountains. MACHÆRAS beſieged by BASSUS. A Diviſion between the native JEWS and the Strangers, the former defending the Caſtle, and the latter the Lower Town. Inſtance of ELEAZAR's Contempt of Danger. He is taken, ſtripped, and cruelly whipped. BASSUS gives ELEAZAR his Liberty, and diſmiſſes the Garriſon.

Baſſus made lieutenant general of Judæa, propoſes to reduce Machæras.

THE emperor having granted a commiſſion to Lucilius Baſſus, appointing him to be lieutenant general of Judæa, he thereupon ſucceeded Cerealis Petilianus in the command of the army, and ſoon rendered himſelf maſter of the caſtle of Herodion by treaty. This being done, he collected his troops, which were ſtationed in different parts of the country; propoſing, by the aſſiſtance of the tenth legion, to reduce Machæras, as a work of indiſpenſable neceſſity; ſince that place was ſo remarkably ſtrong, that it was a kind of incitement to acts of rebellion; and its ſituation was ſuch as to inſpire thoſe in poſſeſſion of it with freſh courage, though, on the other hand, it was calculated to repreſs the ardour of an aſſailant.

Deſcription and ſituation of Machæras.

Machæras is ſituated on a mountain of immenſe height, and is of ſo ſtrong a nature that it is rendered almoſt impregnable. It is likewiſe in a manner inacceſſible; for nature has ſurrounded it with vallies that are almoſt impaſſable, and cannot be filled up. Theſe vallies are of ſuch a depth as not to be ſurveyed from the mountain without horror. The mountain ſtretches ſixty furlongs to the weſt, and approaches almoſt cloſe to the lake Aſphaltitis, and the caſtle commands a very extenſive view of the diſtrict on that ſide. To the north and ſouth the vallies are very extenſive, and appear to be equally well calculated for the defence of the place. On the eaſt the depth of the valley is not leſs than a hundred cubits, and oppoſite Machæras is a mountain to which this valley extends. This place was originally fortified by Alexander, king of the Jews, who built a caſtle on it: but this caſtle was afterwards deſtroyed by Gabinius, when he made war on Ariſtobulus: but Herod the Great, thinking this mountain well worthy his attention, particularly in caſe of any diſpute with the Arabians, who were remarkably well ſituated to annoy him, he cauſed a ſtrong wall, fortified with turrets, to be built round it, and erected a handſome city, in which he placed a colony of inhabitants; and from the city he made a paſſage up to the caſtle. Round the caſtle, at the top, he built another wall, at the angles of which were turrets ſixty cubits in height; and in the midſt of the incloſure he cauſed a large and elegant palace to be erected, which was ſupplied with water from a variety of ciſterns: ſo that the ſituation and conveniences of this place ſeemed to have ariſen from a happy conjunction of nature and art, each contributing in a liberal manner to its improvement. Herod likewiſe depoſited in the caſtle an immenſe ſtore of military arms, engines, arrows, &c. and ſtocked it with a great quantity and variety of proviſions; ſo that there could be little danger of the garriſon being reduced either by famine or force.

Two ſingular plants.

In this palace was a very extraordinary plant, which bore the name of Rue, the growth of which was ſo aſtoniſhing that it equalled the height and breadth of a large fig tree. It is ſaid that this plant had remained there ever ſince the time of Herod, and might have continued to the preſent day, but that the Jews, when they took the place, tore it up by the roots. On the north ſide of Machæras is a valley called Baaras, where a plant is produced which is likewiſe named Baaras. This ſtrange plant is of a flame colour; and on the approach of evening it reflects a light like the beams of the ſun. It is difficult to draw the root from the ground, and the plant recedes, on any one offering to touch it. The method of fixing it is ſaid to be by ſprinkling it with a woman's urine; but when it is thus fixed, the touching of the plant will be fatal, unleſs the party holds a part of the root in his hand. But the following is ſaid to be a method of drawing it without danger. The ground muſt be dug round the root till it is laid almoſt bare, and then a dog muſt be tied to it: this being done, the maſter of the dog goes away; and being followed by the dog, the root is drawn out of the ground; but the poor animal dies on the ſpot, as if he ſacrificed his own life to the preſervation of that of his maſter. The root being once freed from the ground, the plant may be touched without the leaſt degree of danger. Notwithſtanding what has been ſaid, it is related that this plant has a property that is more than equivalent to all its noxious qualities. It will not be diſputed that to be poſſeſſed with evil ſpirits is one of the greateſt calamities to which human nature is ſubject. Theſe evil ſpirits, which we place under the denomination of demons or devils, are only the ſouls of men, who, during their mortal exiſtence, had abandoned themſelves to iniquity: having gained poſſeſſion of living bodies, they would inevitably deſtroy them, if their operations were not to be counteracted by preventive remedies. Now the plant

plant in queſtion poſſeſſes ſo extraordinary a virtue that upon only touching the patient with it his affliction is immediately removed.

Diverſity of ſprings and fountains.

In the valley above-mentioned there is an uncommon variety of ſprings and fountains, each differing from the other in quality and flavour, being ſweet, bitter, hot, &c. and there are likewiſe a number of cold ſprings, in the loweſt parts of the valley: but nothing of all this is ſo extraordinary as a cave of ſmall depth, over which is a ſtone of a hard, rocky nature, out of which ſtone appear two fountains in the ſhape of breaſts, from one of which flow hot waters, and cold from the other. Theſe waters, when intermixed, form a very pleaſant bath, which is a ſpecific in the cure of nervous, and many other diſorders. Mines of ſulphur and allum alſo abound in this valley.

Machæras beſieged by Baſſus.

When Baſſus had taken a careful ſurvey of Machæras, he came to a determination to beſiege the place; and for this purpoſe he intended to have filled up the valley to the eaſtward of the town, and to make his approach from that quarter. His firſt proceeeding was to throw up a mount, oppoſite the caſtle, with all poſſible expedition, as the readieſt way to inſure his ſucceſs. The Jews who were natives of the city now divided themſelves from thoſe who were ſtrangers, whom they diſmiſſed as perſons who were unworthy a connection with them, and ſent them into the lower town, to ſuſtain the firſt ſhock; themſelves taking poſſeſſion of the caſtle, which, from its ſtrength, they thought would be the moſt defenſible, and a place from which, in caſe of neceſſity, it was probable that they might make the beſt terms with the Romans. In the mean time they exerted their utmoſt induſtry to repel the attacks of the beſiegers. There was not a day paſſed in which the Jews did not ſally forth in a determined manner, when violent ſkirmiſhes enſued, and both parties loſt a conſiderable number of men. The advantage lay ſometimes on one ſide, and ſometimes on the other: the Jews being ſucceſsful when they attacked the Romans by ſurpriſe, and the latter being the victors when they were properly adviſed of the advance of the enemy, and had time to prepare for their reception. But it appeared evident that the ſiege was not to end in this manner; ſince a moſt ſingular accident reduced the Jews to the diſagreeable neceſſity of ſurrendering the caſtle.

Inſtances of Eleazar's extraordinary courage.

In Machæras there was a young man of a ſpirit remarkably bold, daring, and enterpriſing. His name was Eleazar, and he exerted himſelf in a very extraordinary manner, both by advice and example, to check the progreſs of the Romans, and encourage his countrymen to oppoſe their proceedings. This Eleazar frequently ſallied forth in a moſt determined manner, and was conſtantly the firſt man to begin an encounter, and the laſt to retreat, when retreat became abſolutely neceſſary. Now it happened, after the concluſion of a ſkirmiſh on a particular day, when both parties were retired, that Eleazar, determined to evince his utter contempt of danger, and to prove that he was incapable of fearing any man, ſtopped without the gate of the city, and entered into an idle converſation with ſome of the Jews that were on the walls; ſeeming to pay no kind of regard to any thing that might paſs around him.

He is ſeized, and publickly whipped by the Romans.

Eleazar being now within view of the Romans in their encampment, an Egyptian ſoldier named Rufus took an opportunity to run to him, unnoticed, and ſeizing him with all his accoutrements, conveyed him to the enemy. The priſoner was no ſooner brought, than Baſſus directed that he ſhould be ſtripped, laid on the ground, and publicly whipped within view of thoſe in the city. The diſtreſſful ſituation of this youth afflicted the Jews to ſuch a degree, that the generality of them burſt into tears, and lamented his unhappy fate. Baſſus finding how exceedingly concerned the people in general were for the misfortunes of this one man, a thought ſtruck him that he hoped to improve to his advantage; for he conceived that if he could but increaſe the ardor of their paſſions, they might be induced to purchaſe the life of Eleazar by a ſurrender of the place. The ſcheme ſucceeded to the height of his expectation: a croſs was erected, on which it ſeemed to appear that Eleazar was to be immediately crucified; but no ſooner was this croſs fixed than the whole garriſon exclaimed, as with one voice, that they could no longer bear their ſufferings. Immediately hereupon, Eleazar intreated them to conſider their own ſituation, and that of himſelf, who was ſentenced to an ignominious death; and he conjured them to deſiſt from contending againſt the ſuperior courage and ſucceſs of the Romans, to whoſe dominion all the world had ſubmitted.

The beſieged offer terms of ſurrender.

Eleazar, being of a diſtinguiſhed family, and having many friends and relations in the caſtle, their intereſt was exerted in ſupport of his earneſt ſupplication; ſo that in the end the beſieged, compaſſionating his caſe in a high degree, diſpatched deputies to the Romans, who were commiſſioned to offer the ſurrender of the caſtle, on the condition that Eleazar's life and liberty ſhould be granted him, and that the garriſon ſhould be permitted to diſpoſe of themſelves as they thought proper.

Baſſus grants Eleazar his liberty, and gains the place.

Baſſus readily conſented to theſe terms: but the people in the lower town, enraged to think that they had not been conſulted before the agreement was made, determined to ſecure themſelves by privately retreating in the night. Thoſe who were in the caſtle gave notice of this to Baſſus, as ſoon as the gates were opened; partly leſt themſelves ſhould be ſuſpected to have been concerned in the plot, and partly through envy of their aſſociates. Hereupon Baſſus attacked them: but the moſt gallant of thoſe who firſt got out made their eſcape; while the reſt, in number no leſs than one thouſand ſeven hundred, were ſlain, and their wives and

children made ſlaves. Notwithſtanding the above-mentioned circumſtance, Baſſus gave Eleazar his liberty, and diſmiſſed the garriſon, agreeable to his contract.

CHAP. XXIV.

A Number of JEWS attacked, in the Foreſt of JARDES, by BASSUS, who ſlays Three Thouſand of them. A Poll-tax ordered to be paid by the JEWS.

Baſſus makes a great ſlaughter of the Jews, who had retired to the foreſt of Jardes.

THE tranſactions above-mentioned being at an end, and Baſſus having received information that great numbers of the Jews who had effected their eſcape during the ſieges of Jeruſalem and Machæras, had aſſembled together, and retired to the foreſt of Jardes, he marched with his army immediately to that place; and on his arrival, found that the intelligence which had been brought him was true: wherefore he iſſued orders that his cavalry ſhould inſtantly ſurround the whole wood; which were ſo punctually obeyed, that not a ſingle Jew could make his eſcape. In the mean time, the infantry were employed to cut down the trees and buſhes which formed thoſe thickets under which the Jews had taken ſhelter; ſo that by this means they were deprived of all poſſibility of concealment, and had no hopes of ſafety but in cutting their way through the forces of the enemy. Being reduced to the alternative of periſhing, or taking this deſperate ſtep, they united in a body, and made a violent attack on thoſe who ſurrounded them, who received the aſſault with the utmoſt bravery. In a word, the raſhneſs excited by deſpair on the one ſide, and determined courage on the other, combined to render the engagement equally obſtinate and violent. In the end, however, the Romans obtained the advantage, with the loſs of only twelve men ſlain, and a ſmall number wounded; whereas, every man of the Jews was killed in the action, amounting, in the whole, to the number of three thouſand. Among theſe was the commander in chief, named Judas, the ſon of Jair, of whom mention has been made in a former part of this work. This Judas was an officer during the ſiege of Jeruſalem, from whence he effected his eſcape through a ſubterraneous paſſage.

3000 Jews ſlain.

At this juncture the emperor ſent a letter to his officer Tiberius Maximus, commiſſioning him to expoſe the lands of the Jews to ſale, and declaring that he would not rebuild any of their cities, but ſeize them all to his own uſe. Tiberius was directed to leave eight hundred ſoldiers in Emmaus, which is ſituated about ſixty furlongs from Jeruſalem. The emperor, likewiſe, iſſued orders that the Jews ſhould pay a poll-tax of two drachmas annually; and this money was to be paid into the capitol, as ſimilar taxes had been formerly paid at the temple. Thus deplorably unfortunate was the ſtate of the Jews at the period of which I am writing.

An annual poll-tax impoſed on the Jews.

CHAP. XXV.

The Misfortunes which befel ANTIOCHUS, King of COMAGENE. He is ordered to be ſent Priſoner to ROME by CESENNIUS; but ſet at Liberty, and treated with great Liberality by VESPASIAN. A Number of confederate SCYTHIANS invade MEDIA.

Calamities of Antiochus, king of Comagene.

IN the fourth year of the reign of the emperor Veſpaſian it happened that Antiochus, king of Comagene, and all his family, were involved in very conſiderable difficulties, which took riſe from the following circumſtance. Ceſennius Petus, who was at that time governor of Syria, ſent an expreſs to the emperor, informing him, that Antiochus and his ſon Epiphanes, being determined to renounce their allegiance to the Romans, were in actual treaty with the king of Parthia: he therefore repreſented the neceſſity of putting a ſtop to the meaſure by an immediate interpoſition. Thoſe who heard of this information entertained great doubts of its being founded in fact: but, as the two kings above-mentioned were near neighbours, it would have been imprudent in Veſpaſian to have ſlighted the advice: and the danger was conſiderably increaſed by Samoſata, the capital city of Comagene, being ſituated almoſt on the banks of the Euphrates; ſo that the Parthians could paſs and repaſs at their pleaſure, and be at all times ſecure of a ſafe retreat.

Ceſennius makes an incurſion into Comagene.

Whether the above-mentioned intelligence was well founded or not, Veſpaſian paid ſo much regard to it, that he left Ceſennius to act as he thought proper, directing that his own judgment ſhould be the rule of his conduct in the affair. Immediately hereupon Ceſennius began to exerciſe his authority; for calling to his aſſiſtance Ariſtobulus, king of Chalcis, and Sohemus, king of Emeſa, he made an incurſion into Comagene, with the ſixth legion, and ſeveral detachments of his cavalry and infantry, to the utter aſtoniſhment of Antiochus and his adherents, who had not the leaſt ſuſpicion of ſuch an invaſion. His entrance, therefore, met with no kind of oppoſition, for the inhabitants were wholly unprovided with means to repel the attack. It is not in the power of language to deſcribe how much Antiochus was ſurpriſed on receiving intelligence of this incurſion; for he had not entertained the ſlighteſt idea of forfeiting his good faith with the Romans.

Antiochus retires, and reſolves not to

In this extremity, he came to the reſolution of abandoning his kingdom juſt in its preſent ſituation, and of taking with

him

return any act of hostility.

him his wife and children; which he thought would afford a full proof of his innocence, and that he had no intention of departing from his allegiance. Thus reſolved, he retired to a plain at the diſtance of about one hundred and thirty furlongs from the city, where he encamped. In the interim, Ceſennius ſent a number of ſoldiers to take poſſeſſion of, and keep garriſon in Samoſata; and marched in perſon, accompanied by other forces, in purſuit of Antiochus, who could not be induced to take any violent meaſures to the prejudice of the Romans, notwithſtanding all theſe aggravations. In a word, he did nothing elſe than lament his misfortunes, and form the reſolution of ſubmitting to them with all the fortitude in his power.

His two ſons engage the Romans.

However, Epiphanes and Callinicus, the ſons of Antiochus, being in the prime of youth, and celebrated for their military ſkill and courage, thought they were bound in honour to have recourſe to arms: wherefore they muſtered all the forces in their power, and gave battle to the Romans. The battle continued the whole day, and the young princes ſuſtained very little loſs: a proof that their conduct was equal to their courage.

He retires with his family into Cilicia.

Though the iſſue of this day's conteſt was greatly in favour of Antiochus, yet he ſtill held his former reſolution of retiring; wherefore he departed with his wife and daughters into Cilicia: and this reſolute determination, ariſing from a principle of integrity, and a ſenſe of conſcious innocence, afflicted his ſoldiers in the higheſt degree: they were almoſt abandoned to deſpair, on obſerving the diſtreſs of the king; and dreaded the thought of deſerting to the Romans, and leaving their prince in ſuch affliction. With regard to Epiphanes and Callinicius, it became them to conſult their own ſecurity: wherefore they took with them eight ſelect friends, and all of them being well mounted, they croſſed the river Euphrates, into the dominions of Vologeſes, king of Parthia: and, on their arrival, this prince gave a proof of the magnanimity of his mind, not by treating them as vagabonds, but with all thoſe marks of diſtinction and reſpect which their high birth and rank demanded.

He is generouſly treated by Veſpaſian.

No ſooner had Antiochus arrived at Tarſus, in Cilicia, than Ceſennius diſpatched an officer to apprehend him, and conduct him a priſoner to Rome: but Veſpaſian, having too much generoſity to permit a ſovereign prince to be treated in ſo ignominious a manner, determined rather to ſhew a regard to the former friendſhip that had ſubſiſted between himſelf and Antiochus, than to take advantage of an imagined injury: he therefore ſent orders that his chains ſhould be taken off; that his journey to Rome ſhould be delayed; and that he ſhould remain ſome time at Lacedæmon; at which laſt place he furniſhed him with an ample ſupply of money, that he might be enabled to ſupport the dignity of his rank.

The ſons, at the inſtance of Vologeſes, king of Parthia, are well received at Rome.

The brothers, who had been in great fear and anxiety on the account of their father, were not only relieved from their apprehenſions, by this liberal behaviour towards Antiochus, but likewiſe entertained hopes that they might be themſelves reconciled to the emperor; and in theſe hopes they were encouraged by the interceſſion of Vologeſes, who ſolicited the permiſſion of Veſpaſian for their return to Rome: for though they had no reaſon to be uneaſy in their preſent ſituation, yet they were anxious to live within the pale of the empire. In a word, they went to Rome; and ſoon after their arrival their father was conducted thither; and they were all entertained in a manner expreſſive of the higheſt eſteem and regard.

The Scythians invade Media, whence they carry off immenſe property.

A number of the people formerly called Scythians, but who were at this period known by the name of Olanes, and reſided (as hath been heretofore obſerved) near the river Tanais, and the lake of Mæotis, confederated with the king of Hyrcania to invade and lay waſte the country of Media. Now this king was maſter of the only paſſage into that country; and it is ſaid that Alexander had ſo contrived, that this paſſage ſhould be ſhut up with iron gates: but the paſſage being now laid open, and no ſuſpicion ariſing of what would happen, no reſiſtance could be made, and the invaders took poſſeſſion of the place, where, in cattle and other effects, they poſſeſſed themſelves of immenſe property. This incurſion ſo terrified Pacorus, at that time king of the country, that he left his poſſeſſions to the mercy of the invaders, and flying for refuge among the rocks, he at length redeemed his wife and concubines at the expence of a hundred talents.

Tyridates king of Armenia oppoſes them, and narrowly eſcapes being taken priſoner.

The enemy now continued to preſs forward, ravaging and deſtroying through the whole courſe of their progreſs, without meeting with any oppoſition, till they came to the confines of Armenia, which was at that time governed by a king named Tiridates. In conſequence of this, Tiridates advanced and attacked them, and had a narrow eſcape from being taken priſoner; for, during the battle, the nooſe of a halter was thrown over his head, and his opponents were juſt on the point of drawing him away, when he had the preſence of mind to cut the rope with his ſword, by which he effected his eſcape. The invaders met with ſuch ſucceſs in this engagement, that they became more violent and blood-thirſty than before; and were ſo encouraged in their depredations, that deſtruction marked their ſteps: they depopulated the country, and took away with them a great booty in cattle, and an incredible number of priſoners.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVI.

MASSADA governed by ELEAZAR. The JEWS never ſo abandoned as at this Period. Account of the SICARII, JOHN, SIMON, and the ZEALOTS. Deſcription of the natural and artificial Advantages of MASSADA. Operations of SILVA againſt it. The JEWS reſolve not to ſurvive their Laws and Liberties, and accordingly deſtroy each other.

Maſſada, a receptacle for robbers and cut-throats, governed by Eleazar.

THE death of Baſſus, which happened in Judæa, made room for the advancement of Flavius Silva, who ſucceeded to his government. Silva being informed that all the country was in due ſubjection, one caſtle only excepted, he collected all the forces he was able, with a determination to make an attack on it. The name of this caſtle was Maſſada, and it was under the command of Eleazar, the leader of the Sicarii, who had obtained poſſeſſion of this fortreſs. Eleazar was the lineal deſcendant of Judas, who, at the time that Cyrenius diſcharged the office of cenſor in Judæa, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by oppoſing the Jews entering their names on the roll, as hath been mentioned in a former part of this work.

A ſummary account of the Sicarii.

Now the Sicarii were the determined enemies of all thoſe who exhibited any proofs of their friendſhip to the Romans; and, in fact, they treated them like enemies: for they robbed them of their effects, drove away their cattle, and burnt their houſes. Their argument was, that thoſe men were to be conſidered as ſtrangers and enemies, who would rather reſign their liberties than contend for them, and choſe a ſtate of ſlavery rather than freedom, though freedom is a bleſſing above all price: they ſaid that perſons of ſuch a diſpoſition had better join the Romans without any farther ceremony. This, however, was a kind of language uſed only to diſguiſe the barbarity and avariciouſneſs of their diſpoſitions; as evidently appeared in the ſequel: for when thoſe very men, who had been thus branded as traitors to their country, afterwards united in the common cauſe againſt the Romans, they were treated even with more ſeverity than before; particularly thoſe among them who had courage and reſolution to oppoſe the hypocriſy and baſe practices of the Sicarii.

Abandoned diſpoſition of the Jews.

Since the commencement of the world, there never was a period when the Jews were ſo totally given up to all kinds of vice as at preſent. They had practiſed ſuch variety of wickedneſs, that invention itſelf was loſt in the contrivance of new crimes. Corruption ſtalked at large, both in public and private: there appeared to be a harmony of evil; and if there was any emulation, it was who ſhould be guilty of the moſt atrocious acts of iniquity. Perſons in power oppreſſed the vulgar by every extravagant exertion of their authority; while the common people, in return, plundered them of their effects as often as they could find an opportunity.

This violent and licentious courſe of proceeding was firſt encouraged by the Sicarii, who, being determined on doing all the miſchief that lay within their power, loſt no opportunity, either by word or deed, of exciting others to acts of deſperation. However, all that they did, or cauſed to be done, fell far ſhort of the outrageous cruelties of John of Giſchala, who ordered many of the citizens to be put to death, as if they had been enemies, merely becauſe they recommended ſuch modes of proceeding as would tend to the advantage of the public: in fact, he committed every poſſible outrage on his unhappy countrymen. And, indeed, what better could be expected from a man who made no ſcruple of conſcience of affronting even the Deity? And this he did by the uſe of meats that were forbidden; by abandoning the laws and cuſtoms of our anceſtors; and by renouncing the purity of his original profeſſion. It is, therefore, not in the leaſt ſurpriſing that a man who could deſpiſe his God, ſhould behave with inhumanity to his neighbours.

John of Giſchala.

Simon, the ſon of Gioras, was not leſs diſtinguiſhed by every ſpecies of vice that could diſgrace the name of a man: he inflicted the moſt horrid barbarities on thoſe very perſons who had raiſed him to power; who, having been born freemen, ſubmitted to the ignominy of becoming his ſlaves. In a word, the men abovementioned were loſt to all thoſe affections ariſing from the ties of conſanguinity, and dead to every ſentiment of friendſhip. Their conduct was the moſt cruel to thoſe who had a prior right to their compaſſion; and they diſdained to exerciſe their tyranny over ſtrangers, while they had, what they thought, a more agreeable opportunity of wreaking their vengeance on their own friends and countrymen. Such was the unfeeling diſpoſition of their minds.

Simon, ſon of Gioras.

Nor were the crimes of the Idumæans much leſs atrocious. Theſe execrable villains aſſaſſinated the high-prieſts, in order, as far as lay in their power, to ſtrike at the very root of religion: they likewiſe confounded all good management in the city, deſtroyed even the appearance of juſtice and civil government, and eſtabliſhed tyranny and oppreſſion in their ſtead. They who were called Zealots were particularly active in promoting the confuſions above-mentioned; and, indeed, their conduct gave them a juſt title to their name; for they were the moſt violent patrons and promoters of vice that ever exiſted, at the ſame time pretending to the utmoſt degree of virtue, and the moſt conſummate piety. In fact, they impoſed on all that liſtened to their doctrines, making evil appear as good, and good as evil.

Inhumanity of the Idumæans.

The Zealots.

In

Their merited punishment

In the end, however, the righteous vengeance of Heaven overtook and punished their crimes; for they suffered every calamity that human nature is capable of enduring; and these calamities continued during the whole course of their lives. It may possibly be said, that the punishment they sustained was inadequate to the crimes they had committed; and that no punishment could equal their offences: but as I do not intend to enter into the history of those unhappy wretches who suffered by the vices of these monsters of iniquity, I shall here resume the thread of my narrative.

Silva, the Roman general, besieges Massada.

The Roman general Silva now marched to lay siege to Massada, in which was a garrison of the Sicarii, commanded by Eleazar, who was the chief of the people bearing that name. Silva soon possessed himself of the adjacent country, and with very little difficulty: he then disposed of his troops in the most commodious manner possible, and ran up a wall round the castle, at once to secure his soldiers, and to prevent the escape of the enemy. He now looked out for a place the most convenient for the station of his camp, which he found to be on the spot where the adjacent mountain communicated with the rock on which the castle stood. One great inconvenience now attended Silva; for the provisions with which his army was supplied by the Jews were brought from a very great distance; and, as there was no fountain near the place, the procuring of water was likewise attended with very great difficulty.

Its situation, state, strength, and advantages, by art and nature.

As soon as the above-mentioned disposition of affairs had taken place, Silva prepared to commence the siege, which, as will appear from the situation of the castle, was likely to cost much time, and to be attended with great difficulty. This castle is situated on a large and high rock, which is surrounded by deep and craggy precipices. They who stand at the top cannot see the bottom, on account of the higher rocks hanging over those that are beneath. Even the beasts cannot climb this rock, so difficult is the access, except by two passages, one of which is from the east side, from the lake Asphaltitis; and the other from the west side; the former being much more dangerous than the latter. One of these passages bears the name of the Snake, from the number of turnings that there are in the ascent; for in many parts of it the stones so intersect each other, that passengers are obliged to go backwards and forwards to pass them: and the road is so narrow that the traveller cannot keep both his feet on the ground at the same time. Exclusive of all this, one false step would plunge a man to the bottom of a most horrid precipice. This road is deemed thirty furlongs from the bottom to the top of the mountain; and on this eminence there is a plain, on which the high-priest Jonathan caused a castle to be built, to which he gave the name of Massada; and claimed the honour of being the founder of this castle, which was afterwards fortified and adorned, with immense labour, and at a large expence, by Herod the Great: a wall being also built round it by Herod, eight cubits in breadth and twelve in height, with white stones of considerable value. Herod likewise caused seven and twenty turrets, each of fifty cubits high, to be erected; and made a communication between these turrets and the buildings on the interior side of the wall. The nature of the soil of the plain being found to be extremely rich, Herod gave orders that it should be well cultivated, with a view that those who might in future times have occasion to take refuge in the castle, might be certain of being supplied with the necessaries of life. Within the limits of the castle he caused a sumptuous and magnificent palace to be erected for his own accommodation. The entrance of this palace was situated so as to front the north-west: the walls of it were of great strength, and remarkably high; and at each of the four corners was a tower, of the height of sixty cubits. The variety, decorations, ornaments, richness, and splendor of the several apartments, baths, and galleries, exceed all description. The whole was supported with pillars, each of one entire stone, and so disposed as to give proof of the strength of the structure, and the judgment of the architect. The pavement and the walls were diversified with stones of a variety of colours. A great number of large cisterns, hewed out of the rock, for the preservation of water, were dispersed in the different quarters of the palace to the castle, which was quite invisible from the outside; and, as hath been heretofore observed, the other passage was rendered altogether impassable: and with regard to the western passage, it was totally blocked up by a tower that was erected in the narrowest part of it, at about the distance of a thousand cubits from the castle. This will serve to shew how strongly the place was fortified by art as well as nature; and how difficult the conquest of it must have been, even with the slightest opposition.

Its ample stores of provision and arms.

Thus fortified, this castle had the appearance of being proof not only against force, but was unlikely to be subdued by famine; for, when it was surprised by Eleazar and the Sicarii, there were found in it great treasures of corn, wine, oil, pulse, dates, &c. equal to the consumption of many years; and these articles were as fresh as if they had been but newly deposited, though they had been treasured up a hundred years. Perhaps this circumstance might be owing to the extreme purity and salubrious quality of the air in so elevated a situation. Agreeable to the king's order, there was likewise laid up a magazine of various kinds of arms for the accommodation of ten thousand men, and also an immense quantity of unwrought iron, brass, lead, and other articles, which, it is presumed, were intended for some capital enterprise.

Supposed cause of Herod's fortifying.

Tradition has handed down to us a report that Herod provided this castle for a retreat, in case of necessity, from two

ing Maſſada ſo ſtrongly.

evils which he thought threatened him: the one was, that his ſubjects might depoſe him, and reſtore the Aſmonæan family to the throne: but the other was an affair of which there was much greater danger; for Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, had formed a deſign againſt the life of Herod, of which ſhe made little ſecret. In ſeveral converſations which ſhe had with Antony on this ſubject, ſhe avowed her deſign, and repeatedly urged him to give private orders for the deſtruction of Herod, and to permit her to govern the Jews in his ſtead, in the character of queen. Conſidering the paſſion that Antony entertained for Cleopatra, it is aſtoniſhing that he denied her requeſt. Be this as it may, however, Herod, apprehenſive of the danger, fortified Maſſada ſo ſtrongly, that there could be ſcarcely a hope of conquering it; and he knew that without poſſeſſion of it, the Jews could never be wholly ſubjected to the Romans.

Silva advances with his machines, and prepares to raiſe a mount.

I have already obſerved, that the Jews were now ſo cloſely pent up within the walls of Maſſada, that it was utterly impoſſible that they ſhould effect an eſcape; whereupon Silva advanced with his machines, to the only place which he could fill up, in order to raiſe a mount. Beyond the tower which blocked up the weſtern paſſage to the palace and caſtle, there was a large rock, which bore the name of Leuce: this rock was larger than that on which the caſtle of Maſſada ſtood, but not ſo high by about three hundred cubits. Silva had no ſooner taken poſſeſſion of this rock, than he iſſued orders to his ſoldiers to raiſe a mount upon it; and they were ſo diligent in this buſineſs that they ſoon got it up to the height of two hundred cubits; but finding that it was not of ſufficient ſtrength to ſupport the machines, they raiſed on it a kind of platform, compoſed of large ſtones, fifty cubits in height, and of the ſame breadth. On this platform they built a tower of the height of ſixty cubits, which they fortified with iron. Excluſive of their common machines, they had another kind, which had been invented by Veſpaſian, and were afterwards improved by Titus.

He gains the rock Leuce, and erects a mount on it.

The beſieged are driven from the wall, which is damaged by the battering rams.

From the tower above-mentioned the Romans aſſailed the beſieged with ſuch impetuous ſhowers of ſtones and flights of arrows, that they were afraid to appear on the wall. In the interim Silva directed his battering rams againſt the wall, till at length it was damaged in ſome places. In conſequence hereof the Sicarii inſtantly ran up another wall behind it, which was compoſed of ſuch materials as to deaden the ſtroke, and ſuſtain no kind of damage. This wall was built in the following manner. A row of large pieces of timber was mortiſed into another of equal ſize, and a ſpace was left between them equal to the thickneſs of the wall. This ſpace was filled with the earth of the nature of clay, and boards were nailed acroſs the frame, to prevent the earth from falling. Thus prepared, it was as ſtrong as the wall of a houſe; and the more violently it was battered the ſtronger it became, the earth being more firmly cloſed by each ſtroke it received.

Silva ſets fire to the wall, compoſed chiefly of timber, and deſtroys it.

Silva finding that the battering with his machines did not produce the conſequence he expected, ordered his ſoldiers to provide themſelves with fire-brands, to deſtroy the works of the enemy. The new wall being hollow, and chiefly compoſed of timber-work, it immediately took fire, and the flames raged with the utmoſt violence: but the wind being at north, it drove the fire with ſuch rapidity on the Romans, that they expected the almoſt inſtant deſtruction of their machines: but, juſt at this juncture, the wind veered to the ſouth, and beat ſo violently on the wall, that the whole of it was in flames in a moment. The Romans, grateful for this providential ſtroke in their favour, returned to their camp, full of ſpirits, and with a fixed determination to attack the enemy by break of day on the following morning; and, in the mean time, to place ſtrong guards, that their opponents might not eſcape in the night.

Eleazar prefers death to the being conquered, or made captives by the Romans.

However, Eleazar had no idea of departing himſelf, or of permitting any of his people to evacuate the place: but as the wall was now totally conſumed, and there appeared to be no longer any chance either of relief or ſecurity, it became neceſſary to conſider how their wives and children might be moſt effectually preſerved from the violences to be expected from the Romans, on their taking poſſeſſion of the place. Having ſeriouſly reflected on this affair, Eleazar determined in his own mind that a death of glory would be greatly preferable to a life of infamy; and that the moſt magnanimous reſolution they could form, would be to diſdain the idea of ſurviving their liberties. His own ſentiments being thus formed, he reſolved to endeavour to inſpire others with the ſame; and for that purpoſe he ſummoned a number of his friends and aſſociates, whom he addreſſed to the following effect.

His animating oration to his friends.

"It has been, my friends, the uſual cuſtom with the people of our nation to deny the authority of every other lord than the great Sovereign of the univerſe, the eternal God; and this not with particular exception to the Romans, or any other people. The period haſtily advances when we ſhould demonſtrate our ſincerity by our conduct: wherefore let us act like men of reſolution. Till this time we have run every riſk in preſervation of our freedom; but we muſt now expect thraldom and tormenting puniſhments if the enemy take us alive; ſince we firſt departed from their dominion, and have been the laſt to reſiſt them. This being the caſe, we may deem it a favour if we are permitted to chooſe the death we would die; a favour that has been refuſed to many of our people. We ſhall all be made ſlaves tomorrow, if we obtain not our liberty this night: but

but this we may do in a way that our enemies cannot prevent. The utmoſt of their ambition is to make us priſoners; and it is in vain for us to ſtruggle againſt them any longer. It is poſſible ſomething effectual might have been done, if the aſſertors of our liberties had properly reflected on our ſituation: they would have ſeen that we could not have ſuffered from our enemies, and from our internal diviſions; nor would our principal people have been deſtroyed, and our ſacred city fallen a ſacrifice to fire and ſword, if God had not abandoned us, though we were formerly his choſen people. How happens it now that we alone, of all our people, contend for our liberties, as if we were innocent of the crimes in which we have inſtructed others? You may now be convinced of the vanity of your hopes, and the extremity of your diſappointments. We have here a fortreſs that has been deemed impregnable, with a great number of arms, and ample proviſions for our ſupport: but theſe avail nothing, ſince Providence hath decreed our deſtruction. The wind and the fire that combined to deſtroy our new wall, furniſh a proof of the juſtice of this obſervation: for you cannot think but that the ſudden turning of this wind was intended as a puniſhment of the crimes of which we have been guilty towards each other. Admitting, then, that our puniſhment is at once juſt and inevitable, what remains but that we rather execute juſtice on ourſelves, than leave it to the victorious Romans to pour down on us the vengeance of Heaven; thus acting, we ſhould ſecure the honour of our wives, and protect our children from ſlavery. Let us copy the magnanimity of the Romans, make our own terms, and die free. But let us firſt ſet fire to the caſtle, and melt down our gold and ſilver: and thus the Romans, neither taking us priſoners, nor obtaining our treaſure, will even regret the poſſeſſion of the place. I adviſe, however, that we leave the neceſſaries of life undeſtroyed; to ſerve as a proof that we were not driven to this procedure by famine, but maintained our firſt reſolution of dying rather than ſubmitting to ſlavery."

Different ſentiments of the audience.

This ſpeech of Eleazar was received in a very different manner by his different auditors; ſome of whom were charmed with his propoſal, and ready to execute it, deeming death an object of deſire in their preſent ſituation; while others, from the tenderneſs of their nature, were equally terrified at the thought of deſtroying their friends, or becoming their own executioners. They regarded each other with looks of the utmoſt anxiety, while their flowing tears teſtified the ſentiments of their minds. Eleazar was greatly chagrined at what he deemed a weakneſs that degraded the dignity of his plan, and might tempt thoſe who had appeared to be determined to abandon their reſolutions. He therefore purſued his plan of exhorting the people; but in a different mannner: for he now diſcourſed on the immortality of the ſoul; and addreſſing himſelf particularly, and with the utmoſt earneſtneſs, to thoſe who were weeping, he ſpoke to the following effect:

Eleazar's further addreſs to the people, and his thoughts on the immortality of the ſoul.

"I find that I have been greatly miſtaken in the opinion that I had formed, that brave men would rather loſe their lives than their liberties. In you, at leaſt, have I been miſtaken, ſince you fear to die, to extricate yourſelves from a calamity that is worſe than death; and this too, while you are ſo ſituated that delay cannot be admitted, nor have you time to confer on your affairs. It is an opinion confirmed by all antiquity; by the ſacred ſcriptures; by the doctrine and practice of our anceſtors, and the laws and cuſtoms of our country, that death renders a man abundantly more happy than life. It is death that gives freedom to the ſoul, and permits it to range through eternal regions of purity and bliſs. But while the ſoul is in conjunction with the body, it partakes of all the evils incident thereto; its powers are in a great degree ſuſpended, as there can be no affinity between divine and mortal natures. It is true that much is effected by the ſecret conjunction and operation of ſoul and body; for the latter is but the inſtrument of the former. But when the ſoul is once diſcharged of the incumbrance that oppreſſes it, and regains its proper ſtation, it enjoys the moſt unbounded liberty; a liberty that is as inviſible to human eyes as the Deity himſelf: and the ſoul is likewiſe inviſible while connected with the body. It enters us unſeen, and departs in the ſame manner. It cauſes various changes in the body, though incorruptible in itſelf: it gives life and vigour as long as it is preſent, but death immediately follows its departure. The ſoul, however, at all times retains its immortality. When the body reſts from its labours in ſleep, the ſoul enjoys the moſt perfect and delightful freedom. All this evidently proves that the felicity of the ſoul is concentered within itſelf, and that it has ſome kind of communication with the Deity, in the knowledge of future events. It is abſurd that any man ſhould fear death who is not averſe to repoſe. What man in his ſenſes would abridge any part of his eternal happineſs, for the ſake of a ſhort reſidence in this world? The laws and inſtitutions of our nation, my brethren, have taught us not only to deſpiſe the fear of death, but to endeavour to inſpire others with the ſame degree of magnanimity.

"On this ſubject it cannot, ſurely, be neceſſary that I ſhould refer to the practice of ſtrangers, or I might inſtance the conduct of the Indian philoſophers and Brachmans, who were diſtinguiſhed by their wiſdom and virtue. Theſe people deemed life a burthen that muſt neceſſarily be borne; though they were anxious to be rid of the incumbrance: not becauſe they felt any ſingular uneaſineſs, pain, or inconvenience in this life; but becauſe they looked forward to that life of immortality in which the happineſs of the bleſſed ſhould be eternal. Theſe people take a ſolemn farewel of their friends, and ſpeak with pleaſure of the country to which they are travelling. No one preſumes to offer any objections to their deſign, but wiſhing them the perfection of happineſs, ſend meſſages to their acquaintance in the other world;

in the full confidence that they will be delivered. They who are about to depart, having received the neceſſary inſtructions, commit their bodies to the fire, and are conſumed, amidſt the applauſes and acclamations of the ſurrounding multitude: for among theſe people it is cuſtomary for friends to follow each other to death with more pleaſure than they would attend them on a common journey; rejoicing that they are about to enter on a ſtate of eternal bliſs, and only commiſerating the fate of thoſe who are to remain in this world.

"Ought not we then to bluſh at the idea of being excelled by the Indians in an affair of ſuch great conſequence, and of ſcandalizing the laws and religion of our anceſtors by the puſillanimity of our diſpoſitions? Let us ſuppoſe, for the ſake of argument, that we had been otherwiſe inſtructed from our infancy, and had been taught to think the preſent life the ſupreme bleſſing, and death the greateſt misfortune of human nature; yet, one would imagine that the neceſſity of the caſe, and the will of Heaven would determine us how to act on this occaſion. It appears that the ordinations of a Divine Providence have decreed that we ſhould be now puniſhed with the loſs of life, for our former abuſe of it: and it is not to the benevolence of the Romans, nor to our own valour, that we are to aſcribe our being preſerved to the preſent moment. It appeared that the Romans conquered us; but this circumſtance evidently aroſe from the intervention of a ſuperior power. The Romans do not appear to have interfered in the leaſt in that deſtructive maſſacre at Cæſarea, when the citizens of that place deſtroyed every man, woman and child of the Jews on the ſabbath-day, though there were no grounds to think that a conſpiracy ſubſiſted, nor was any reſiſtance made. The Romans have never conſidered the Jews as their enemies, but when they departed from their obedience. It may be ſaid that an enmity ſubſiſted between the citizens of Cæſarea and the Jews: and that the former choſe to revenge themſelves in the manner abovementioned. Allowing this, how are we to account for the Scythopolitans joining the Greeks againſt us, rather than the Romans who were then our friends; in conſequence whereof the Scythopolitans and their families were utterly deſtroyed? This, in fact, was the manner in which they expreſſed their gratitude; we had heretofore reſcued them from diſtreſs, and they reduced us to a ſimilar extremity.

"To enumerate many particular inſtances would be tedious. You are not ignorant that we have been better treated by the Romans, than we have been by the inhabitants of any one city in Syria. But let me mention the horrid maſſacre at Damaſcus, where no leſs than ten thouſand Jews, with their wives and children, were put to death, without even the ſhadow of a pretence for ſuch an inhuman ſacrifice: and it is calculated that at leaſt ſixty thouſand Jews were deſtroyed in Egypt. You may argue that, in a foreign country, where they had no friends to ſupport them, this is not to be wondered at. Let us therefore conſider the ſituation of ourſelves at home. We have not wanted courage to aſſert our liberties in oppoſition to the Romans; we have had a ſufficient ſupply of men and arms; our cities and fortreſſes were ſtrong; and we were in all reſpects ſo provided as to inſpire us with reaſonable hopes of ſucceſs. But what has been the iſſue, what are the fruits of all our preparations, but confuſion and deſtruction? We have loſt all the mighty ſtores of which we had boaſted, and our loſs has contributed only to aggrandize the enemy.

"Happy indeed are thoſe men who fell gloriouſly, with their ſwords in their hands, gallantly fighting in defence of thoſe liberties which they loſt but with their lives: Happy indeed! in compariſon with us who ſurvive, to be diſpoſed of as our different fates ſhall determine; ſome to be tortured; others burnt; others impriſoned; ſome to be reſerved for public ſpectacles; ſome for the combat; others to be whipped; and others again devoured by wild beaſts. What man of a common ſpirit can refuſe to ſubmit to death, rather than endure life under ſuch an accumulated load of miſery! Yet there are among us thoſe who are more contemptably miſerable than all the reſt; which are thoſe that behold the approach of wretchedneſs in ſuch a variety of forms, yet have not the courage to be their own executioners.

"I beſeech, you, my friends, to recollect yourſelves for a moment. Reflect on the fate of your diſtinguiſhed metropolis; your walls, fortifications, caſtles and towers; your large magazines and treaſuries, and your immenſe armies. Your ſacred temple is likewiſe deſtroyed, which you called the houſe of God. The whole is entirely demoliſhed, nothing remaining but the ruins, which ſerve as a camp for the conquerors; while a few ancient men lament the deſtruction of the temple, and ſome unfortunate women wait upon the ſoldiers.

"After all that I have ſaid, will any one who is not deſtitute of the common ſpirit of a man wiſh to view the riſing of another ſun? Nay, would he wiſh it, even if he might live in ſafety? Can any one have ſo little regard to his country; ſo mean, ſo contracted a ſoul, as not to regret that he has ſurvived to behold this fatal day? Happy would it have been for us if we had been all ſacrificed, rather than to have witneſſed this ſacrilegious deſtruction; and to have beheld Jeruſalem become a pile of ruins. While hope remained, however, our courage did not fail, and we deſpaired not of a happy change in our affairs. But as we have now no farther reaſon to expect ſo auſpicious a circumſtance, and as we are urged by an invincible neceſſity to the ſtep we ought now to take, it becomes us to have ſome regard to our wives, our children, and ourſelves; and in the plan of our proceeding we ſhould be expeditious, while the means are yet in our power. All men are equally deſtined to death; and the ſame fate attends the coward as the brave. Can we think of ſubmitting to the indignity of ſlavery; can we behold our wives diſhonoured, and our children enſlaved? Nature has not made this neceſſary; and if the evil ariſes, it muſt be from the force of cowardice, and the

fear

fear of dying when we have it in our power. We had courage to abandon the Romans; to defy thoſe who called themſelves our maſters; to reject their offered terms of quarter and pardon, and to refuſe an indemnity when they beſought us to accept of it. Will any one think that theſe circumſtances will be forgotten, if they ſhould take us priſoners?

"It is a melancholy reflection to conſider the ſituation of our old people or our youth when we are ſubjected: the former will die beneath their torments, and the latter languiſh under them while ſtrength remains. The huſband muſt expect to be an eye-witneſs of the diſhonour of his wife, and the parent to behold his children begging for relief from their chains. Yet, while freedom is our own, and we are in poſſeſſion of our ſwords, let us make a determined uſe of them to preſerve our liberties. Let us die freemen, gloriouſly ſurrounded by our wives and children. This event is wiſhed for even by themſelves: our laws require the ſacrifice; and the decrees of Providence have rendered it neceſſary. Expedition, in this caſe, muſt be uſed; and we ſhall obtain eternal renown by ſnatching the prize from the hands of our enemies, and leaving them nothing to triumph over but the bodies of thoſe who dared to be their own executioners."

Reflections on their deſperate and ſanguinary determination.

Thus far had Eleazar ſpoken, and would have proceeded, but that the people interrupted him with the warmeſt expreſſions of their readineſs to adopt the plan he had recommended, each being ambitious to excel the other in giving this diſtinguiſhing proof of his wiſdom and courage: thus paſſionately were theſe people devoted to the deſtruction of themſelves and their families! It was very extraordinary that, when they came to give proof of their reſolution, not a man of them failed in the arduous trial. They retained their kindeſt affections for each other to the laſt moment, conceiving that they could not render a more acceptable office, or give a more perfect proof of their regard. While they embraced their wives and children for the laſt time, they wept over, and ſtabbed them in the ſame moment; rejoicing, however, that this work was not left to be performed by their enemies. They conſidered the neceſſity of the action as their excuſe, and reflected that they only deſtroyed their deareſt friends to prevent their falling by the hands of the Romans. In a word, there was not one man who wanted the neceſſary courage on the occaſion, and they killed their deareſt friends and relations without diſtinction: and they thought the deſtruction of their wives and children far preferable to the evils to which they would otherwiſe be expoſed.

Method of carrying their deſign into execution with reſpect to their whole number.

They who had been the principal agents in the ſlaughter above-mentioned, penetrated as they were with grief for the neceſſity that had occaſioned it, reſolved not to ſurvive thoſe they had ſlain, and immediately collecting all their effects together, they ſet them on fire. This being done, they caſt lots for the ſelection of ten men out of their number to deſtroy the reſt: and theſe being choſen, the devoted victims embraced the bodies of their deceaſed friends; and then ranging themſelves near them, chearfully reſigned themſelves to the hands of the executioners. When theſe ten men had diſcharged the diſagreeable taſk they had undertaken, they again caſt lots which of the ten ſhould kill the other nine, having previouſly agreed that the man to whoſe lot it might fall, ſhould ſacrifice himſelf on the bodies of his companions; ſo great was the truſt that theſe people repoſed in each other. The nine devoted victims died with the ſame reſolution as their brethren had done; and the ſurviving man, having ſurveyed the bodies, and found that they were all abſolutely dead, threw himſelf on his ſword, among his companions, but not till he had firſt ſet fire to the palace.

An old woman, related to Eleazar, and five children, eſcape the maſſacre.

This melancholy ſcene, which happened on the fifteenth day of the month Xanthicus, was now concluded; and the deceaſed had imagined that not a ſingle Jew would fall into the hands of the Romans: but it afterwards appeared that an old woman, and another woman who was related to Eleazar, together with five children, had eſcaped the general maſſacre, by concealing themſelves in a common ſewer. Including women and children, no leſs than nine hundred and ſixty perſons were ſlain on this occaſion.

Aſtoniſhment of the Romans, on finding the Jews had ſlain each other, and the palace beſtrewed with dead bodies.

On the dawn of the following morning the Romans prepared their ſcaling ladders, in order to make an attack: but they were aſtoniſhed in the higheſt degree on not hearing any noiſe but the crackling of the flames, and were totally at a loſs what conjecture to form. On this they gave a loud ſhout (ſuch as is cuſtomary when a battery is played off), in expectation of receiving an anſwer. This noiſe alarmed the women in their place of retreat, who, immediately coming out, related the truth to the Romans, as it really had happened. The ſtory, however, appeared ſo extraordinary, that they could not give credit to it: but they exerted themſelves in extinguiſhing the fire; and being employed in this ſervice till they came to the palace, there they found the bodies of the deceaſed lying in heaps. Far, however, from exulting in the triumph of joy that might have been expected from enemies, they united to admire the ſteady virtue and dignity of mind with which the Jews had been inſpired, and wondered at that generous contempt of death by which ſuch numbers had been bound in one ſolemn compact.

CHAP. XXVII.

The JEWS arraign the SICARII as the Authors of their Misfortunes. Their Obſtinacy and Averſion to the Emperor's Authority.

Silva proceeds to Caſarea.

WHEN the Roman general Silva had made a complete conqueſt of Maſ-

ſada, he ſettled a garriſon in the place, and then proceeded with his army to Cæſarea, leaving the country behind him in a ſtate of the moſt perfect tranquillity. By this time the continuance and expence of the war had ſo reduced and broken the ſpirits of the Jews of Judæa, that no ſuch thing as oppoſition was to be heard of in all that diſtrict: yet the conſequence of the war was felt as far as Alexandria in Egypt, where a number of the Jews were put to death. It may not be improper to relate ſomething reſpecting this affair.

Pernicious principles of the Sicarii.

Numbers of the factious Sicarii had fled for refuge to Alexandria, where their reſtleſs diſpoſitions would not permit them to live at eaſe; but they were continually inciting the citizens to acts of diſobedience, by advancing a number of arguments in defence of univerſal liberty, and decrying the doctrine of ſubmiſſion. They aſſerted that the Romans were by no means their ſuperiors, and that they would own no lord but the Sovereign of the univerſe. When any perſons, even the moſt reſpectable, of their own profeſſion, oppoſed their arguments, they did it at the hazard of their lives. Some of theſe they murdered; and others they induced to abandon their allegiance; while a third ſort were tempted ſo to do, but in vain. Theſe practices were carried to ſuch a length, that the principal men among them were afraid to make an example of them; but they ſummoned a general meeting of the Jews, in which they arraigned the raſh and obſtinate conduct of the Sicarii, whom they repreſented as the great ſource of all their calamities. "What good purpoſe would be anſwered (ſaid they) by obliging them to fly, with a view to ſecure themſelves? It would be no advantage to them, and an injury to us; for the moment the Romans ſhould be informed of ſuch a deſign, they would immediately attack every one without diſtinction; ſo that the innocent would be involved in the puniſhment due to the guilty." For theſe reaſons, the Jews were adviſed not to hold any correſpondence with the Sicarii; but to conſult their own ſafety by ſurrendering thoſe villains to the Romans.

The moderate Jews attack and take great numbers of them priſoners, who ſuffer the greateſt torments with aſtoniſhing perſeverance, rather than acknowledge obedience to Cæſar.

This repreſentation ſo opened the eyes of the Jews to their own danger, that they made an inſtant attack on the Sicarii, ſix hundred of whom they made priſoners; while the reſt fled to Egypt, Thebes, and the adjacent country; but they were ſoon taken and brought back; on which occaſion they gave evident proofs of their obſtinate reſolution. They bore the ſevereſt torments, rather than acknowledge the authority of the emperor; nor did any of them heſitate on the part they were to act; but they all combined in ſentiment with ſuch a degree of firmneſs, as if they had not felt the tortures that were inflicted on them: but the moſt incredible part of the ſtory is, that the boys, and even mere children, ſuſtained their ſufferings like the older people: and ſtill not one of theſe people would acknowledge the authority of the emperor, notwithſtanding the extremity of ſufferings they endured: for inſtead of feeling their torments, they appeared to deſpiſe them.

CHAP. XXVIII.

PTOLEMY permits the JEWS to build a Temple, and gives them a Spot of Ground for the Purpoſe. The Temple afterwards rifled and ſhut up.

Lupus ordered by Veſpaſian to deſtroy the Jewiſh temple in Egypt.

ALEXANDRIA was at this time under the government of Lupus, who ſent early intelligence to the emperor of the commotion above-mentioned; and the emperor, being well appriſed of the ſeditious temper of the Jews, thought it adviſeable to prevent their meetings and conferences, leſt they ſhould be divided into parties, and factions ſhould enſue; wherefore he commanded Lupus to deſtroy the temple of the Jews in the city of Onion in Egypt; of which temple and its founder I ſhall now ſpeak.

Onias ſolicits Ptolemy to permit the Jews to build another temple there.

At the period of the war betwixt Antiochus, king of Syria, and the Jews at Jeruſalem, Onias the ſon of Simon, one of the high-prieſts, was obliged to quit that city; whereupon he retired to Alexandria, where Ptolemy, king of Egypt, treated him in a friendly manner; partly on account of his being an enemy to Antiochus, and partly in reference to the following contract which was made between them. Onias made one requeſt to Ptolemy, and engaged that, on condition he would comply with it, he would bring over all the Jews to his intereſt. Ptolemy promiſed his concurrence to the utmoſt of his power; on which Onias named his requeſt, which was, that the Jews might be permitted to build a temple in ſome part of Egypt; where they might worſhip God, and enjoy the free exerciſe of their religion: and Onias diſplayed the advantages that would thence ariſe; that Antiochus would become ſtill more obnoxious to the Jews, and Ptolemy altogether their favourite; adding, that immenſe numbers, tempted by the opportunity of enjoying their religious rights undiſturbed, would put themſelves under the protection of the latter.

Ptolemy conſents, and gives them a ſpot of ground for the purpoſe.

This propoſal proving agreeable to Ptolemy, he preſented the Jews with a piece of ground which was well adapted for their intended deſign, ſituated in the diſtrict of Heliopolis, and one hundred and eighty furlongs from Memphis. On this ſpot Onias cauſed a caſtle to be erected, and when that was finiſhed, he built a temple; not indeed to be compared with that at Jeruſalem; though it had a tower on the ſame plan, ſixty cubits high, and was compoſed of ſtones of an immenſe ſize. It had likewiſe an altar built in the ſame form as that at Jeruſalem, and adorned with a number of valuable things which had been preſented thereto: it is true that there was no candleſtick; but inſtead thereof there was a golden lamp of amazing brightneſs, which hung before the altar, ſuſpended

pended by a chain of gold. A wall of brick was built round this temple, the gates of which were of ſtone. And a large income in land and money was appropriated to its ſupport, that the ſervice of God might be celebrated in the moſt ſolemn and diſtinguiſhed manner. Now in this procedure Onias was inſpired not by mere motives of religion, or unaffected goodneſs of heart; but animated, in a great degree, by the enmity he bore to the Jews of Jeruſalem, who had obliged him to quit that place. By the erection of this temple he hoped to entice to him many of thoſe Jews who had abandoned him; and he was encouraged by reflecting on a prediction of the prophet Iſaiah, reſpecting a temple to be erected in future time in Egypt by a Jew; and on another prophecy of nine hundred and ſeventy years old, which would well bear a ſimilar interpretation.

Motives by which Onias was actuated.

This is the hiſtory of the building of this temple: but Lupus having received the commands of the emperor, as abovementioned, went immediately to the place, ſeized on a number of the valuable preſents and offerings, and then ſhut up the temple. After the death of Lupus the government came into the hands of Paulinus, who ranſacked the temple, not only making prey of every thing he found therein, but threatening to puniſh the prieſts in the moſt exemplary manner, if they concealed a ſingle article. This being done, he aboliſhed all divine worſhip, made faſt the doors, and would not permit any perſon to repair thither on account of religion. This event happened at the end of three hundred and thirty three years after the temple was firſt built.

Lupus, after plundering the temple of ſeveral valuables, ſhuts it up; and Paulinus afterwards rifles it, faſtens the doors and forbids all worſhip therein.

CHAP. XXIX.

JONATHAN, an Enthuſiaſt, ſeduces a Number of People to follow him. The whole Party routed, and moſt of them taken Priſoners. Three Thouſand rich JEWS are put to Death. JOSEPHUS taken Priſoner. VESPASIAN admits his Innocence, and that of his Companions. JONATHAN burnt alive, having been firſt whipped. Miſerable End of CATULLUS.

Freſh commotions in Cyrene by the Sicarii, under Jonathan, their ringleader.

THE whole country of Cyrene now felt the ill effects of the ſingular inſolence of the Sicarii, of which the following is a ſtriking inſtance. An enthuſiaſtic weaver, named Jonathan, a man of equal wickedneſs and cunning, made his eſcape into that country. This man enticed great numbers of weak and credulous people to follow him into the woods and deſerts, pretending that he would ſhew them viſions and wonderful prodigies; and many of the vulgar gave credit to the impoſition: but ſeveral of the moſt eminent Jews of Cyrene, hearing of the affair, traced it to its ſource, and having learnt what route the deluded people had taken, and the real ſtate of the caſe, they ſent immediate intelligence thereof to Catullus, governor of the Pentapolitan Lybia. Hereupon the governor diſpatched a body of cavalry and infantry, who intercepted them, and, as they were unarmed, made an eaſy conqueſt of them. Moſt of them were taken priſoners, and conveyed to Catullus; but conſiderable numbers were killed on the ſpot.

They are ſubdued, and many of them killed, and made priſoners.

However, Jonathan, the ſeducer of theſe unhappy people, effected his eſcape. Diligent ſearch being made after him for a conſiderable time, he was at length apprehended, and ſent priſoner to Catullus: but he found a method of ingratiating himſelf with the governor, and while he diverted the ſtorm from falling on his own head, furniſhed the other with a pretence to direct it another way. This was to charge the richeſt Jews of the place with being the contrivers and promoters of the plot. Catullus was charmed with this ſcheme, however ill-founded, and reflected on it till he had in a manner declared war againſt the Jews in his own mind. What aggravated the wickedneſs of this avaricious governor was, that he not only pretended to believe the calumny, againſt the convictions of reaſon and common ſenſe, but likewiſe excited the Sicarii to join their endeavours for effecting the ruin of the innocent people. There was one Alexander, a Jew, to whom Catullus had long been a determined enemy; and having inſtructed falſe witneſſes to accuſe this man and his wife Berenice, they were put to death. Theſe were the firſt ſufferers by this ſcheme of iniquity: but ſoon afterwards no leſs than three thouſand perſons ſhared a ſimilar fate, at one time, through the baſe arts of perjury; all their crime being that they were men of character and fortune. Catullus left their eſtates as a forfeit to the empire, which he thought would ſecure, if not juſtify him, in appropriating their ready money to his own uſe.

The rich Jews accuſed before Catullus by falſe witneſſes, and 3000 put to death.

Catullus, being now apprehenſive that the capital Jews in other parts might detect and reveal the vile plot of which he had been guilty, inſtructed Jonathan, and ſome other priſoners, to exhibit articles of complaint againſt ſuch of the Jews of Rome and Alexandria, as were moſt diſtinguiſhed for their unblemiſhed reputation. Among the perſons thus accuſed was Joſephus, the writer of this hiſtory. Catullus now repaired to Rome, taking with him, in chains, Jonathan and the reſt of his priſoners. He entertained no doubt but that all inquiry was at an end, and that every thing he had aſſerted would obtain full credit: but the event of the affair proved that his contrivance had not ſucceeded as he could have wiſhed: for Veſpaſian, entertaining great ſuſpicion, inquired diligently into the circumſtances of the caſe, in which he was aſſiſted by Titus, who adviſed him to declare the innocence of Joſephus, and the other perſons accuſed.

Baſe policy of Catullus, who cauſes Joſephus to be falſely accuſed, but, his innocence being proved, he is acquitted.

This

Jonathan severely, but deservedly punished.

This was accordingly done, and they were set at liberty; while orders were given that Jonathan should be whipped, and then burnt alive; and this sentence was executed in its utmost rigour.

Catullus miserably cut off by a complication of terrible diseases in body and mind.

Vespasian and Titus were so merciful to Catullus, that, for the present, they permitted him to escape unpunished: but soon after this event he was attacked with a variety of diseases. His limbs were filled with pain, and his bowels with tormenting gripes: but the aggravated horrors of his mind greatly exceeded his bodily sufferings. He was haunted by the ghosts of those he had murdered, beheld their apparitions, and heard their outcries. He would frequently start from his bed, and shriek out, as if he were burnt in the fire, or tortured on the rack. His torments increased, till at length his bowels putrified, and fell from his body. Thus ended the life of this wicked man, who fell an exemplary sacrifice to the rigour of divine vengeance.

Conclusion of this history, with the author's submission to the judgment of the reader.

Thus concludes this history of the Wars of the Jews and Romans, which I have endeavoured to execute in a candid and faithful manner, for the information of those who chuse to be acquainted with so interesting a series of events. The reader must judge how far I have succeeded as to the manner in which I have conducted the narrative: but as to the truth of the relation, I solemnly declare that I have, to the best of my abilities, most rigidly adhered thereto, in every page of the preceding work.

THE HISTORY OF THE MARTYRDOM OF THE MACCABEES.

WRITTEN BY

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

Prefatory discourse, on the power of reason.

IN this discourse I propose to prove that reason is the perfection of wisdom, which will be evident, if it shall appear that reason, refined by study and religion, can conquer the passions: I therefore advise my readers to be assiduous in the attainment of wisdom. Reason is the foundation of knowledge, and when we say a man excels therein, we insinuate that he possesses prudence, the first and most extensive of the virtues. Reason may combat and restrain the disposition to gluttony and excess, and the indulgence of all those lascivious appetites which are opposed to temperance: it may correct that depravity of our nature, and those base inclinations which prevent the love and practice of justice: finally, it may tend to subdue the passions of fear, grief, anger, and all those impulses that enervate the mind, and stand in contradiction to that steadiness of temper called fortitude, which is distinguished as the fourth cardinal virtue.

It may be said that common experience will easily confute those who ascribe to reason all that power for which I argue; since, if it had this dominion over the passions, its power would not be less over ignorance and forgetfulness, which is far from being the case. To this I answer, that this is an idle objection, founded in a mistake of the question: for when I say that the passions are subjectible to reason, I am to be understood of such natural defects as are in opposition to fortitude, temperance, and justice, all which are distinct in their nature, and appertain to the sensitive soul; but do not belong to the rational soul, nor are defects peculiar to itself. Those who make the objection, mistake also the nature of this sovereignty; for it is not intended to insinuate that reason destroys the affections which it governs, (which

(which would be the caſe if it ruled over ignorance and forgetfulneſs), but that it does not tamely yield to theſe affections, nor permit itſelf to be conquered by their power.

By many arguments it might be proved that it is in the power of reaſon to controul the paſſions: but I would rather abide by the inconteſtable evidence of matter of fact; and appeal to the examples of perſons who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by offering up their lives a ſacrifice to truth and virtue; among whom the moſt eminent are our countryman Eleazar, and the ſeven brethren martyred with their mother. The undoubted command of reaſon over the paſſions is rendered indubitable, by theſe perſons bearing the moſt extreme tortures, and ſubmitting to death without repining. Wherefore I will endeavour to give the praiſe due to the conſtancy of thoſe gallant men, and that illuſtrious woman; and join in paying that tribute of honour which future ages will acknowledge due to their ſteady virtue. Their conduct has excited the admiration not only of thoſe who were unbiaſſed witneſſes of their ſufferings, or thoſe who have read an account of them, but of their enemies and tormentors, who were amazed at that patience and reſolution, to which their own barbarity gave exerciſe. By this fortitude they became an expiatory ſacrifice for their country, the rage of a tyrant was ſubdued, and their nation relieved from oppreſſion.

I propoſe to purſue the following method: firſt, to ſpeak of the queſtion in debate, and then quote the inſtances I refer to; aſcribing, as I ought, all glory to that God whoſe wiſdom hath given us ſo indiſputable an evidence of his truth, in the conduct of the perſons whoſe virtues are the ſubject of the preſent eſſay.

Whether the paſſions can be controuled and governed by reaſon, is the queſtion now to be reſolved; and to determine this, we muſt define what is meant by reaſon, and what by paſſion; what variety of paſſions there are, and whether all, or only ſome kinds of paſſions, are ſubject to the power of reaſon. I underſtand by reaſon the faculties of the mind, improved and directed by reflection, and concluding to adhere to a life of wiſdom. I mean by wiſdom a knowledge of affairs divine and human, with their ſeveral foundations; which we learn by the diſcipline and inſtruction of the laws, whereby we are taught reverently to embrace truths reſpecting God; and to conſider thoſe reſpecting man as beneficial to the community. Wiſdom is ſubdivided into four principal virtues; prudence, juſtice, fortitude, temperance. Of theſe, prudence is held to be the chief, and the dominion that reaſon holds over the paſſions is principally owing to this virtue.

How far the paſſions are controuled by reaſon.

The paſſions are comprehended in the general ſenſations of pleaſure and pain, each of which has its full influence on the ſoul; and it is again attended by other affections, which ſhew themſelves according to the diverſities of time, or other circumſtances. In regard to pleaſure, deſire goes before, and joy follows it; and with reſpect to pain, it is preceded by fear, and followed by ſorrow: though anger cannot be included in this definition, as it is a paſſion compounded of pleaſure and pain, as will be evident to thoſe who mark its operations on themſelves. In pleaſure, which is the moſt various and complicated of all the paſſions, there appears to be included a fruitful malignity, various in its form and effects, which vitiates the mind, when it produces arrogance, envy, and ſtriſe; and affects the body, when it ends in a ſordid greedineſs; for pleaſure and pain ariſe from the ſoul and body, as branches from a common ſtock; and theſe branches reſpectively produce ſhoots and ſuckers, which may be denominated the inferior affections. Now it is the buſineſs of reaſon, like a ſkilful vine-dreſſer, to alter, tranſplant, correct, and prune, all theſe, that the vicious habits may be transformed into thoſe of a generous nature. Reaſon enables us to promote virtue, by reſtraining thoſe paſſions which lead to vice. This will be evident, by conſidering what weight reaſon hath in a caſe where temperance hath been obſtructed. Temperance conſiſts in a command of irregular deſires, which may be effected by reaſon. Some of our deſires are more peculiar to the ſoul, others to the body, and reaſon appears to have the dominion over them both. I conceive that when our appetites ſtrongly tempt us to taſte various fiſh and fowl, and other delicacies which are forbidden by our law, and we refrain from ſo doing, becauſe we would not violate our duty, it is a convincing proof of the power that reaſon has over the paſſions, which can thus ſubject theſe inferior deſires, and prevent the craving appetite after thoſe things which have been forbidden by the divine command.

This, however, I conſider as nothing in compariſon to thoſe raging deſires of the ſoul which are inſpired by luſt and beauty; yet Joſeph has acquired immortal honour, by the abſolute ſubduing of theſe when he was invited to the gratification of them, and prompted by all the heat of youth to the indulgence. But certainly reaſon can and ought to do more than aſſuage the moſt violent paſſions towards the other ſex: ſince it is evident that our inclinations themſelves are under its command: otherwiſe there would be an abſurdity in the injunction which forbids us to "covet our neighbour's wife, or any thing elſe that is his."

It is evident, then, that when the law commands us not to deſire at all, it implies the poſſibility of reaſon conquering all our deſires. This is the caſe not only with reſpect to thoſe things that oppoſe the virtue of temperance, but likewiſe that of juſtice. How otherwiſe could the gluttonous, the greedy, the ſordid and ſelfiſh man be reformed? As matters now ſtand, if a man conducts himſelf according to the rules of our law, though his diſpoſition be ever ſo covetous, he is compelled to lend to the poor without intereſt, and to forgive the debt in the year of jubilee; and he is conſtrained not to reap the

fruits of his field or vineyard in the ſabbatical year, though he be ever ſo frugal.

I could produce many other inſtances tending to prove that our paſſions are governed by reaſon. In ſome inſtances, the law controuls our natural affections: it forbids us to betray the cauſe of truth and virtue for the ſake of our parents; commands us to puniſh our wives when they tranſgreſs; to make examples of our children when they are guilty of faults, and to reprove the vices of our friends. This truth will be more evident by conſidering that reaſon, under the guidance of the law, deſtroys our hatred to our enemies; for it forbids our cutting down their fruit-trees, enjoins us to reſtore what they have loſt, and to help even their beaſts when lying under their burdens.

Signal inſtances of the government of reaſon.

Reaſon rules over even the violent paſſions of ambition, vain glory, and envy; the conſiderate mind ſubdues and expels theſe paſſions, as it does likewiſe that of anger, though leſs controulable than all others.

In the caſe of Jacob.

This is evident in the caſe of Jacob, our ſagacious progenitor, who reprobated the conduct of his ſons Simeon and Levi, for deſtroying the whole race of the Sichemites, in the following words: "Curſed be their anger, for it was fierce; and their wrath, for it was cruel;" which words plainly intimate that his anger was ſuperſeded by reaſon.

When man was firſt created by God, he was furniſhed with powers of reflection and free will; and in his nature were implanted various paſſions and inclinations, over which the ſoul was appointed to rule ſupreme, and govern the ſenſual appetites. This being done, God gave our law to man, as a guide to conduct himſelf by the rules of temperance, juſtice, and virtue.

It is ſtrange that it ſhould be ſaid that reaſon is inſufficient to govern the paſſions, becauſe it cannot be aſſerted that forgetfulneſs and ignorance are under its dominion. I have obſerved the abſurdity of this exception; ſince it appears that the power of reaſon is not over the intellectual, but the ſenſitive faculties of the ſoul. Nor do I pretend that its power over theſe is ſuch as to exterminate, but only to regulate our deſires. It is impoſſible for any man to root out the paſſion of anger; but reaſon will ſupply him with ſuch remedies againſt it, as may prevent his being a ſlave to its violence. It is not to be thought that reaſon ſhould annihilate all evil inclinations; but it will aſſiſt us in the conflict, and enable us to conquer our paſſions. The buſineſs of reaſon is not to change, but to aſſiſt nature; to act in her aid, not to her deſtruction.

In the example of David.

It may be proper to illuſtrate this matter in the example of David. We are told that after engaging the army of the Philiſtines a whole day, and making great ſlaughter among them, he retired in the evening, much fatigued, to his tent, where he was ſurrounded by his troops. The company refreſhed themſelves from the adjacent ſprings; but the king, though exceedingly thirſty, could not be ſatisfied but by water fetched from the garriſon of the enemy. Some of his principal attendants, eagerly bent to gratify his wiſhes, betook themſelves to arms, and taking a pitcher, broke through the trenches of the enemy, paſſed their guards, found the well of Bethlehem, and thence brought the water which the king wiſhed to taſte: but he, though almoſt periſhing with thirſt, now recollected what a crime it would be to indulge his inclination by drinking what his ſervants had hazarded their lives for; conſidering that he ſhould, in effect, drink their blood: wherefore he reſtrained his inclination by his reaſon, and poured out the water as an oblation to God.

Force of reaſon and virtue.

Thus it appears, that a mind attempered by reaſon may reſiſt the moſt violent paſſions, reſtrain the moſt impetuous deſires, and enable the body to bear the moſt excruciating pains, by a ſteady adherence to the laws of virtue. It is now incumbent on me to ratify my argument, by proofs, drawn from practice, of the ſuperior power of reaſon. Of this our anceſtors have given pregnant inſtances. When by the regularity of their lives, and their ſtrict adherence to the law, they had obtained the favour of foreign princes, and particularly of Seleucus Nicanor, king of Aſia, who allotted them part of his public revenues, to pay the expence of their ſacrifices, and expreſſed his approbation of their conſtitution: in this favourable conjuncture, I ſay, it happened that ſome of them, by the artifices of wicked men, were reduced to ſevere trials, as will hereafter appear.

Simon a traitor to his country.

Onias being appointed to execute the office of high-prieſt for life, one Simon quarrelled with him; and having, to the great prejudice of our people, endeavoured to calumniate the character of this good man, whom he was unable to leſſen in the eſteem of his countrymen, he fled to a foreign court, with a view to betray his country. He made application to Apollonius, then governor of Syria and Phœnicia, telling him, that through his great zeal for the king his maſter, he was come to communicate to him a circumſtance which might be of the utmoſt advantage to his ſovereign; which was, that ſeveral millions of money were concealed in the treaſury at Jeruſalem, not for the uſe of the temple, or deſtined for public ſervice, but ſecreted by private men, and therefore of right the property of Seleucus. This tale being heard by Apollonius, he commended the zeal of the informant, and acquainted Seleucus with the affair: in conſequence of which he obtained a commiſſion to march into our country with a powerful army, and brought with him the traitor Simon.

Apollonius, governor of Syria, comes to Jeruſalem with an army.

Apollonius declared that he came on this expedition by order of the king, who had directed him to ſeize on all the money depoſited in the treaſury for the uſe of private men. This circumſtance cauſed a general alarm, and the people complained of it as the higheſt act of injuſtice to lay violent hands on that property which, for its greater ſecu-

rity,

rity, had been lodged in the temple, and exerted themſelves to prevent his making a forcible ſeizure. Apollonius, however, advanced to the temple by force, where numbers of prieſts, women, and children, were proſtrating themſelves, humbly intreating Almighty God to preſerve his temple from contempt and profanation.

Angels on horſes ſhining with fiery brightneſs.

Apollonius, however, perſiſted in his deſign; and when he had entered the place with a number of armed men, and was on the point of ſeizing the treaſure, ſeveral angels from heaven appeared, riding on horſes, and dreſſed in bright armour, which aſtoniſhed the aſſailants: Apollonius, in particular, fell to the ground in the court of the Gentiles, and lifting his hands to Heaven, beſought the Jews, with tears, that they would intercede for him, that he might not be deſtroyed by the miniſtering angels. Onias, the high-prieſt, compaſſionating his caſe, and alſo fearing that the king Seleucus might attribute the death of Apollonius to the treachery of men, complied with his petition, and prayed for him. Thus Apollonius being ſaved, as by miracle, returned to the king, and gave a circumſtantial account of all that had happened.

Onias, by prayer, ſaves the life of Apollonius.

Rage of Antiochus againſt the Jews inſtanced in ſeveral particulars.

Seleucus being dead, was ſucceeded by his ſon Antiochus, a prince of a haughty and cruel temper. Antiochus diſcharged Onias from the office of high-prieſt, which he gave to his brother Jaſon, on conſideration of receiving an annual tribute of three thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty talents: the king, therefore, directed that he ſhould preſide in civil, as well as in eccleſiaſtical affairs. This miniſter greatly oppreſſed our people, and ſeduced them to variety of wickedneſs, by the introduction of foreign cuſtoms contrary to their law. He inſtituted Grecian games in our principal city, and detached the prieſts from the ſervice of the temple. The vengeance of Heaven was the evident conſequence of this impiety, by Antiochus waging war againſt them; for during an expedition againſt Ptolemy, king of Egypt, he was told that ſome of the people of Jeruſalem had triumphed on the report of his death; on which he marched thither, made dreadful ſlaughter among them, and publiſhed an edict, decreeing death to thoſe who adhered to the law of Moſes, and continued the cuſtoms of their country. This decree did not produce the deſired effect. Threats and puniſhments were equally deſpiſed: the women were thrown headlong from the walls of the city, for circumciſing their children; yet they ſtill continued the practice, though they knew the inevitable conſequence. The king, perceiving that his decrees were deſpiſed, attended perſonally, and compelled them to eat food prohibited by the law, and in his preſence to abjure the Jewiſh religion.

His cruel treatment of the Jews.

About this period it happened that the tyrant Antiochus, being ſeated in ſtate, attended by his counſellors and governors, and protected by an armed guard, commanded many Jews who were brought before him to eat ſwine's fleſh, and meats offered to idols; and thoſe who refuſed were inſtantly tortured, and killed in his preſence. Many had undergone this inhuman treatment, when a reverend old man, named Eleazar, was brought before the king. This man was an eminent citizen, by profeſſion a lawyer, of the family of the prieſts, and much eſteemed by many of the friends of Antiochus, on account of his age and character. When Antiochus beheld him, he addreſſed him to the following effect: "I adviſe thee, reverend old man, before I proceed to extremities, to ſave thy life by conſenting to eat the fleſh of ſwine. I reſpect thy age and grey hairs, and am aſtoniſhed that thou ſhouldeſt perſevere in the Jewiſh ſuperſtition, after a length of years that might have taught thee more wiſdom. It is ſtrange to me that men ſhould be ſo unjuſt to themſelves, and ſo ungrateful to nature, as to deny themſelves the enjoyment of thoſe innocent gratifications which her bounty has provided. For what reaſon ſhouldeſt thou refrain from the taſte of the fleſh of ſwine, which is the moſt delicate of all food, and ſeems to have been beſtowed upon us by Heaven, in the fulneſs of its bounty? This conduct in others might ſeem to carry its excuſe with it; but in a man of thy diſcernment, it is the height of folly to draw down a certain judgment on thy own head, by deſpiſing my authority, through an idle religious prejudice. Let me then perſuade thee to open thine eyes, awake from thy dream, and free thyſelf from a bondage which ariſes from a ridiculous ſingularity of opinion. Shall I hope that this expoſtulation may urge thee to have a proper regard to thyſelf, by accepting that kindneſs which I offer in compaſſion to thy age? I think it ought: for though thy reaſon may not be convinced of the abſurdity of the opinion thou haſt entertained, yet thou mighteſt allow that, if there be a divine Being which requires the obſervance of thy religion, that Being has goodneſs ſufficient to pardon the breach of his laws, when the offence does not ariſe from an act of the will, but is the effect of abſolute and irreſiſtible compulſion."

with his ſpeech to Eleazar.

Eleazar's anſwer to Antiochus.

The king having ended his ſpeech, Eleazar intreated permiſſion to make a reply; which being granted, he ſpoke to the following purpoſe, in the preſence of the whole aſſembly: "It is proper that your majeſty ſhould be informed that we who are firmly perſuaded that the law given us by God ſhould be in all things ſtrictly obeyed, have no conception that any force or neceſſity can operate ſo ſtrongly as to allow us to diſpenſe with any part of this law. You have hinted that our law is not divine: admitting that to be the fact, Sir, yet it ought to be fully binding on us, in all caſes whatſoever, while we think it ſo. Your majeſty will not, therefore, ſuppoſe that if we ſhould be baſe enough to defile ourſelves by eating unclean meats, the crime would be deemed either trifling or pardonable. Whether the inſtance in

in which a man offends be greater or leſs, the inſolence of the culprit is the ſame, and equal the indignity that is offered to the law. The guilt is the ſame, whatever the fact be. You have inſinuated, Sir, that our religion is beneath the notice of philoſophers and men of reaſon; but permit me to ſay that it is the perfection of all philoſophy; ſince it inſtructs us in the arts of temperance, and directs us to conquer our paſſionate deſire for ſublunary pleaſures. It urges us to the practice of fortitude, and recommends the chearful ſubmiſſion to pain. It preſcribes rules of rigid juſtice, and commands us to worſhip only that Almighty Being to whom alone reverence can be due. Wherefore we muſt not preſume to eat unclean and prohibited food; for we are convinced that God, the author of nature, paid a proper attention to it; and that the inſtitution of this law, ſo far from being a grievance, was an act of benevolence; that forbidden things are prejudicial to our ſouls, and thoſe only on which we are permitted to feed are uſeful to us. It is, therefore, the higheſt cruelty to compel us to a violation of our law, and to eat thoſe things which are forbidden becauſe they are of a noxious quality. But, Sir, you ſhall never thus triumph over me. I ſcorn the idea of violating the ſolemn oaths and ſacred engagements by which our forefathers have bound themſelves and their deſcendants to the obſervance of this law. I will not ſubmit, though you command my eyes to be plucked out, and my body burnt. Age hath not yet ſo impaired my intellectual or corporeal faculties, but that my reaſon is ſtill vigorous on the call of duty and religion. If you are offended with this reply, prepare your inſtruments of torture, and encreaſe the heat of your furnace: but, old as I am, I will never violate the laws of God and my country to ſave my life. I will not deſert the law in which I have been inſtructed; I will never abjure that temperance, the beſt of virtues, which teaches us to conquer our appetites: I will not diſgrace my philoſophy, nor bring a ſtain on the order of prieſthood, and the ſtudy of the law. I will maintain my ſoul unſpotted as thoſe of my forefathers, and remain undaunted till death, under all the torments you can inflict."

His amazing conſtancy.

He is cruelly whipped.

Eleazar having made this magnanimous reply to the ſpeech of the tyrant, the ſoldiers dragged him to the place of execution. Having ſtripped off his cloaths, they bound him, and whipped him till the ſkin parted from his fleſh; an officer on each ſide him, crying, "Obey the king's orders." Eleazar ſeemed perfectly unmoved by their ſeverity, and ſtood with his eyes elevated towards heaven, till his fleſh was torn from his bones, and the blood ſtreamed to the ground. At length, unable to bear his pangs, he dropped down: but though his body was thus reduced, he appeared to poſſeſs his mind in full perfection. On this, one of the ſoldiers ſtamped on his belly, to oblige him to riſe; but he bore all his ſufferings with ſuch an unexampled courage, that even thoſe who inflicted them were aſtoniſhed at ſuch extraordinary magnanimity of ſoul in ſo old and infirm a body.

He is adviſed to diſſemble, but rejects the evil counſel.

Wherefore, ſome of his tormentors, though ſervants of the king, pitying his age, and recollecting their former acquaintance with him, addreſſed him as follows: "Why, Eleazar, wilt thou ſubmit to endure ſuch variety of torment without any cauſe? Conſent that we put before thee clean and lawful meat, when thou mayeſt pretend to eat ſwine's fleſh, agreeable to the king's order, and thus ſave thy life, without violating the law." To this Eleazar replied, "Let it not be ſaid that we, who are children of Abraham, can behave in ſo artful and puſillanimous a manner as only to pretend to do an unbecoming action. It would be ſtrange conduct in me, who have hitherto obeyed the laws of truth, and preſerved an unſpotted character, to ſet an evil example to others, by denying my principles in my old age; to drag out the remainder of life at the expence of diſſimulation, and become an object of the public contempt for my puſillanimity." His tormentors, obſerving his reſolution, and finding that their offered mercy had no effect on him, conducted him to the fire, on which they threw him, cruelly tormenting him, and poured ſcalding liquor upon his noſtrils as he burnt. When his fleſh was almoſt ſeparated from his bones, he lifted his eyes towards heaven, and ſaid, "O God, thou art witneſs to the torments I ſuffer, and that I prefer death by fire, in obedience to thy law, rather than a continuance of life by the tranſgreſſion of it. Have mercy, therefore, O God, on thy people, and let my death expiate their crimes. Accept my life for theirs, and let my blood operate as a purifying ſacrifice." The good man died at the concluſion of this prayer.

His laſt words in the fire.

Victorious effect of reaſon, when influenced by religion.

Surely this example will render it clear that reaſon, improved by religion, can conquer the paſſions; for this ſingular teſtimony in behalf of truth and virtue ought to be aſcribed to the paſſions, if they were ſuperior to reaſon: but ſince the inſtance above-mentioned makes it evident that, in the conteſt between reaſon and the paſſions, the latter were ſubdued, we muſt acknowledge that reaſon is the ruling principle in all men. After ſuch a proof of pleaſures reſiſted, and pains endured, it would argue the utmoſt obſtinacy to pretend the contrary; ſince to the indulgence of pleaſure, and the avoiding of pain, we are naturally prompted by our paſſions.

A ſimilitude taken from a ſhip on a ſtormy ſea.

In the caſe of Eleazar, we may compare conſcience and a ſenſe of duty to a ſhip toſſed in a ſea of paſſion, reaſon, the pilot, ſteering; while the man, through the ſtorm of threats and ill treatment, is almoſt ſunk by the ſwelling waves of racks and fire; but ſtill maintains his poſt, nor parts from the rudder till he has brought his veſſel into the harbour of immortality. No beſieged city ever ſtood out againſt the attacks

attacks of an enemy, as this venerable man defended himself by the force of reason in the cause of religion. His mind resembled a promontory rising in the waters, against which the waves of passion broke in vain.

Commendation of Eleazar.

Hail, holy priest, who didst refuse to defile thy mouth and stomach, ever destined to receive hallowed sacrifices, by eating meats offered to false gods! Hail, preacher of the law, and master of that philosophy taught us by the word of God! Hail, thou pattern for those who would vindicate the law by the sacrifice of their blood! Hail, holy Father, who hast dignified our constitution by convincing the world of the efficacy of that philosophy which descends from Heaven! Hail, wonderful old age, and righteous zeal, more strong than torture, and hotter than fire! Hail, first of conquerors, who hast triumphed over thy passions, as our father Aaron ran among the people, armed with a censer, and conquered the destroying angel, who consumed our forefathers by fire! Thus Eleazar, a descendant of that Aaron, conquered, through the rectitude of his mind, the flames that devoured his body; and though weakened by age and infirmities, gave proof even of youthful courage. Hail, venerable age and grey hairs! Hail, uprightness of life, attested by so glorious a death!

Surely the power of reason over the passions is fully proved in this instance of a man, weakened by age, enduring such trials with so great resolution: but lest it should be said that the passions and love of life are abated with the strength, I will now produce examples of young men, who, animated by the same principles, have undergone still more excruciating torments. The tyrant having in vain exerted his rage on the poor old man, ordered other Hebrew captives to be brought before him, declaring he would release them, if they agreed to eat forbidden meats; but if they refused, he would torment them more severely than he had done Eleazar.

Seven noble young Hebrews and their mother brought before Antiochus, and his exhortation to them.

In consequence of this order, an ancient woman and her seven sons were brought before him. The youths were so distinguished by the comeliness of their persons and engaging behaviour, that he could not but be struck with them. Having surveyed them with pleasure, he bid them approach his throne, and thus addressed them: "I acknowledge myself, young men, to be prepossessed by your appearance; I esteem your family, which is blest with so many brothers, and have friendly intentions respecting you. I therefore advise you not to let your zeal carry you to such absurd lengths as did that of the old bigot whom you saw expire in torture. I will assure you of my friendship, if you comply with my wishes. I can equally reward those who obey, and punish those who disoblige me: rely on it, then, that you shall be promoted to places of trust and honour, if you will renounce the customs of your country, and live after the Greek fashion; rejecting the idle distinction of meats, and freely gratifying those appetites in which youth must delight, though denied by your own superstitious practices. Reflect that if you reject my offers, I shall be compelled to punish you by a death as severe as regal vengeance can suggest. Have mercy, then, on yourselves, while I, a stranger and enemy, offer you mercy. Destroy not that youth and comeliness which I would preserve: but you must perish, except you preserve yourselves. Reflect, then, nor resolve too hastily, when I tell you that torment, and fire, and death, will be the consequence of your disobedience."

The king endeavours to terrify them into compliance.

This being said, he called for the instruments of torture: and the soldiers having produced wheels, pullies, screws, iron gauntlets, caldrons, frying-pans, bellows, combustibles, &c. the tyrant, hoping they would be terrified by this dreadful apparatus, spoke as follows: "Be wise in time, O youths, and dread the vengeance of an enraged king. It will be no longer criminal in you to comply: nor need you doubt but that the God you worship will consider and allow for the peculiarity of your situation." But neither could they be allured by promises, nor terrified by the instruments of vengeance. So far from being impressed by fear, their resolution increased, and the strength of their reason triumphed over the tyrant's cruelty. If only one of them had been cowardly, or unreasonably fond of life, he would have represented to them the folly of rejecting the king's advice, and preferring a cruel death to profit and promotion: he would have advised them to abandon the point of honour, and save themselves from destruction: to have pitied their old mother, and not brought her to the grave by their disobedience: he would have pleaded the justice of the king's observation, that God could not be offended, and said that the law would not censure an involuntary act: in a word, he would have recommended a life of ease and pleasure, in preference to a violent and tormenting death.

Their reply.

But the courageous young men, unsubdued by all the terrible apparatus before them, gave full proof that their passions were under the controul of reason; and so far from complying with the wish of the tyrant, addressed him to the following purport: "Wherefore, O king, this delay? If your view be to obtain our final resolution, know that we are already determined to meet death in any shape, rather than violate the laws of our ancestors: for, exclusive of the respect due to their example, a regard to the commands of Moses requires this obedience. Therefore tempt us not to give up our principles, nor affect to pity those you hate. The idea of death is less irksome than such an insulting compassion as offers to preserve our lives at the expence of our honour. You seem to imagine that we may be terrified by the idea of death and torture, notwithstanding the late experiment on the good old man might convince you how fruitless such practices must be on the servants of the true God. If the ancient men among us can bear such pains undauntedly, shall the patient perseverance of youth be less conspicuous? We shall copy his example, as we have

profited by his inſtructions. Therefore try if it be in your power to deſtroy our ſouls, while we ſuffer in the cauſe of religion. But this is impoſſible: your barbarity cannot hurt us: the effect of the pains you inflict will be the rewards due to our ſteady patience and virtue: but the conſequence to you will be dreadful: by murdering ſo many unoffending perſons, you will become liable to eternal torments in return for the temporal you may inflict."

Torturing and death of the eldeſt brother

The tyrant, incenſed by this anſwer, reſolved on the puniſhment of their diſobedience, and inſtantly commanded the executioners to bring the eldeſt to the torture. This they did, faſtening his hands, ſtripping him, and fixing his arms ſo as to receive the ſcourge. Finding that the ſtripes had no effect, he was extended on the wheel, and his bones being all either broken or diſlocated, he ſpoke as follows: "Monſter of iniquity! Enemy of God and truth! Thou treateſt me not thus barbarouſly on account of murder, or any criminal breach of law, but merely becauſe I have obeyed my God, and obſerved his commands." On this, the ſoldiers perſuaded him to eat the king's meat, that he might be releaſed from his torments: but he anſwered, "You are miſtaken if you think the wheel has conquered my reſolution: your moſt tormenting engines cannot diſlodge my mind, or ſtrangle my reaſon. Cut my body in pieces, and burn my fleſh till my bones ſeparate: but the utmoſt exceſs of your tortures ſhall convince you that it is the glory of the Hebrews to remain undaunted when ſuffering in ſupport of the rights of conſcience." Fire was now put under him, the pullies ſtretched, and his body turned to the flames, ſo that the wheels and ſpokes of the engine were covered with blood, and fleſh was torn from his body: the fire was quenched by his bowels dripping on it; and at length nothing was left but his ſkeleton. During theſe torments he uttered no complaints, but, like a true ſon of Abraham, ſuſtained the torments as if they only increaſed his courage. He addreſſed his brethren, ſaying, "Follow my example; deſert me not in this trial; nor deny that relationſhip in ſoul which is nearer than that of conſanguinity. It is a glorious warfare to embark in defence of religion. Doubt not the kind providence of that heavenly Father whom we worſhip, who will reward us and all our nation, and puniſh this bloody tyrant to a degree equal to his own pride and cruelty." Having thus ſaid, the holy youth expired.

The ſecond brother.

The ſpectators were wondering at this proof of courage, when the ſecond brother was brought forward by the guards, who fixed him to the pulley, drew on the iron gauntlets with ſharp nails, and aſked him if he would accept the terms of mercy. His anſwer being reſolute as that of his brother, they fixed the gauntlets to his neck, tore the fleſh from his muſcles to the chin, and flayed the ſkin from his face and head. In this torment he exclaimed, "Death is welcome in any ſhape, when we ſuffer in the cauſe of religion. Brutiſh tyrant! Knoweſt thou not that thou puniſheſt thyſelf more than me? Thy indignation, in ſeeing thy deſigns defeated by my conſtancy in a good cauſe, torments thee more than my pains do me. A conſcious innocence, and a retroſpect on a virtuous life, are my ſupport; while thy guilty mind is racked with the moſt terrible apprehenſions. An incenſed Deity will follow thy crimes."

The third brother.

This brother being dead, the third was brought forward, when ſeveral perſons earneſtly preſſed him to eat the king's meat, and preſerve his life: but he eagerly replied, "You appear to be ſtrangers to the relation I hold to thoſe who have died before me. We were children of the ſame parents; educated by the ſame maſters, and have conſtantly acted on the ſame principles: is it then to be ſuppoſed, that in this laſt act of my life I will renounce my alliance to thoſe who have never yet been obliged to bluſh at owning me for their brother?" This ſpeech, delivered in a determined manner, inſpiring the executioners with rage, they inſtantly put his hands and feet into the ſcrews, and violently disjointed all his fingers and toes; and ſtill extended the engine till they forced from their ſockets the bones of his arms, legs, and ſhoulders. As he ſurvived all theſe diſtortions, they ſtripped him of his ſkin from the ends of his fingers to the crown of his head. When his body was thus mangled, they dragged him to the wheel, where being yet farther extended by ſcrews, he ſaw his own fleſh drop in pieces, and his bowels and blood guſh out. When near expiring he exclaimed, "O moſt barbarous of tyrants! This we ſuffer in teſtimony of the religion and law of a God who is ready to reward us; whereas, in puniſhment of this thy cruelty, thou ſhalt ſuffer torments ſtill more inſupportable."

The fourth brother.

This brother having ſuffered as became the dignity of his family, the fourth was brought forward to execution; but firſt adviſed to recollect himſelf, and profit by the example of his brethren: but he replied, "No degree of heat in your fires can make me ſhrink, after the preceding inſtances of martyrdom. I will not diſgrace my affinity. Try me, tyrant, and prove by torture, if I am of the ſame family, and animated by the ſame ſpirit, as thoſe whom thy impious rage has torn limb from limb, with a malignity more than ſavage." Antiochus, enraged at this ſpeech, gave orders to cut his tongue out inſtantly; on which the youth farther exclaimed, "How ridiculous is this cruelty! 'Tis in vain to take away the organ of ſpeech from one who truſts in that God who ſees the heart, and knows the ſentiments of thoſe that are ſilent. Here is my tongue ready for your inſtruments; but remember when you have cut it out, you cannot extinguiſh my reaſon, nor make my mind dumb. O that I could die by inches, that every part of my body might glorify God, by being ſeparately ſacrificed to his honour! But for thee, O tyrant, guilt and vengeance will purſue and puniſh thee, who cutteſt out tongues, employed in declaring the praiſes of the God who formed them."

The fifth brother.

Exceſſive torment having finiſhed the life of this brother, the fifth advanced chearfully of his own accord, ſaying, "To convince

vince thee, tyrant, how little I am impreſſed by thy torments, ſee, I readily preſent myſelf without waiting thy orders, anxious to give proof of my virtue without loſs of time. The ſooner I am diſpatched, the ſooner will my happineſs and thy guilt be complete, and by adding one to the number thou haſt murdered, I ſhall help to make thee ripe for vengeance. Say, devourer of thy ſpecies, what could induce thee thus to deſtroy us? Is it criminal to ſerve the great Creator, and govern ourſelves by laws which he has preſcribed? This conduct ought to entitle men to reward inſtead of torture." Thus ſaying, the ſoldiers bound him to the pullies, ſcrewed in his knees, and put on iron footlocks; the ſcrews being drawn, his loins were diſlocated, he bent round the wheel like a ſnake, and his bones were ſoon broken. Tortured with pain, and almoſt ſtrangled, he cried out, "Thou conferreſt favours on us againſt thy will; the more ſevere our torments, the nobler proof we give of our patience, and religious perſeverance."

The ſixth brother. He had no ſooner expired than the tyrant aſked the ſixth brother if he would accept the terms of deliverance. "Though younger in years (ſaid he) I am equal in courage. Our birth and education being the ſame, our death ought to be ſimilar, ſince we are all embarked in the ſame cauſe; if, then, thou haſt determined that I undergo the ſame trials, I will take care to die ſupported by a good conſcience." He was then faſtened to the wheel, his bones broken, and fire placed under him; and the ſoldiers forced red hot ſpears into his back and ſides, till his bowels were conſumed. In the interim he exclaimed, "Glorious conflict, which my brethren have ſuſtained for religion, and been conquerors; as muſt always be the caſe with minds rooted in virtue. I will accompany my brothers in death, and add to the number of thy torments, thou barbarous wretch, thou foe to the adherents to the true religion! Six of us have now fruſtrated thy malice, by refuſing to comply with thy infernal propoſals. Thy fires appear cool, thy racks eaſy, and thy guards are the promoters of our law, inſtead of executioners, ſince, unable to ſuppreſs our religion, they aſſiſt us in giving teſtimony to its truth."

The ſeventh brother. This man was now thrown into a boiling caldron, when the ſeventh brother appeared, at whoſe ſight the tyrant ſeemed to relent, and calling to him, ſaid, "Thou ſeeſt the fatal end of thy brothers, owing to their own obſtinacy; for theſe tortures are the mere conſequence of their diſobedience: and a ſimilar fate inſtantly awaits thee, if thou doſt not profit by their example: but to encourage a different conduct, I now offer thee my friendſhip, and will raiſe thee to places of truſt and diſtinction in my kingdom." The tyrant likewiſe addreſſed himſelf to the mother, as condoling her misfortunes, and intreating her to ſave her only remaining child: but ſhe, ſpeaking to her ſon in the Hebrew language (as will hereafter be mentioned), he ſuddenly cried, "Unbind me, that I may ſpeak to the king, and thoſe who ſurround him." This being done with great pleaſure, he ran haſtily to the ſide of the caldrons, and exclaimed, "O tyrant, deſtitute of religion, and monſter of villainy! Thou haſt received a kingdom, and various worldly bleſſings from God, and yet murdereſt the friends of ſuch a benefactor. Are the rack and torture the return thou makeſt to God, in the perſons of thoſe who worſhip him? Be aſſured that juſtice will purſue and find thee; and is now preparing torments and fire for thee, not like thine, which ſoon end our pains; but inexhauſtible, and fiercely burning for a long ſucceſſion of ages. Wretch and brute that thou art, to have no ſympathy for the pains inflicted by thyſelf on creatures of the ſame nature and feelings! Can a creature of like form delight in mangling, torturing, and burning his fellow mortals? Yet ſuch thou appeareſt, though thy diſpoſition, as thy fate, be ſo various from ours. We who die to glut thy malice have diſcharged our duty, and ſhall be happy with God: while thou, who haſt murdered ſo many glorious champions for the truth, ſhalt howl in eternal deſpair, and curſe the guilty tranſactions of this day, when too late to remedy the evil. So horrid, ſo dreadful is thy caſe; ſo glorious and happy that of my brethren, which neither fear nor promiſes ſhall tempt me to decline: for I think the time tedious till I participate of their ſufferings here, and aſpire to their future bliſs." Thus ſaying, he threw himſelf into the caldrons, and almoſt inſtantly expired.

Will any doubt remain if reaſon, under the guidance of religion, can ſubdue the paſſions, when we behold ſeven brethren deſpiſing and overcoming the torments of death, from a perfect agreement in the ſame principles? Is it not evident that if theſe men had been influenced by their paſſions, they would have eaten unclean meats, and ſubmitted to any terms to have enjoyed eaſe and ſafety? This was far from being the caſe; their paſſions were quelled by reaſon, they ſhine triumphant, and receive the applauſe of their God. In the whole of this proceeding we ſee the dignity of the mind, and how little pain and paſſion are able to controul it. It would be unjuſt to deny theſe martyrs the applauſe due to the magnanimity of their conduct, in bringing their paſſions under the ſubjection of reaſon, ſo that they could not be conquered even by fire and torment. As the force of the waves is broken by the fortifications on the ſea-ſhore, ſo as to render the harbour commodious, ſo were the ſtorms and inundations of paſſions broken by this ſevenfold fortification of reaſon*.

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* It is not a little ſtrange that Joſephus, who could not be ignorant that the effective power of God was glorioufly manifeſted in the preſervation of Daniel and his three friends from the rage of the lions and the flames, ſhould not aſcribe the fortitude of theſe godly ſufferers likewiſe to the ſame almighty agency, rather than (as he chiefly does) to the force and dictates of reaſon, which, unaſſiſted by divine grace, will ever be found an inſufficient ſupport under ſuch a variety of torments as were inflicted on the noble army of martyrs

Remarks on their magnanimity.

How great, how intereſting was the ſight of ſuch a company, encouraging each other to perſevere, their joint voices making an harmonious concert! Thus did they animate each other: "Remember, brothers, we are engaged in the ſame cauſe: let us die like brethren, in defence of our God, and his law. The three brave Aſſyrian youths defied the furnace of the king of Babylon: let us imitate their glorious example."

When religion and conſcience are at ſtake, it becomes us to deſpiſe fear, and act with reſolution. One of the brethren ſaid, "Courage, brother!" A ſecond cried, "Perſevere;" A third exclaimed, "Remember your anceſtors, Abraham, who conſented to ſacrifice his ſon; and Iſaac, who chearfully ſubmitted to become that ſacrifice." Then they mutually ſupported each other, ſaying, "Let us gladly conſecrate our ſouls to God: the lives which he has lent us, reſtore, and yield up our bodies in defence of his holy law. Wherefore ſhould we fear thoſe who only deſtroy the body? Our fear ſhould be rather for the everlaſting loſs of our ſouls, which cannot happen to thoſe who ſtrictly adhere to the truth. Therefore let us arm ourſelves with fortitude; ſo, in death, ſhall we be gladly received by Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob, and our conſtancy will be applauded by all our pious anceſtors."

As they were ſeparately led to execution, thoſe who remained encouraged the preceding ſaying, "Remember, brother, how thou ſhouldeſt behave; diſgrace not thoſe who have preceded, or thoſe who are to follow thee." Encouragement like this muſt have been very animating: the relationſhip of brother muſt have had its influence. The reader will conceive the power of that affection placed by Providence in the hearts of thoſe who derive themſelves from the ſame father, are born of the ſame mother; ſuck the ſame breaſt, are brought up at one table, taught by the ſame maſter, and educated in the ſame religion. Such was the affection and endearments between theſe brothers; and, of courſe, the encouragement and advice they gave each other could not fail of having its proper weight: for they were educated in the ſame faith, and taught to practiſe the ſame virtues; and their mutual virtue muſt have been increaſed by their mutual eſteem; for natural eſteem is always improved by an union in goodneſs, and a mutual zeal for God's ſervice; ſo that the more religious each of theſe was, the more he would love each of his brethren, and become more worthy of their love. In this inſtance we may obſerve how paſſion was conquered by reaſon; for though the tender regard they entertained for each other was heightened by every conſideration of birth, affinity, education, acquaintance, and perſonal merit, yet all theſe conſiderations were outweighed by the ſuperior one of religion; ſo that, in ſo noble a cauſe, the tortures and death of ſuch near relations, inſtead of pain, gave ſatisfaction to the ſurvivors, who were pleaſed ſpectators of the tragedy.

Animated by exhortation, they were induced to deſpiſe pain, and ſubdue fraternal affection. Thus were their minds more ennobled than birth could make them. Not one of theſe youths gave ſign of fear, or ſhrunk at the approach of death, in all its terrors, but advancing to meet the racks and fire, as men who were running the race of mortality, and impatient which ſhould firſt reach the goal. As our hands, feet, and other members, move according to the direction of the ſoul, ſo theſe heroic youths moved towards death, as if actuated by one common ſoul. Divine conſtellation of conſenting brothers! As the world, created in ſeven days, conveys an idea of the perfect majeſty, and goodneſs of God, thus do theſe ſeven martyrs, by their courage and conſtancy, afford us an example that ought to baniſh the fear of death. But, alas! we fall ſhort of their pattern, though we cannot read or hear of the extremity of their ſufferings, without the utmoſt agitation of mind.

What torment can exceed that of fire, which inſtantly pierces and conſumes? Yet theſe valiant champions reſolutely endured the ſevereſt torments. But to increaſe our wonder, and leſſen that idea of magnanimity which men think their peculiar characteriſtic, let me produce the caſe of a woman, who gave glorious proofs of the ſovereignty of reaſon over the paſſions; one whoſe ſufferings were more ſevere than thoſe of the parties above-mentioned. The variety and extremity of a mother's pains, in viewing the death of her ſeven ſons, is ſcarcely to be comprehended. She muſt have been ſeven times murdered. The natural affection of parents are centered in the welfare of their children. This is evident even among beaſts, who demonſtrate a tenderneſs for their young, equal to that among men. But why need I mention beaſts, when all nature is full of this paſſion for their offſpring? The bees though buſy in building their cells, are careful to guard their hives; and when invaded by the drones, protect their young ones by their ſtings, which ſerve them as weapons of defence.

Amiable character of the mother.

The mother of our heroic youths was ſo true a daughter of Abraham, that even her tenderneſs for her own children could not tempt her to violate her duty. So laudable was her zeal, that when the preſervation and advancement of her ſons was put in competition with religion, ſhe wiſely preferred the latter, obeyed God rather than the king, and wiſhed them heavenly proſperity, rather than temporal. How ſhall I deſcribe that tender paternal paſſion, that fondneſs for the offſpring, that impreſſes on them the ſame features of body, and frequently the ſame diſpoſition of mind? It would

martyrs as well before as ſince the coming of Chriſt. Natural reaſon muſt be enlightened and influenced by the Spirit of God, before it can be ſerviceable to us in matters of religion, to which it may then only be conſidered as a handmaid: but it is faith alone, of the operation of the Spirit of God, which has heretofore been, and muſt hereafter be, the ſtrength and ſupport of every true Iſraelite, from the beginning of the world to the end of it. See Heb. xi. throughout.

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be hard to paint the concern they feel for any diſtreſs that attends theſe deareſt parts of themſelves: particularly that of mothers, whoſe natural fondneſs makes them ſtill more ſuſceptible of what affects their children, than fathers are. The mother I ſpeak of had ſtill more affection for her children than mothers commonly have: her love was augmented by ſeven painful births; and every freſh pang ſhe ſuffered gave new force to that affection ſhe felt for thoſe for whom ſhe bore thoſe pangs.

Notwithſtanding this, the love of God outweighed all preſent views of her childrens' intereſt. She never loved them ſo tenderly as when they were giving this proof of their conſtancy in the truth: they were wiſe, courageous, affectionate, and ſo dutiful, as to die in ſupport of the law, in obedience to their mother; while ſhe, diſdaining to let her tenderneſs operate too forcibly, or her reaſon be ſhaken by the torments they bore, exhorted them ſeparately and jointly, to ſhew their zeal for religion, by deſpiſing ſufferings and death.

Hail, nature, thou common mother! Hail, the love of parents! Hail, the ſympathetic feelings of maternal love! Behold a miracle! ſeven children ſeparately racked and burnt in their mother's preſence; yet her piety unſubdued by the ſight. She ſaw the fleſh of her children broiling, the joints of their hands and feet torn off, and trembling on the ground: the ſkins of their hands and feet ſtripped, and thrown at her feet: all this ſhe ſaw unmoved. The agonies ſhe now bore for her children muſt be greater than thoſe of child-birth, and proved her the nobleſt of her ſex. Her expiring firſt-born moved her not: the languiſhing look of the ſecond and the groans of the third, ſhe appeared not to feel. Not a tear did ſhe drop at the cutting off of hands and heads, nor when the bodies of thoſe dearer parts of herſelf were heaped around her. The laſt accents of her offſpring, amidſt their dying agonies, were grateful to her ear as the ſongs of ſyrens, or the notes of dying ſwans. Though nature pleaded forcibly, ſhe diſdained to yield, and, when urged to ſave them, ſhe gave them up to torment, in full hope of their future happineſs. She approved herſelf a true daughter of Abraham, by profeſſing his faith and courage. Hail, mother of a family, zealous for religion and law! Great was thy patience and courage, thou envy of thy own ſex, and wonder of ours! As the ark of Noah, which contained the ſurviving world, rode in triumph over the waters of the flood, ſo thou, when toſſed on the waves of paſſion, and driven by the winds of adverſity, being ſuſtained by thy zeal for religion, didſt bravely outride the ſtorm.

Let me now return to the point I intend to prove. If the aged mother of ſeven children, through her zeal for the truth, could bear to ſee them expire in ſuch agony, it follows that well-guided reaſon has complete dominion over the paſſions. It is evident that this is the caſe with human nature in general, ſince not only men, but even a woman, could thus conquer all the common feelings, and defy the moſt exquiſite torture. The lions of Daniel's den were comparatively gentle, and the ſeven-times-heated furnace of Miſhael cool to that torment which muſt have raged in her breaſt, when ſhe witneſſed the agonies in which her ſons expired: yet all her paſſions were ſubdued by the ſuperior conſiderations of reaſon and religion.

Had this woman poſſeſſed the leaſt weakneſs of temper, it is probable that ſhe would have exclaimed to the following effect: "Unhappy wretch that I am, ſo lately bleſſed with ſeven ſons, but now bereft of them all! O unprofitable child-bearing! O loſt cares of nurſing children deſtined to fires, racks, and torments! Fruitleſs are my pains, fruitleſs my anxious days and nights, and loſt is all the care of their education! Never more ſhall I behold my beloved children, never rejoice in their marriage, nor be happy in deſcendents of the ſecond and third generation! Yet once was I happy in the number and virtue of my ſons; but I am now a forlorn widow, without one child to comfort my declining years, or to lay my weary head in the grave."

But ſo far was this admirable woman from thus complaining, or wiſhing her children to live, that they would have afflicted her, if they had not died with glory. Her firm mind conſidered that their death was but a paſſage to immortal life; ſhe therefore intreated them to complete her joy, by ſacrificeing their lives to religion. Illuſtrious mother! who, when ſhe was ſeized, with her ſons, and a witneſs to the torture and death of Eleazar, engaged heartily in the glorious cauſe, and encouraged her children in an addreſs, in the Hebrew language, to the following effect: "Behold, my ſons, how glorious this conflict! If you ſhould be called to ſuffer the ſame, behave with chearfulneſs and courage, conſidering what an honour will thereby redound to our people, and the law of your anceſtors. It will be a diſgrace to your youth and vigour, if you ſink under your trials, when a man almoſt worn out by age and infirmities hath already borne ſuch extreme torture, from a ſenſe of duty. Reflect, my dear children, what life is, and of whom you received it. It was the gift of God, and has been continued by his providence; and it is your duty to reſign it at his pleaſure. Surely you would not decline any pain for him, in obedience to whom Abraham was ready to ſacrifice his ſon, the promiſed father of our people; nor did Iſaac decline the fatal ſtroke of the uplifted weapon of death. The innocent and fearleſs Daniel was caſt into the lions' den, and the three children into a fiery furnace. A ſenſe of duty to God made them reſolute to ſuffer; and you ſhould be willing to abide equal ſufferings, ſince you hold the ſame faith. They who have a genuine ſenſe of religion will not decline any ſufferings in which the ſacred cauſe ſhall engage them." Thus were theſe ſeven children encouraged by their mother, who ſhewed them how juſt it was to die rather than violate the law of God, particularly when

an eternal reſidence with Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob, in the realms of unending bliſs, would be the aſſured conſequence of their perſeverance.

Death of the mother, and honourable teſtimony concerning her.

It was related by the ſoldiers, that when they were about to ſeize and execute the mother, ſhe prevented them, by throwing herſelf into the fire. Venerable matron, who thus defeated the tyrant's rage, ſtanding like a firm building, ſupported by ſeven pillars! Glorious mother! whoſe patience was ſuſtained by an unſhaken faith in God, and aſſured hopes of future recompence. Not brighter ſhines the moon in the firmament, encircled by the ſtars, than does ſhe in giving to, and receiving light from, her ſeven ſons, in the preſence of God, in the celeſtial manſions. Her ſons were truly of the faithful race of Abraham. Could one draw a picture of the above ſcene, every circumſtance fairly painted, our paſſions muſt be deeply engaged, and we ſhould be ſtruck with horror at the ſight of the mother and children expiring in ſuch torments. Should a monument, as it ought, be erected to their memory, and the honour of our nation, ſome ſuch inſcription as the following would be proper: "Interred here, lie a venerable prieſt, with an old mother and her ſeven brave ſons, murdered by a tyrant, who in vain attempted to deſtroy the conſtitution and laws of the Jews: for theſe champions reſiſted, committing their cauſe to God, and perſevered, in deſpite of torments and death, to aſſert the rights of their religion and country." In fact, the conteſt was divine: patience was put to its full proof, virtue adjudged the prize, and immortal bliſs was the reward of the conquerors.

Eleazar was the firſt who advanced to the bloody trial; the ſons diſdained not the combat, and the mother embraced the conflict. The tyrant was their adverſary, the world the ſpectators, and religion the victor; for in their perſons ſhe crowned her gallant champions. Who could have beheld, who can hear of this glorious enterprize, without paying the tribute of praiſe and aſtoniſhment? The tyrant and his abettors were amazed at that patience which ſupported the ſufferers; and, inhuman as they were, reverenced that piety they could not ſubdue.

The obſervation of Moſes is true: "All his ſaints are in thy hand." Theſe men are celebrated with honour, as ſanctified to God. Nor is the advantage of their ſufferings confined to themſelves. Their blood, being accepted by God as a propitiation, he was induced to return in mercy to his people, and deliver them from the oppreſſions with which they were loaded. For even Antiochus, ſtruck with the reſolution with which theſe men bore their ſufferings, praiſed their courage, and bade an officer declare it as a pattern to his own ſoldiers: nay, farther, judging of the whole people by a few, he engaged many of them in his ſervice, employed them in ſieges and battles, and having, through their means, acquired many victories, was convinced that religion is the foundation of courage; and that they who deſpiſe life, and can ſuſtain death from principle, are indiſputably the moſt valiant ſoldiers. Ye of the race of Abraham, who inherit his zeal, ye deſcendents of Iſrael the beloved, pay obedience to this divine law; conform yourſelves to it in all things; live up to its dictates and diſcipline, ſince ſuch is its efficacy and influence, that all the paſſions yield to its authority.

Nor does this ſubjection of the paſſions refer only to thoſe within our breaſts, but to outward afflictions and bodily pains; as is evident from theſe men ſubmitting themſelves to torture for the ſake of religion. Theſe heroes fought and conquered, ſo as to be admired by men and rewarded by God. While they vanquiſhed torments and death, they vanquiſhed their enemies who inflicted them, and eſtabliſhed the credit of their law and religion, the contempt of which had provoked the Deity to puniſh them by the tyranny of Antiochus: but while this prince exerciſed his vengeance on others, he heaped up vengeance to himſelf: for, finding that neither force nor flattery would induce the Jews to adopt foreign cuſtoms, he retreated from Jeruſalem, and waged war againſt the Perſians; and ſoon after this he died, a miſerable victim to the vengeance of Heaven.

The mother's animating exhortation to her ſons.

I will here add ſome farther exhortations from the heroic mother to her ſons. "Reflect (ſaid ſhe) on the conduct of your mother, who long lived a pure virgin. I wandered not from my father's houſe, nor did the ſerpent which tempted Eve ſeduce me. In conjugal fidelity to your father, I paſſed the prime of my life. This father died, happy in the general eſteem, when you had attained the years of maturity. He was bleſſed in his children, and miſſed the wretchedneſs of ſeeing them torn from him. During his life, great pains were taken in your religious education, to furniſh you with principles proper to ſuſtain this important trial. The law and prophets were taught you by him, who deſcribed the examples of their patience and virtue. He told you of Abel, who was murdered by his brother Cain: of Iſaac, intended for a burnt-offering; of Joſeph, impriſoned for his chaſtity; and of the zeal of Phinehas for the law of God. The virtue and reward of Ananias, Azarias, Miſhael, and Daniel, were recounted by him. He often reminded you of that Providence by which God protects his people, thus celebrated by Iſaiah: "When thou paſſeſt through the waters, I will be with thee; and when through the rivers, they ſhall not overflow thee: when thou walkeſt through the fire, thou ſhalt not be burned, neither ſhall the flame kindle upon thee." While children, he taught you the ſong of David, "Many are the afflictions of the righteous, but the Lord delivereth them out of them all." He inſtructed you in that maxim of Solomon, which intimates that wiſdom is a tree of life to them that retain her. He quickened your faith by that of Ezekiel, hinting that the dry bones ſhould live; and taught you the ſong of Moſes, who, ſpeaking in the character of God, ſays, "I kill, and I make alive;" and who, pronouncing the law, ſays,

"Through

"Through this thing ye ſhall prolong your days in the land whither ye go over Jordan to poſſeſs it."

O glorious, rather than melancholy day, when the barbarous Antiochus kindled his flames, and, with more than ſavage rage, heated his caldrons, and bound to the torture the ſeven children of this daughter of Abraham! when he tore out their tongues, and put out their eyes with the moſt malicious and wanton cruelty! At that time the juſtice of God did, and always will puniſh ſuch barbarities on the authors of them: but theſe pious ſons and their mother were removed to bliſs eternal; admitted to the company of their righteous forefathers, and have received of the God, to whom they intruſted them, their ſouls, in a pure and immortal ſtate. To that God be everlaſting glory!

PHILO's EMBASSY TO THE EMPEROR CAIUS CALIGULA, FROM THE *JEWS* OF *ALEXANDRIA.*

PREFATORY DISCOURSE, BY THE AUTHOR.

WILL the time never arrive when the experience and knowledge of age will ſuperſede the folly of youth? When we have arrived to the age of fourſcore, and our heads are overſpread with grey hairs, ſhall we continue to act like children? What can be more abſurd than to place a dependence on fortune, which is ſubject to continual variation and uncertainty, and neglect the dictates of reaſonable nature, which is fixed in abſolute immutability? Is it not to invert and confound the juſt order and value of things, to conſider thoſe as certainties which are every moment liable to change, and neglect thoſe which in their nature are incapable of alteration and decay? The reaſon of this error is, that preſent objects ſtrike men of weak diſcernment, whoſe ſphere of obſervation is too contracted to reach thoſe at a diſtance: and people of this character depend more on the evidence of the ſenſes, however deceiving, than on the operations of judgment: but the reaſoning faculties muſt be employed to form ideas reſpecting future events, and the nature of inviſible things. The eye of the ſoul, however, is by far more penetrating and quick than that of the body, excepting when its power is deſtroyed by an intemperate indulgence of luxury in eating and drinking, or, which indeed may be juſtly conſidered as the greateſt misfortune, by ignorance and ſtupidity, naturally proceeding from the neglect of rouſing the mental faculties from a ſtate of ſhameful inactivity.

So numerous and wonderful have been the events that have occurred in our own days, that it is unneceſſary to recur to the hiſtory of ancient times to prove the exiſtence of an over-ruling Providence, which protects all people of virtue and piety, but particularly thoſe who adhere and ſerve the Almighty with

with due humility and veneration. The Chaldeans call such people Israelites, signifying that they are the beholders of the Lord; which is a blessing infinitely superior to all the riches of the universe.

If we are inspired with awe, and disposed to a modest and respectful deportment, by the presence of a father, a governor, or a preceptor; what glorious advantages may we not promise to ourselves in exalting our imaginations beyond all earthly creatures, and familiarizing our souls to the contemplation of an uncreated Being in the person of the Almighty, whose blessedness, beauty, and goodness, infinitely transcend every idea we can form of perfection! It is not possible for words to give an adequate description of the Supreme Being, who is so far above our weak conception, that, if we advance, by the scale of his attributes, with a view to search into the nature of the Great Origin of things, the mystery still appears utterly incomprehensible. If the sentiments of the whole creation were to be declared by one tongue, no just explanation could be given of his omnipotence manifested in the formation of the world; his supreme dignity and providential wisdom, by which it is governed; and his unerring justice, in the distribution of punishments and rewards. The divine vengeance is even to be accounted among the things which operate to the benefit of mankind; for it affords us a consciousness of our delinquency, and deters us from regulating our conduct in compliance with wicked examples.

CHAP. I.

The great and uninterrupted Felicity of the first Seven Months of the Reign of the Emperor CAIUS CALIGULA, the Successor of TIBERIUS.

Caligula succeeds Tiberius, and the peculiar happiness of the first seven months of his reign.

ON the decease of Tiberius, the imperial dignity devolved to Caius Caligula, who may justly be considered as affording a most striking instance in confirmation of the sentiments given in the above introductory discourse. When this prince assumed the throne, the Greeks and Barbarians, soldiers and burghers, lived in a state of brotherhood, and in the mutual interchange of the offices of affection and friendship; and a profound tranquillity prevailed both by sea and land in all the provinces in the different quarters of the globe. The happiness of Caligula was so extraordinary, as almost to exceed credibility; for the profusion of the good fortune which he enjoyed exceeded his most sanguine hopes. He possessed an immense treasure in coin, gold and silver manufactured into articles of use and ornament, and a great quantity of those valuable metals unwrought. His force both by sea and land was prodigious; and the source of his revenues was inexhaustible; for every inhabited part of the world contributed towards the expences of his government. The Euphrates and the Rhine are the two rivers which formed the boundaries of his empire; the first bordering upon Germany and other barbarous nations, and the other upon the countries of the Parthians, the Sarmatians, the Scythians, &c. who were people equally uncivilized with those of Germany. Upon the continent, as well as in the islands, nothing was known but the most perfect happiness; for the people of Rome and Italy, and those of the several provinces of Europe and Asia, passed their time in a kind of uninterrupted festival. In short, no instance could be produced wherein people had enjoyed such remarkable ease and freedom under any other prince, or had, in other respects, been so peculiarly favoured with the blessings of Providence. People in general had such considerable portions of all those advantages which contribute to form the happiness of life, that they had no desires remaining ungratified. In the several villages, towns, and cities, altars, victims, sacrifices, men clothed in white, and adorned with garlands, horse-racings, musical concerts, merry meetings, dancing to the lute and harp, and all other kinds of entertainments and recreations that can be conceived, were to be continually met with; while the countenances of the people fully expressed the joy and satisfaction of their hearts. In short, such was the abundance of all the necessaries and conveniences of life, and so universal were the contentment and pleasure, that debtors and creditors, domestics and their superiors, common people, and those in exalted stations, were equally happy; and it appeared as if the poetical description of Saturn's golden age was realized. This state of general felicity continued during the first seven months of the reign of Caligula.

Particulars respecting their extraordinary ease, abundance, and festivity.

CHAP. II.

CALIGULA is attacked by a dangerous Distemper; in consequence of which the Inhabitants of the different Provinces are deeply concerned; but the Recovery of the Emperor proves a Circumstance productive of Joy equal to their former Affliction.

The emperor seized with a violent disease

HAVING abandoned that temperate and healthful course of living which he had strictly adhered to in the time of his successor Tiberius, and having indulged himself by unseasonable bathing, immoderate eating and drinking, and all the luxuries, riotous excess and liberties of the court, in the eighth month of his reign Caligula was attacked by a violent and dangerous disease. To such an excess did he carry his intemperance, that, unsatisfied with immoderate eating and drinking, it was his custom to take emetic draughts, in order that, by clearing his stomach, he might the sooner return to the indulgence of luxury. He was violently addicted to every species

of the moſt abominable ſenſuality, amd practiſed uncleanneſſes with either ſex; for, according to the impulſes of his depraved inclinations, he gratified the common paſſion in an intercourſe with the other ſex, and that unnatural luſt, the bare mention of which cannot fail to fill the minds of thoſe who poſſeſs the ſmalleſt veſtiges of the principles even but diſtantly allied to virtue, with aſtoniſhment, horror, and deteſtation. In ſhort, his ungovernable and ſenſual appetites led him into every kind of debauchery that could tend to the deſtruction of the union between ſoul and body; for as the bleſſings of ſound health and vigour of body are the natural conſequences of temperance and regularity; ſo, on the contrary, debility, diſeaſe, and death are produced by an unreſtrained indulgence of inordinate deſires.

Concern of the people, on hearing of his illneſs.

The emperor's diſtemper ſeized him in the beginning of autumn, at which ſeaſon the ſhips employed in trading to different quarters of the globe, which could not winter in foreign parts, were under the neceſſity of ſailing for their reſpective countries. By means of the ſhipping, intelligence of the emperor's dangerous indiſpoſition was in a ſhort time communicated to all parts of the world; in conſequence whereof a general mourning and lamentation took place of the ſatisfaction and pleaſure that the people had uninterruptedly enjoyed till the arrival of the afflicting news. The towns and houſes were filled with affliction and mourning, in proportion to the great happineſs they had before enjoyed: the indiſpoſition of the emperor proved the ſource of great affliction to the ſeveral provinces, who, indeed, were more ſeverely troubled than Caligula himſelf; for he only ſuffered corporeal pain, while the people laboured under the moſt exquiſite diſtreſs of mind, being terribly apprehenſive that the peace they had ſo long enjoyed would be interrupted, and that their lives, liberties and poſſeſſions, would be ſubjected to the moſt imminent danger; and they reflected that the death of princes was generally followed by war, famine, depopulation, rapine, impriſonment, and other dreadful calamities; and theſe conſiderations increaſed their uneaſineſs nearly to a ſtate of deſpair. In ſhort, the recovery of Caligula was the only circumſtance in which they could place the ſmalleſt hopes of future ſecurity or happineſs.

Their exceſſive joy at his recovery.

The emperor now began to recover his former ſtate of health; and the happy news of this event was immediately tranſmitted to the moſt diſtant quarters of the univerſe; for fame travels with the rapidity of lightning. The grateful information reſpecting the increaſing health of Caligula created in the people the utmoſt impatience for the news of his perfect recovery; and, at length, by divers expreſſes, they learnt that he was intirely reſtored to his former ſtate of health and vigour; in conſequence of which the ſeveral provinces immediately recovered their tranquillity and happineſs; and this was the caſe with the inhabitants of the iſles, as well as the people upon the continent. In fine, the memory of man could not produce an inſtance where the preſervation of a particular prince had been productive of ſuch univerſal tranſports of joy to any people or nation, as were manifeſted on occaſion of the recovery of Caligula. It appeared as if, by a momentary tranſition, the people had been removed from a ſtate of barbariſm to that of ſociable and civil life; from the diſorder and confuſion of deſerts to the regularity of political communities; and theſe were the conſequences which the people experienced, upon imagining that, ſince Caligula was recovered, they ſhould ſtill enjoy the happineſs of living in ſubjection to, and under the protection of, their generous and lawful ſovereign. But people immoderately rejoiced in their ſuppoſed good fortune, not being aware on what a very precarious foundation their hopes of future happineſs were built.

CHAP. III.

CALIGULA ſoon proves himſelf a Monſter of Tyranny, of which he exhibits a ſtriking Inſtance.

Proneneſs of mankind to form erroneous opinions of young princes.

IN a ſhort time the conduct of Caligula afforded a convincing proof that mankind are apt to form erroneous judgments, and adopt wrong meaſures; and that their actions are more generally the reſult of precarious opinion, than the conſequence of a real knowledge as to the certain ſtate and nature of things. The profuſion of bounties and favours which he had diſtributed in all parts of Europe and Aſia, had acquired Caligula the reputation of being the moſt illuſtrious character that had been known, whether he was conſidered as a public or a private benefactor: but this prince ſo far degenerated from that ſpecimen he afforded in the early part of his reign, whence it was univerſally concluded that he would prove a moſt glorious example to all future ſovereigns, as to become a moſt execrable monſter of tyranny and cruelty: or, perhaps it would be moſt proper to ſay, he diveſted himſelf of the maſk of hypocriſy, and betrayed to the world his natural tyrannical, malevolent, and cruel diſpoſition.

Caligula gives proof of a depraved diſpoſition.

His ingratitude to his predeceſſor, and baſe treatment of young Tiberius.

The emperor Tiberius had a grandchild, the offspring of his ſon Druſus; and this grandchild received the name of Tiberius; and Caius Caligula, the nephew of the emperor Tiberius, was the deſcendent of Germanicus. In preference to the young Tiberius, the emperor nominated Caligula to the imperial ſucceſſion, on the condition that he ſhould acknowledge the great obligation of his advancement to the throne, by obſerving a due reſpect and attention towards his kinſman. But Caligula, inſtead of being touched with gratitude upon his advancement, by adoption, to that

dignified ſtation which Tiberius had a right to enjoy in virtue of his birth, carried his inhumanity to ſuch an exceſs as to cauſe the death of his near kinſman, the coheir of the throne and the immediate ſucceſſor of the emperor Tiberius, under the pretext that the youth had engaged in a conſpiracy for depriving him of life. The tender age of Tiberius conſtituted a ſufficient proof that the accuſation adduced againſt him was founded in utter improbability. It was the generally received opinion, that had Tiberius been but a few years older, he would indiſputably have been appointed the ſucceſſor of his grandfather, who, it was alſo ſuppoſed, would have removed Caligula, againſt whom he had already conceived ſome jealouſy.

By an artful ſpeech, he obtains full power over Tiberius.

Caligula adopted the following means with the execrable view of effecting the deſtruction of young Tiberius, with whom common juſtice ſhould have inſtructed him to ſhare jointly the ſovereignty. He ſummoned Tiberius into his preſence, and aſſembled a council of his friends, to whom he addreſſed a diſcourſe to the following purpoſe: "Towards this youth (meaning Tiberius) I entertain not only that regard which is due to him as being my couſin german, but I even eſteem him with the utmoſt tenderneſs of a brother; and there is nothing I more anxiouſly deſire than to admit him to an equal ſhare of the ſovereignty, in compliance with the laſt will and teſtament of his grandfather. But, alas! we are fully ſenſible that youth and inexperience are unequal to the weighty cares of government. The tender age of Tiberius renders it neceſſary that he ſhould be placed under the direction of a governor. Would it not then be an inſtance of extreme imprudence to inveſt the youth with a commiſſion for the exerciſe of authority over others? But that his time of life is an impediment, I would joyfully divide with Tiberius the ſovereign dignity; whereby I ſhould relieve myſelf from one part of the laborious office of governing ſo many nations, and render leſs formidable the danger I am continually expoſed to, of ſinking under the burden of public adminiſtration. So great is my affection for Tiberius, that I here ſolemnly pledge myſelf to receive him as a ſon and a pupil, and faithfully to acquit myſelf towards him in the characters of a father and a governor; and, let it be obſerved, that from this moment he is to be conſidered as being under my particular and immediate protection."

Further effects of his treachery, and accuſation of Tiberius.

This artful addreſs ſo powerfully operated upon the auditors as to remove every obſtruction to the abominable deſign which Caligula had conceived of effecting the ruin of the young prince. His harangue, inſtead of confirming the adoption, and ſecuring to Tiberius the dignity which by virtue of his birth he had a right to enjoy, effectually excluded him from the benefit of the grant which had been paſſed in his favour: and Caligula had now a full power and opportunity of putting his treacherous deſigns againſt Tiberius into execution, without fear of controul or oppoſition; for the Roman law inveſts parents with an abſolute authority over their children, and gives to the ſupreme magiſtrate an equally abſolute and uncontroulable power over the people. To effect his infamous purpoſe, therefore, Caligula had only to accuſe Tiberius of being an enemy, and to conduct himſelf towards the youth accordingly. In ſhort, this mode of behaviour he adopted; nor was he touched with compaſſion on account of the tender age of his kinſman, the circumſtance of having known him from his earlieſt years, his exalted birth, and the education he had received, as the apparent heir to the throne. Upon the deceaſe of Druſus, Tiberius was conſidered rather as the immediate ſon than the grandchild of the emperor.

He cauſes the young prince to become his own executioner.

It is related of Caligula, that, in the accompliſhment of his cruel deſign againſt Tiberius, he commanded the youth to become his own executioner in the preſence of a number of tribunes and centurions, who were prohibited from aſſiſting him in the action: and the pretence of the barbarous tyrant on this occaſion was, that it would prove a circumſtance derogatory to the imperial dignity, if the blood of the deſcendents of royalty was permitted to be ſpilt by any but royal hands. Caligula was ambitious of the reputation of being a moſt rigid obſerver of legal forms, though he ſcrupled not to commit murder, and offer other moſt daring violations againſt all the laws of God and man; and to conceal his enormous wickedneſs, he had recourſe to an abominable hypocriſy in pretending that he acted under the influence of a religious intention.

Tiberius, unexperienced in bloodſhed, craves direction where to point the weapon, and, after repeated ſtrokes, kills himſelf.

This unhappy and innocent young prince who had never been witneſs to the ſpilling of blood, either in real engagements or the repreſentations of battles, which during the times of peace are practiſed by the military people, preſented his throat to the ſpectators, intreating them reſpectively to put an end to his life: but they all declined a compliance; in conſequence of which he took a poniard, and requeſted to be informed to what part of his body he could moſt effectually direct the weapon to put a ſpeedy period to a miſerable exiſtence. They inſtructed him where to ſtrike, and he inſtantly followed their directions, continuing to repeat his ſtrokes while his ſtrength remained. Thus did the tyranny of Caligula urge Tiberius to the deſperate extremity of depriving himſelf of life.

CHAP. IV.

MACRO, Commander of the Pretorian Troops, expoſtulates with CALIGULA on the Impropriety of his Conduct. The Tyrant moſt ungratefully puts both MACRO and his Wife to Death.

Caligula's deſign on the life of Macro.

HAVING effected the deſtruction of Tiberius, whom he had conſidered as the only perſon likely to become a competitor

petitor for the poſſeſſion of the ſovereign dignity, Caligula imagined that there now remained no man of ſufficient conſequence to raiſe a party againſt him, or to interrupt him in the tyrannical exerciſe of government: and he determined that Macro, the commander of the Pretorian bands, ſhould be the next object of his cruelty and ingratitude.

His kind offices to the emperor before his acceſſion.

Caligula was indebted to Macro for many important ſervices after his advancement to the throne; but his zealous endeavours in favour of the emperor are not to be conſidered as any evidence of extraordinary attachment; ſince it will be found that court-paraſites are ever attendant upon perſons in exalted ſtations, whoſe inclinations it is the buſineſs of their lives to conſult and gratify. While Caligula remained in a private ſtation, however, he received many inſtances of friendſhip from Macro; and it was principally through his influence that Tiberius was induced to nominate Caligula as the ſucceſſor to the imperial dignity.

Sentiments of Tiberius reſpecting Caligula.

The emperor Tiberius being a man of long experience in the world, and of an uncommon ſagacity and depth of penetration, it will conſequently be ſuppoſed that he poſſeſſed a knowledge of the human heart; and indeed he was in this point inferior to no man of his time. Tiberius conceived a very ſtrong ſuſpicion and jealouſy that Caligula was an inveterate enemy to the whole Claudian family, and that if he entertained any tenderneſs of regard towards any of thoſe with whom he was connected by the ties of conſanguinity, his affection was confined intirely to his relations on his mother's ſide: and hence he became exceedingly diſtreſſed on account of his grandchild, who, after his deceaſe, he feared might be expoſed to great difficulties and danger. He conſidered Caligula as wholly unequal to the important office of governing ſo extenſive an empire, deeming him, from the inconſiſtency of his words and actions, and the levity of his general behaviour, to be diſqualified from ſucceſsfully engaging in undertakings wherein ſolidity of judgment and patient fortitude were required; and, in ſhort, ſo volatile and uncertain was his conduct, as to poſſeſs people with an opinion that he was infected with ſome degree of lunacy.

Macro ſpeaks highly in favour of Caligula to the late emperor.

Macro uſed every poſſible means to remove the unfavourable impreſſions that Tiberius entertained reſpecting Caligula; giving the ſtrongeſt aſſurances that he held the perſon and dignity of the emperor in the higheſt deference and veneration; aſſerting that he cheriſhed a moſt tender regard and reſpect for his kinſman, and had repeatedly declared that he would gladly reſign in his favour every pretenſion to the right of ſucceeding to the throne; adding that it was the misfortune of Caligula to have the natural modeſty and reſerve of his temper interpreted into a want of ſpirit and diſcernment. Theſe perſuaſions did not operate with the deſired effect upon the emperor; and when Macro perceived this, he propoſed to engage his own perſon as a ſecurity that Caligula would not prove unworthy of the encomiums which he had paſſed upon him. Macro having in many inſtances approved himſelf a man of fidelity and diſcretion, and manifeſted his firm attachment to Tiberius in the diſcovery of, and rendering abortive the conſpiracy of Sejanus, there appeared no reaſon to entertain the leaſt doubt of his honour in the preſent mediation.

His ſuppoſed inducement to this behaviour which is chiefly aſcribed to his wife.

Macro was ſo indefatigable in promoting the intereſt of Caligula, that he availed himſelf of every opportunity of influencing Tiberius in his favour, by aſſiduouſly endeavouring to defend him againſt uncertain ſuſpicions and ſurmiſes, indeterminate accuſations, and prejudicial reports. In ſhort, had Caligula been his own brother, or even his ſon, he could not have laboured with a more unremitting attention in his ſervice. Many were of opinion that Macro exerted his intereſt with the emperor in conſideration of the great deference and reſpect obſerved towards him by Caligula: but a ſtill greater number ſuppoſed Macro's conduct to proceed from the perſuaſions of his wife; alledging that, being engaged in an intrigue with Caligula, ſhe was induced, by private reaſons, inceſſantly to urge her huſband to ſuffer no occaſion to eſcape of rendering proofs of friendſhip to the young man: and it is known that it is ſcarcely poſſible to reſiſt the perſuaſive addreſs of an artful woman. Being entirely ignorant and unſuſpicious of his wife's infidelity, Macro believed her careſſes to be proofs of the violence of her affection: and the inſinuating artifices practiſed upon him operated ſo powerfully, that he conſidered the very perſons who were treacherouſly labouring to deſtroy his happineſs, as bearing towards him the moſt ſincere and exalted friendſhip.

Eminent ſervices done to him on ſeveral occaſions.

Having manifeſted his attachment to Caligula by repeatedly affording him relief in great extremities, wherein his life was in the moſt imminent danger, Macro conceived that his many and ſignal ſervices intitled him to ſome authority, and that he might thence preſume to ſpeak with more freedom than would be conſiſtent with the ſituation of any other perſon. Macro was exceedingly anxious to prevent Caligula from indulging inclinations that would be productive of miſchievous conſequences, and to guard his mind from being corrupted by the example and influence of others: and in this inſtance his conduct bore ſome reſemblance to that of an ingenious artiſt, who is ſolicitous to preſerve his productions in a laſting ſtate of perfection.

Great pains taken by him to guard Caligula againſt an imprudent and unbecoming conduct.

When he perceived Caligula aſleep at table, it was his cuſtom to rouſe him, and to obſerve that, beſides being indecent, his indulgence argued an high degree of imprudence, ſince it expoſed him to the power of any perſon who might conceive the horrid deſign of perpetrating an aſſaſſination; when dancers and tumblers ſo engroſſed the emperor's attention, that he could not refrain from an imitation of their geſtures and attitudes; when he gave

gave way to violent bursts of laughter at the gross conceits and vulgar jokes of a stage-buffoon; or condescended to accompany the singers or performers on musical instruments; Macro, on these occasions, if he happened to be seated near him, never omitted his endeavours to discourage him by a wink expressive of his meaning, touching him with his elbow, or by some other private intimation; and he ventured farther than any other man would have done, by expostulating with him to the following effect:

"Believe me, Sir, that by abandoning yourself to the pleasures of the senses, like people of an inferior rank, you must necessarily disgrace your exalted character. It is a duty you owe to your own character, to render yourself as much distinguished from the rest of mankind, by a uniform dignity of conduct, as you are superior to them by your royal station. Can a more glaring instance of impropriety be produced than that of the sovereign of the universe directing his principal attention to, and deriving his greatest satisfaction from, singing, dancing, the agility of tumblers, the insipid jesting of buffoons, and other amusements equally frivolous and contemptible? It is the business of royalty, at all times, and on every occasion, to maintain the imperial dignity; to act, as a prince over the people, with the solicitude of a shepherd over his flock; and to be continually adding some improvement to his character, that he may daily approach nearer to the perfection of human nature. Permit me, Sir, to add that, when when you attend at the circus, the theatre, or other places for the exhibition of public spectacles, or the performance of exercises, the entertainments themselves are not what should engross your principal attention, which should be directed to the labour, ingenuity and care, employed by those whose occupation it is to provide for the public amusement; and thence you will naturally suggest to yourself arguments to the following effect: Since people employ such attention upon matters which do not operate to the advantage of mankind, and have no view in their undertakings but the amusement of the public, deeming themselves amply recompensed if their endeavours to please secure the approbation and applause of the spectators; must not a prince then promise himself infinitely greater satisfaction in the due administration of government, which is an office so much more noble and important? Human nature is not capable of greater dignity of character than is shewn in the man who proves himself equal to the arduous task of government: he causes the lands to be properly cultivated; encourages navigation; and establishes a commercial intercourse between the provinces, whereby they reciprocally supply each other with all the necessaries and conveniencies of life. To interrupt this happy and advantageous communication, it must be allowed that envy and jealousy have dispersed their malignancy among some particular persons, and even throughout a few towns; but so far from the whole universe having received the poison, the majority thereof is wholly free from the infection. But since the advancement of your illustrious family to the royal dignity, the evil in question has decreased in a surprising degree; and those monsters of iniquity who insolently dared to interrupt the harmony of cities and towns, are now compelled to seak their security, like savage beasts, in caverns and other secret places; and we now enjoy an advantageous and happy intercourse with all quarters of the globe, over which you are invested with the supreme earthly authority. We may compare the universe to a mighty ship, and say that Providence has committed the rudder to your charge, and consequently rendered you answerable for the safety of the vessel, and the good of mankind. Permit me, therefore, to observe that it is your indispensable duty to maintain an unremitting solicitude in the discharge of the important commission with which you are invested; and that the prosperity and happiness of the people subject to your dominion are the great objects to which you are bound to direct your principal attention, and the sources whence you must derive those comforts which contribute to form the most perfect happiness that the nature of a sublunary state will admit. Considerable advantages both to the public and individuals may result from a mutual interchange of friendly offices among persons in the inferior stations of life: but the blessings of peace, ease, freedom, and happiness of a people, must alone depend on the bounty, discretion, sagacity, justice and paternal care of the prince. The sovereign who would reign with honour to himself and advantage to his subjects must possess a capacious soul, and his bounties must be confined within no limits but those prescribed by prudence, which will suggest the necessity of keeping a constant reserve sufficient for obviating the exigencies incidental to government."

Thus, with a view to effect a reformation in his conduct, did Macro give this most salutary advice to Caligula, who, instead of receiving any benefit from what was intended as a remedy, converted the good and friendly counsel of Macro into the most deadly poison, and degenerated into a still greater excess of iniquity. The sincerity and freedom with which Macro behaved procured him the contempt of the emperor, who, at length, effected his utter destruction. Caligula conceived a most inveterate and implacable hatred against Macro; and when he observed him approaching towards him, he usually spoke of him, to those attending his person, in terms to the following purpose:

Caligula's sarcastical remarks concerning Macro.

"Behold, my good friends, the emperor's governor approaches; but I thank Heaven that the period of my wardship is expired. This man presumes to regulate my conduct; but happily for me, the state of infancy is passed; yet he insolently expects that I should observe an implicit obedience to his directions, pretending that no man possesses a more perfect knowledge of the world. This pedagogue has the insolence to obtrude instructions upon an emperor, as to the manner in which he should conduct himself towards his people; and even upon an emperor

peror who is indiſputably more converſant than himſelf in the ſcience of politics. Since the man is ſo extravagantly vain as to ſuppoſe himſelf qualified to inſtruct me in the duties of my royal ſtation, it would afford me no inconſiderable ſatisfaction to learn which are the particular branches in the art of government wherein he excels, and I am myſelf deficient. From my tendereſt infancy I have been trained up to a knowledge of the myſteries of government and ſtate affairs; and my inſtructors have been numerous and reſpectable; for inſtance, my father, brothers, uncles, couſins, grandfathers, and great grandfathers; and ſurely I derive ſomething from a long and uninterrupted ſucceſſion of ſo many great princes, in a direct line, both on the ſide of my father and likewiſe on that of my mother; and I might preſume on the ſeeds of the royal virtues which are naturally implanted in thoſe who are born to guide the reins of government. It will be allowed that children frequently reſemble their parents in the features of the face, motions, attitudes, deportment, geſture, inclinations, humours, habits, manners, and in many other reſpects; nor can it be denied that the virtues of royalty, and the qualifications neceſſary for public adminiſtration, are infuſed into the very blood of thoſe who are deſtined to the command of a people. Shall this contemptible dotard, then, preſume to become my inſtructor in the art of which, from his obſcure birth and inferior ſtation in life, he muſt of neceſſity be intirely ignorant, and in the myſteries of which I derived an intuitive knowledge even with my firſt breath, being deſcended from a long line of illuſtrious anceſtors, and qualified by nature for command and empire?"

Caligula determines to deſtroy Macro

The enmity of Caligula continued daily to increaſe, and it arrived, at length, to ſo high a degree, that he formed the barbarous determination of ſacrificing the life of Macro to his revenge. He now employed himſelf in ſuggeſting the means of executing his horrid deſign, reſolving to exhibit an accuſation againſt Macro, but wholly regardleſs as to its being founded in fact. While he was revolving this ſubject in his mind, he conceived that an expreſſion uſed by Macro afforded him a favourable opportunity of advancing a criminal charge againſt him, which would bear a plauſible appearance and effectually anſwer his purpoſe. The following are the words on which Caligula determined to found his accuſation againſt Macro: "Caligula is an emperor of my own making; and the obligations he owes to me are far greater than what he owes even to his father. Thrice did Tiberius reſolve to put him to death, but as often did I exert my influence, whereby the violence of the emperor's rage was averted, and the life of the youth preſerved. After the deceaſe of Tiberius I ſurrendered to Caligula the Pretorian bands, over whom I held the command, exhorting them to obſerve a rigid obedience to him, and admoniſhing them that the empire could not be preſerved entire and in perfect ſecurity, unleſs the ſovereign authority was inveſted in one perſon."

Many perſons bore teſtimony that Macro had, in their preſence, ſpoken preciſely to the above purpoſe; but theſe people were intirely ignorant of the treachery, diſſimulation, and conſummate art of Caligula. In ſhort, a few days only having elapſed, Caligula cauſed the death of the unhappy Macro and his wife. This ingratitude and barbarity was the reward which Macro obtained for preſerving the life of Caligula, advancing him to the throne, and rendering him many other eſſential ſervices. It is related that Macro was compelled to put an end to his own life; and that his wife was ſubjected to the ſame extremity, notwithſtanding the intimacy of her criminal intercourſe with Caligula. But there is no poſſibility of accounting for the diſguſt and loathing which ſucceed an inconſtant and ill-placed love. Caligula carried his cruelty to ſuch an exceſs, as to cauſe all the domeſtics of Macro to be put to death.

He puts Macro to death, with his wife, and all their domeſtics.

CHAP. V.

CALIGULA offended with his Father-in-law, MARCUS SYLANUS, for offering him prudent and friendly Advice; and cauſes him to be put to Death. This Murder followed by ſeveral others.

Further inſtances of Caligula's perfidy and cruelty

THE perfidious and cruel Caligula having effected the murder of Tiberius, who was the only perſon that he apprehended might become a competitor for the imperial dignity, and ſubjected Macro and his whole family to a ſimilar fate, in requital for having repeatedly preſerved his life, and, at length, ſecured to him the ſucceſſion of the throne; he now meditated a third exploit, the accompliſhment of which he conceived would require the utmoſt ſkill and addreſs.

Particular inſtances of the affectionate regard and attention paid to Caligula by Marcus Sylanus.

Marcus Sylanus, the father-in-law of Caligula, was a man of great bravery, generous ſentiments, and noble extraction. His daughter died at an early period of life; but he ſtill continued to obſerve an equal, if not a ſuperior, degree of reſpect and affection towards Caligula, not doubting but he ſhould experience a due return of kindneſs and eſteem; for he was entirely ignorant and unſuſpicious of the real diſpoſition of his iniquitous ſon-in-law. Sylanus, being naturally of a frank and open temper, frequently addreſſed Caligula on the ſubjects of morality and politics, recommending to him a juſt and equitable adminiſtration of government, and an irreproachable conduct in private life, as the only effectual means of realizing thoſe hopes the people had formed of enjoying a ſtate of perfect happineſs under the dominion of a prince who had already afforded the moſt flattering ſpecimen of the admirable qualifications which he poſſeſſed for the proper exerciſe of the functions of royalty. To this freedom of diſcourſe Sylanus was in ſome degree intitled, in conſequence of his rank in life and his near

relationſhip to the emperor: and being ſtill deeply ſenſible of a tender affliction conſequent on the unhappy circumſtance of his daughter's death, he imagined that his friendly expoſtulations could not be interpreted into the cauſe of offence, ſince it was ſcarcely poſſible that, in ſo ſhort a time, the ſenſe of affinity could be obliterated from the mind of Caligula.

Caligula's ingratitude and hatred to his friend, whom he puts to death.

Caligula, however, flattered himſelf in the vain opinion that his wiſdom, moderation, valour, juſtice and other qualifications, rendered his character ſo diſtinguiſhed, that it was incapable of greater perfection; and it was an office of great danger to offer him good and friendly counſel, which he underſtood as reproach and inſult, ſince it implied the poſſibility of his amendment; and hence he deemed his moſt firm and faithful friends to be his moſt inveterate enemies. He conceived a moſt violent averſion to Sylanus, as being a kind of check to the indulgence of his extravagant and unruly paſſions. His enmity increaſed to ſuch an outrageous degree, that he renounced all regard to the memory of his deceaſed wife, and determined on the unnatural and barbarous ſcheme of ſacrificing the life of Sylanus, who had inconteſtably proved himſelf a moſt tenderly affectionate and indulgent father-in-law, and a ſincere and diſintereſted friend.

He murders ſeveral other eminent perſons.

The death of Sylanus was followed by that of many of the moſt conſiderable perſons of the empire: and when the news of theſe murders was propagated among the public, they conſidered them with aſtoniſhment, deteſtation, and horror; but they ſuppreſſed a public declaration of their ſentiments, leſt they ſhould incur the reſentment of the cruel tyrant. Many people, however, being of unſteady tempers, and liable to impoſition, could not entertain an idea that a prince who had ſhewn ſ[illegible]ch remarkable inſtances of humanity, moderation, generoſity, and candour, could, by a momentary tranſition, become a moſt bloody and mercileſs tyrant; and hence they endeavoured to juſtify the iniquitous conduct of which he had been guilty, by arguments to the following effect.

Some endeavour to extenuate Caligula's crimes.

"No cenſure can juſtly fall upon Caligula for his behaviour in regard to young Tiberius, ſince the nature of things will not admit of the ſuppoſition that a divided ſovereignty can be conſiſtent with the ſafety of a ſtate; and therefore the removal of the youth was a preventive meaſure indiſpenſably neceſſary; eſpecially if it be conſidered that, had Tiberius poſſeſſed the power, he would unqueſtionably have taken away the life of the emperor; and that, with the increaſe of time, that power he would have naturally acquired. Caligula is by no means deſerving to be reprobated as a cruel murderer, but, on the contrary, is to be conſidered as the inſtrument of Divine Providence, by whoſe decree he put an end to the life of Tiberius, in order to ſecure the ſafety and happineſs of mankind. Had he been permitted to ſurvive, is there not every reaſon to apprehend that he would have proved the cauſe of involving the empire in all the horrors of foreign and domeſtic hoſtilities? For the contentions of parties and factions would have perpetually ſubſiſted between thoſe eſpouſing the reſpective intereſts of the two princes. It will not be diſputed that peace is the greateſt bleſſing a people can enjoy; nor that public tranquillity muſt depend on a regular and equitable adminiſtration of government. Where the ſovereignty is divided, competition and the moſt violent and dangerous contentions are ever to be apprehended: to avoid theſe evils, therefore, it becomes neceſſary to ſecure to one prince the power of exerciſing the regal authority."

The murder of Macro palliated;

Reſpecting the murder of Macro, the ſame perſons alſo thus argued in extenuation of the accuſation adduced againſt the emperor: "Macro proved himſelf a man of an imperious and preſuming diſpoſition; he became wholly regardleſs of the Delphic oracle, which commands every man to *know himſelf*; from which admirable leſſon we are to underſtand that we cannot be unhappy while we ſtrictly conform to it, nor fail to be miſerable when we hold it in contempt. Can it be ſaid that to interfere in the province of ſovereignty is conſiſtent with the duty of a ſubject; or that he is excuſeable for obtruding upon a prince inſtructions for the diſcharge of the functions of his high office? The province of the ſovereign is to command, and it is the duty of the ſubject to obſerve implicit obedidience."

and alſo that of Sylanus.

Thus did people, either through ignorance, or a deſire of offering the incenſe of flattery to the emperor, miſrepreſent the motives which prompted the honeſt admonitions of the unfortunate Macro: and alſo ſuggeſted the following excuſes reſpecting the cruelty of Caligula towards Sylanus.

"The conduct of Sylanus was extremely abſurd in aſſuming over a ſon-in-law an authority ſimilar to that which men have a right to exerciſe over their immediate deſcendents. It is uſual among private citizens to relinquiſh the paternal authority when their children are engaged in offices of truſt, or meet with honourable preferment. Sylanus could have no claim to the honour of being father-in-law to the emperor; for the affinity ceaſed with the death of his daughter; but he, notwithſtanding, had the preſumption to expoſtulate with Caligula on affairs of adminiſtration, wherein he could not juſtly pretend to have even the leaſt concern. It is beyond contradiction that marriage connects families in a ſtate of alliance: but it is equally certain that the alliance is temporary; for the diſſolution of all relationſhip neceſſarily takes place upon the deceaſe of either of the contracting parties."

In the above manner did people endeavour to reſcue Caligula from the imputation of criminal actions. They were ſo prepoſſeſſed in favour of the ſuppoſed extraordinary generoſity, moderation, juſtice, tenderneſs of diſpoſition, and other perfections in the character of this prince, that they could not conceive

conceive him capable of a conduct that could merit cenſure; nor that it was poſſible, after having moſt glorioufly diſtinguiſhed himſelf beyond the example of former ſovereigns, he could degenerate, by ſo ſudden a change, to the oppoſite extreme of wickedneſs.

CHAP. VI.

CALIGULA's Vanity in aſſuming the Appearance of ſeveral Demi-Gods, and claiming the public Honours and Veneration uſually paid to them.

Caligula, having cruelly murdered ſeveral worthy and eminent men, becomes exceſſively vain, and arrogates divine honours.

THE cruel murders of Tiberius, Macro, and Sylanus, were conſidered by Caligula as ſo many victories over the moſt formidable enemies he had in the empire. The death of Tiberius relieved him from all apprehenſion of his right to the ſovereignty being conteſted; he was eaſy reſpecting the ſoldiery, ſince Macro, who had poſſeſſed a great influence over them, was now effectually removed; and he judged himſelf perfectly ſecure with reſpect to the ſenate, in conſequence of the death of Sylanus, who commanded a great intereſt in, and had been eſteemed one of the moſt glorious ornaments of, that illuſtrious aſſembly. Having then effected the deſtruction of every perſon whom he apprehended might prove an obſtacle to the unlimited indulgence of his extravagant humours, he conceived the vain deſign of aſſuming the character of a demi-god, and exacting the honours and obedience obſerved towards the deities: and to reconcile himſelf to this ridiculous ſcheme, he argued in the following manner: "Since thoſe who have the command of the beaſts in the fields, as goat-herds, ſhepherds, herdſmen and people of other denominations, are neither goats, ſheep nor oxen, but are of a very different ſpecies, being creatures endowed with rational faculties, and infinitely ſuperior, in every reſpect, to the animals under their direction; on the ſame principles it may be preſumed that the ſovereign of the univerſe has an equitable claim to an exaltation beyond the ſcale of human nature, and to exact the veneration of a deity."

He affects to be deemed a demi-god.

Having determined upon this abſurd and vain deſign, his diſtempered imagination repreſented the employment which he was preparing to undertake as being worthy the imperial character; and he proceeded by degrees to the gratification of his ambitious views. His firſt imaginary exaltation was in aſſuming the character of a demi-god; ſuch as Hercules, Bacchus, Caſtor, Pollux, Amphiarius, Amphilochus, Trophonius, and others. He turned the oracles and ceremonies of theſe deities into ſubjects of ridicule, but ſtill claimed a right to the enſigns and privileges belonging to them, with the view of advancing the honour of his own character.

His frequent change of habits for this purpoſe.

It was the cuſtom of this man, like a theatrical performer, to be continually changing habits, intending thereby to render his appearance exactly conformable to that of the parties whom he was deſirous to perſonate. At one time he would ſtrive at an imitation of Hercules, being habited in the ſkin of a lion, and carrying a club in his hand; ſometimes he would aſſume the appearance of Caſtor or Pollux, wearing a cap upon his head ſimilar to thoſe uſed by the illuſtrious brothers; and to perſonate Bacchus he would wear the ſkin of a fawn, and provide himſelf with a thyrſus, wreathed with ivy. Caligula, in ſhort, materially differed from the imaginary deities; for they have ever been perfectly ſatisfied with their reſpective enſigns and privileges, and equally free from envy towards each other: but the emperor was ambitious of engroſſing to himſelf all the reſpect and veneration uſually paid to the ideal divinities, whoſe characters he was ſo highly ambitious to emulate. The circumſtance that attracted the moſt particular notice and admiration of the public was, not that Caligula, like Geryon, had three bodies, but that he poſſeſſed the wonderful power of aſſuming ſuch an extenſive variety of characters as to become the rival of Proteus, whom Homer repreſents as tranſforming himſelf into the elements, rivers, plants, different ſpecies of animals, and a diverſity of other appearances.

The virtues of the demi-gods contraſted with the vices of this degenerate emperor.

What value didſt thou, Caius, imagine would be added to your character by a vain reſemblance of the figures of the demi-gods, when you wholly neglected an imitation of their virtues, which would have been an employment whence you might have derived immortal honour?

Hercules and Bacchus.

Hercules engaged in his laborious and hazardous undertakings from the noble motive of delivering the univerſe, both by ſea and land, from the monſters that infeſted it, to the great interruption of the happineſs and ſecurity of mankind. Vines were planted and cultivated by Bacchus, who extracted from their fruit a beverage highly grateful to the palate, and poſſeſſing the quality of improving the corporeal ſtrength and the natural vigour of the mind: beſides adding to our bodily power, the juice of the grape has the virtue of giving us greater activity and contributing towards the increaſe and preſervation of health: it charms our cares to ſleep, renders us inſenſible to afflictions, and inſpires us with the hope of a more auſpicious fortune; a chearful draught relieves us from the languor and fatigue of long-continued labour. The ſalutary effects of wine are not experienced alone by people in a civilized ſtate, but even by the moſt barbarous nations. Feaſts, entertainments, muſick, dancing, and merry meetings, would no longer be attractive, if the ſpirits of the company were not to be occaſionally exhilarated by the generous juice expreſſed from the fruit of the vine. But it is unneceſſary any longer to dwell on the virtues of wine, which

which can never prove injurious while it is made uſe of with moderation.

Caſtor and Pollux. Caſtor and Pollux are repreſented as being the twin ſons of Jupiter; one of them is ſaid to have been immortal, but that he ſhared with his brother the privilege of not being ſubject to the common lot of humanity, becauſe his fraternal affection was ſo great that he could not ſupport the idea of being left eternally to deplore the irreparable loſs he ſhould ſuſtain in the death of his tenderly-beloved brother. The noble behaviour of this man is unparalleled; for what greater ſervice can be imagined than that of one brother reſigning, in favour of the other, a part of his privilege of enjoying an eternal exiſtence, and rendering himſelf, in a proportionate degree, ſubject to the power of death? The contemporaries of theſe heroic brothers paid them great deference and veneration; nor has their juſtly-acquired renown yet ſuffered the leaſt diminution. By the great benefits which they conferred upon mankind, and their exemplary virtues, theſe worthies acquired to themſelves the honour of being conſidered as demi-gods.

But have you, Caligula, purſued a conduct that you could reaſonably expect would entitle you to divine honours? Let us firſt ſpeak of Caſtor and Pollux. Can an inſtance be produced of a greater diſſimilarity of character than what will appear upon drawing a compariſon between yourſelf and thoſe illuſtrious brothers? So far from being inſpired with a noble emulation of their unbounded friendſhip, and heroic generoſity, you have cruelly bathed your hands in the blood of an innocent youth, whom it was your duty to treat with the utmoſt tenderneſs of a brother; for, excluſive of his alliance to you by the ties of blood, he had a juſt and indiſputable claim to a co-partnerſhip in the imperial dignity. With a view to ſecure yourſelf in the quiet poſſeſſion of the throne, you condemned the ſiſters of Tiberius to perpetual baniſhment.

Bacchus. In what reſpect is it that you have acted in conformity to the example of Bacchus? Of what diſcoveries are you the author, whereby the world derives any kind of advantage? Have you, in any one inſtance, contributed towards the peace or happineſs of mankind? It muſt, indeed, be allowed that you are not deſtitute of invention; but your inventions, like epidemical diſeaſes, convert joy into affliction, and render life inſupportable. To gratify your inſatiable avarice, your coffers are daily repleniſhed with immenſe treaſures from the four quarters of the globe: but, inſtead of paying grateful acknowledgments for the readineſs and punctuality with which the people combine to raiſe ſo conſiderable a revenue as you enjoy, you continually oppreſs them by exacting the payment of heavy and unprecedented taxes. In ſhort, the unrelenting cruelty of your diſpoſition has diſtinguiſhed you as an object of public abhorrence; and your tyrannical and oppreſſive meaſures in the magiſterial capacity, have rendered your government wholly intolerable. Theſe facts are incontrovertible; therefore you, in no ſingle inſtance, bear the leaſt reſemblance to Bacchus.

Hercules. Hercules engaged and perſevered in ſuch heroic and laborious undertakings as appeared too great for human power to accompliſh; and in theſe he proved indefatigable and ſucceſsful. His glorious actions proceeded from the public ſpirited deſire of enacting ſuch laws as ſhould operate to the general advantage of mankind; of cauſing a plenty both at ſea and land, and eſtabliſhing peace and promoting commerce throughout the world. This is a conciſe account of the real character of Hercules. So far from imitating the virtues of this hero, Caligula is of an inactive, dull, and heavy diſpoſition, and ſo falſely grounded are his pretenſions to bravery, that in the whole human race there cannot be found a more timorous creature; this man ſeems to delight in baniſhing good order and happineſs from ſociety, and introducing in their place tumults, ſeditions, and every ſpecies of miſery that can interrupt the felicity of mankind. There cannot be imagined a greater diſparity than appears on a compariſon of theſe two characters: and yet Caligula has the effrontery to declare himſelf the rival of Hercules, and to claim public veneration as being a demi-god.

Caligula's actions diſgraceful to his aſſumed divinity. Could you imagine, Caligula, that the horrid barbarities of which you have been guilty, and the unexampled tyranny and oppreſſion of your reign, were merits on which you might preſume to be conſtituted a divinity? Were you deſirous of immortality that you might everlaſtingly ſubject mankind to the grievous afflictions in which you had already involved them? Is there not every reaſon to believe that if thou wert exalted into a deity, the enormity of thy wickedneſs would degrade thee into thy original ſubjection to the power of death? For if great virtues can transform a man into a deity, it neceſſarily follows that atrocious crimes can degrade a god to a ſtate of mortality. No longer, then, indulge the ridiculous vanity of comparing yourſelf to thoſe illuſtrious heroes Caſtor and Pollux, who are ſo deſervedly celebrated for their fraternal friendſhip; ſince you have treacherouſly taken away the life of an innocent prince, whom you were bound to cheriſh and protect with the utmoſt care and tenderneſs of brotherly affection; nor expect to receive the honours that are paid to Bacchus and Hercules, whoſe extraordinary merits raiſed them into objects of public veneration; ſince you are wholly deſtitute of every principle of virtue and honour, and purſue a ſyſtem of conduct diametrically oppoſite to that which would effectually ſecure you from the ſevere reproaches and execrations which are always levelled againſt thoſe who are ſo ſhockingly abandoned to the moſt abominable wickedneſs.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

The extravagant Vanity of CALIGULA ſtill continues to increaſe; and being ambitious of the Diſtinction of a Deity of the ſuperior Order, he perſonates MERCURY, APOLLO, and MARS.

His exceſſive vanity and preſumption.

THE vanity and preſumption of Caligula increaſed, at length, to ſuch an immoderate degree, that he could no longer be contented in the idea of being conſidered as a demi-god, but became ambitious of exacting the honours paid to the deities of the ſuperior order, as Mercury, Apollo, and Mars. He firſt determined to perſonate Mercury; and clothed himſelf in a mantle, reſembling the garment of that deity, carried a white rod in his hand, and wore buſkins with wings affixed to them. He now diveſted himſelf of the ornaments and enſigns of Mercury, and aſſumed the appearance of Apollo, wearing a radiant crown repreſenting the beams of the ſun upon his head; and to convey an intimation that he would be ſlow to puniſh offences and ready to execute benevolent offices, he carried a bow and arrow in his left, and the graces in his right hand.

After this, he cauſed holy ſongs to be ſung, and dances to be exhibited in honour of the new deity, though but a ſhort time had elapſed ſince he had been contented with being diſtinguiſhed by the names of Liber, Euius, and Lycæus. In order to counterfeit Mars, he provided himſelf with a coſtly head-piece, ſword and buckler, and marched with prieſts and bravoes attending him on each ſide, ready to obey his inhuman commands; for he ridiculouſly imagined that by ſpreading deſtruction, and an indiſcriminate ſpilling of blood, he ſhould gain a more near reſemblance to the god of war. This ſpectacle ſtruck the ſpectators with the utmoſt aſtoniſhment and horror; they were unable, calmly and unmoved, to behold an audacious impoſtor arrogating to himſelf the honour of the deities, to whoſe virtues he was an abſolute ſtranger, and to whom he bore not the leaſt ſimilarity in any reſpect but in a ridiculous imitation of their habits, which convey no other meaning than that the gods are bountiful to thoſe who bear towards them an unaffected love and veneration.

He perſonates Mercury,

The moral implied by the winged buſkins of Mercury is only that, being the embaſſador or meſſenger of the gods, according to the import of the Greek word, and the bearer of happy intelligence (for we cannot ſuppoſe that either gods or good and wiſe men would willingly be the propagators of unfortunate events), rapidity of motion is neceſſary in the conveyance of intelligence requiring diſpatch. The wand, or white rod, of Mercury, is to be underſtood as the enſign of one who is commiſſioned to make a league or reſtore peace; for it is the office of the herald, by agreement or truce, to ſtop the progreſs of hoſtilities; and but for this mediation there would be no end to the horrors and devaſtations of war.

What motive could induce Caligula to affix wings to his buſkins? Did he thereby expect to diſperſe throughout the empire an idea of the abominable wickedneſs of his life, and the execrable profligacy of his manners? Inſtead of publiſhing his crimes to the world, he ſhould have followed the dictates of prudence, in burying the recollection of them in perpetual oblivion. What reaſon had he for adopting the enſign of a ſpeedy paſſage, ſince, without changing his ſituation, he might be conſidered as the inexhauſtible ſource from which the ſtreams of miſery were inceſſantly to flow, till they had overwhelmed the whole univerſe? Is not his bearing a white rod a moſt palpable evidence of abſurdity, ſince his words and actions have ſo invariably militated againſt every idea of good order, tranquillity, and happineſs? In all his concerns both with the Greeks and barbarians, whether in private families, towns, or cities, he has conſtantly proved himſelf the promoter of diſagreements, inſurrections, and civil hoſtilities. It will, then, become this fictitious deity to relinquiſh the appellations, and diveſt himſelf of the honourable enſigns, which are, in every reſpect, ſo highly inconſiſtent with his character.

Apollo,

Caligula bears not a nearer reſemblance to Apollo than to Mercury. He wears, indeed, a radiant crown upon his head, and this ornament exhibits a very ingenious repreſentation of the beams of the ſun: but we are ſenſible that the ſun and light are not favourable witneſſes to the perpetration of the moſt horrible iniquities. Virtuous actions cannot have too many ſpectators, and will bear the light of the ſun in the fulneſs of his meridian luſtre; but let thoſe who are guilty of impious deeds, which are the works of night and darkneſs, ſeek to conceal themſelves in the regions of perpetual obſcurity. To afford a nearer emblem of his real diſpoſition, Caligula ſhould carry the bow and arrows in his right, and the graces in his left hand; or, indeed, it would be more proper if he were to caſt the latter entirely from him; for it has been his conſtant practice to effect the deſtruction of men, women, children, families, and even whole cities; and that he has no kind of pretenſion to the credit of benevolence, bounty, and tenderneſs, which are intimated by the figures of the graces, is notoriouſly evident from the intolerable oppreſſions of which he has been guilty for the gratification of his inſatiable avarice. As to the article of phyſic, the counterfeit bears no greater reſemblance to the real Apollo than in other reſpects. So far from being the author of ſalutary medicines, or exerting a benevolent deſire of affording aſſiſtance to mankind, by preventing or removing bodily afflictions, he infects thoſe in perfect health, makes cripples of men whoſe limbs are ſound, and, by treacherouſly poiſoning, and other means, barbarouſly deſtroys people, without regard to ſex, age, or rank in life. His rage has been moſt particularly

directed againſt the people of wealth and diſtinction in Italy; and had not Divine Juſtice put a check upon his iniquitous proceedings, a virtuous and rich inhabitant of that country would ſcarcely have been ſuffered to ſurvive; for his avarice and cruelty were equally without bounds, and a greater profuſion of gold and ſilver had been amaſſed in Italy than in all the other parts of the globe together. Apollo was not only celebrated for his ſkill and knowledge in phyſic, but alſo for the predictions which he delivered for the benefit of mankind. When people were embarraſſed in difficult and intricate caſes, by his oracles he always admoniſhed them againſt miſtaking evil for good, and thereby enabled them to avoid the dangers with which they were threatened. So infallible was his knowledge of future events, that his predictions were received in the full confidence that, in due time, they would be verified in the moſt minute particulars. But the predictions of Caligula denounce confiſcations, baniſhment, and diſgrace againſt perſons of the moſt diſtinguiſhed rank and merit. The characters of the real and the fictitious Apollo agree not in a ſingle inſtance. Is it, then, not ſhameful that ſongs of triumph and joy, to the honour of Caligula, ſhould be ſung to the very notes adapted to thoſe in honour of Apollo? It is deemed a crime to counterfeit the image of a prince in order to give the appearance of reality to ſpurious coin; but to practiſe a falſe worſhip, is infinitely more unpardonable.

and Mars. But no part of Caligula's conduct excites greater wonder than his extravagant vanity, in pretending to the ſtrength and courage of Mars; for both his mind and body are effeminate and debilitated; but he makes no ſcruple of impoſing the moſt groſs deceptions upon the multitude; for which purpoſe he transforms himſelf into a variety of appearances; and, therefore, he may be aptly compared to a theatrical performer. There cannot exiſt a greater contrariety than will be found on drawing compariſon between Caligula and the god of war. I mean not the fabulous Mars, but that which ſignifies a promptitude for exertion of bravery and power in favour of the innocent and oppreſſed, according to the meaning of the Greek word, Αρης from αρηγειν, to help, or aſſiſt. Two names are given to the fabulous Mars; he receives one of them as being the friend and promoter of peace, as far as it operates to the advantage of the public; and the other as being equally ſanguine for the proſecution of war, wherein blood, confuſion, and horror, muſt neceſſarily prevail.

CHAP. VIII.

The JEWS, by refuſing to venerate the Emperor as a Divinity, greatly exaſperate him againſt them.

Caligula's bad qualities undeify him. I BELIEVE it will be admitted that what has been already ſaid will be deemed ſufficient to prove that Caligula had no reaſonable claim to be enrolled either among the demi-gods, or the deities of a ſuperior order. He exceeded every preceding prince in the abuſe of power; he gave full indulgence to the moſt lewd and profligate deſires; his obſtinacy was invincible, and his ambition deſerved the name of madneſs.

Reaſons why the Jews refuſe to acknowledge his divinity. The Jews, who had before enjoyed the moſt perfect felicity, ſeverely experienced the effects of Caligula's unexampled wickedneſs. Being a people educated by parents and preceptors to a rigid adherence to the doctrines of the holy ſcriptures, a due obſervance of the law of nature, a belief in the exiſtence of but one God, the Father, Creator and Preſerver of the whole world, the emperor imagined that the principles they ſo unanimouſly profeſſed would naturally induce them to oppoſe his deſigns: but he was not in the leaſt apprehenſive of obſtruction from any other quarter; for all other people, though actually groaning under the terrible weight of his cruel tyranny, ſervilely ſubſcribed to the propriety of his conduct, how contrary ſoever to their genuine ſentiments, and made him the ſubject of their moſt extravagant panegyrics, thereby increaſing his immoderate vanity and preſumption.

Shameful compliances of the Romans; and the emperor's impiety. In compliance with the humour of the deteſtable tyrant, many of the Romans combined in offering a moſt degrading affront to the liberties of their country, by introducing into the empire the modes of worſhip practiſed by the barbarous nations. But Caligula was convinced that, rather than violate the religious rites of their country, the Jews would chearfully ſurrender their lives, cheriſhing the firm belief that they ſhould be tranſlated into the regions of eternity. If one ſtone of a building is diſplaced, the remaining part may appear to be in a perfectly ſound and laſting condition; but the effects of time will gradually be perceived, and the whole fabric will inevitably fall into premature deſtruction: ſo every thing is of high importance which regards the worſhip of the Almighty. Caligula was guilty of a moſt horrid blaſphemy, in pretending to exalt a man into an immortal god: he would, indeed, have been more excuſable, had he endeavoured to change a deity into a mortal creature. He made an opening for the introduction of every ſpecies of ingratitude and infidelity towards the Creator of the world, whoſe bleſſings and bounties are continually diſtributed among his creatures with unlimited beneficence.

His inveterate rage againſt, and mercileſs oppreſſion of, the Jews. Such was the cauſe of the mercileſs war which was ſo fatally purſued againſt the Jewiſh people. Servants cannot be in a more dangerous or unhappy ſituation, than when they are the objects of the inveterate hatred of their maſters. The ſubjects of emperors are indiſputably their ſervants. So far from continuing in the ſtate of happineſs they had enjoyed under the mild government of preceding princes,

princes, the miſerable ſituation of the people was rendered intolerable under the oppreſſive dominion of the tyrant Caligula. He was an abſolute ſtranger to every ſentiment of compaſſion and humanity, and he abrogated all legiſlative inſtitutions, as being wholly ſuperfluous, ſince he was reſolved to have no other guide to his conduct than his own arbitrary and capricious will. The Jews were the people againſt whom he moſt particularly directed his vengeance: he reduced them to a ſtate of the moſt vile and abject ſlavery that has ever diſgraced human nature; and therefore they had ſufficient reaſon to reprobate him for having infamouſly neglected to act as the common father and protector of his ſubjects, and diſgraced the royal ſtation by proving himſelf a moſt deteſtable monſter of tyranny and wickedneſs.

CHAP. IX.

CALIGULA's barbarous Perſecutions afford the ALEXANDRIANS an Opportunity of revenging themſelves upon the JEWS. Horrid Cruelties exerciſed upon them. Statues dedicated to the Honour of CALIGULA.

The Alexandrians oppreſs and perſecute the Jews.

THE inhabitants of Alexandria having gained intelligence of the implacable enmity of Caligula towards the Jews, which was ſufficiently evident from the oppreſſive meaſures that he conſtantly purſued againſt them, they entered into a conſpiracy, determining to add every poſſible aggravation to the miſery of thoſe unhappy people, who were already ſinking under the weight of intolerable perſecution. Our enemies were ſo unanimous, and the injurious treatment we received was offered in ſo open and daring a manner, that it appeared as if the emperor actually gave encouragement to thoſe who were labouring to effect our deſtruction. Our habitations were forcibly entered, and men, women, and children, cruelly driven from thoſe hoſpitable retreats, and the enemy made booty of all the moſt valuable effects they could find. Our oppreſſors entertained not the leaſt dread of being apprehended and rendered amenable to juſtice, and therefore ſought no means for the concealment of their atrocious crimes, but continued their depredations in open day; and their audacity was ſuch, that they oſtentatiouſly expoſed to each other the property which they had ſo infamouſly obtained, with as much confidence as they could have ſhewn it had it deſcended to them by inheritance, been acquired by purchaſe, or any other juſtifiable means. Many who had formed themſelves into companies, and agreed equally to divide the ſpoil they ſhould gain, aſſembled in the public market for the purpoſe of allotting and receiving their reſpective portions of the booty; and the real proprietors of the effects, ſo ſurreptitiouſly acquired, were the melancholy witneſſes to this infamous buſineſs; and they were groſsly inſulted under their misfortunes with contemptuous reflections and virulent abuſe.

The Jews very cruelly treated; many thouſands of them being confined in a ſmall ſpace without food.

It was certainly a terribly unfortunate circumſtance for people of wealth and diſtinction to be ſuddenly expelled their habitations, reduced to the utmoſt penury, turned, like vagrants, into a wide inhoſpitable world, wholly deſtitute of the means for procuring the neceſſaries indiſpenſably required for the preſervation of exiſtence: but ſtill a greater aggravation of miſery was to enſue. Theſe cruel enemies confined many thouſands of our people, men, women, and children, in a ſmall ſpace, like beaſts in a pound, and as they were entirely deſtitute of proviſions, it was expected that they would periſh in a ſhort time, either through want of nouriſhment or the corruption of the air; which could not fail of being rendered of a very impure quality, by paſſing through the lungs of ſuch a number of people. The body poſſeſſes a natural heat, and a conſtant ſucceſſion of freſh air is neceſſary for the aſſiſtance of reſpiration; but if pure and refreſhing air cannot be inhaled, that which is already vitiated operates as fuel added to flames, and the conſequence muſt be fatal.

Severities exerciſed on ſuch as attempted to eſcape.

The miſerable people confined in the above-mentioned manner being unable to exiſt for want of freſh air, ſome of them retreated to the ſea ſhore, ſome to the deſerts, and others to lonely cemetaries: they who ventured to remain in any part of the city, excepting the ſmall ſpace allotted to them, were furiouſly aſſaulted with cudgels, tiles, bricks, and other weapons, which were directed againſt thoſe parts of the body where it was ſuppoſed wounds and bruiſes would be moſt likely to deprive the unhappy ſufferers of life; and they who came into the city, being unconſcious of the popular fury that prevailed, were treated with equal ſeverity. A ſtrict guard was kept on that narrow quarter of the city where the miſerable wretches were confined, and ſuch as were detected in attempting to eſcape were put to death, after ſuffering the moſt excruciating tortures that it was poſſible for human cruelty to ſuggeſt: and admitting that they had fortitude ſufficient to bear their own calamities, it is ſtill reaſonable to ſuppoſe that the hope of reſcuing their families from the miſerable fate of falling ſacrifices to hunger would induce them to attempt effecting an eſcape.

The Jewiſh merchants plundered and barbarouſly murdered.

A numerous party of our enemies ſtationed themſelves upon the banks of the river, in order to ſeize the Jewiſh merchants who came to trade at Alexandria. They made fires of the timbers belonging to the veſſels, and caſt the merchants alive into the flames, and made ſpoil of all their effects. Other Jews ſuffered in a ſtill more cruel manner in the middle of the city; where bruſh-wood being provided inſtead of billets, the fuel was kindled, and the unhappy victims were thrown into the fire: the wood

wood being green, and conſequently moiſt, the ſmoke operated more powerfully than the flames, whereby the ſufferings of the people were rendered more terrible and laſting. Many of our people were drawn through the ſtreets and acroſs the market place by means of ropes, and ſo implacable was the rage of our enemies, that, after putting them to death in this manner, with more than ſavage barbarity, they inſulted the dead carcaſes by quartering and cutting them to pieces, after which they trampled them under their feet, ſuffering no parts of the bodies to remain in a ſtate that would intitle them to interment.

The Alexandrians deſtroy ſeveral of the oratories or places of prayer belonging to the Jews, with all their coſtly memorials.

The Alexandrians finding that the governor of the province adopted no meaſures for the ſuppreſſion of the popular tumult, which he could have effected without the leaſt difficulty, but that he pretended to be wholly ignorant of the outrageous tranſactions, they interpreted his conduct on this occaſion into an encouragement of their abominable practices; and in this confidence they proceeded to the exerciſe of more daring crimes. There were great numbers of oratories, or places of prayer, ſituated in divers parts of the city, and againſt theſe buildings the rage of the enemy was now directed with the greateſt violence: they deſtroyed many of the oratories by fire and other means, and cut down, or tore up by the roots, the ſurrounding groves and trees. The flames communicated to the adjacent habitations; and it will be naturally ſuppoſed that conſiderable damage was ſuſtained, it being a matter of great difficulty to ſtop the progreſs of fire where inflammable materials abound. The gilt ſtatues, with their titles and inſcriptions, the crowns, bucklers, garlands, and other illuſtrious memorials, which ſeveral of the Roman emperors had eſtabliſhed in teſtimony of the honour and virtue of the Jews, and which were held in high veneration, were entirely conſumed in this conflagration. But no conſiderations had power to reſtrain the impetuous fury of theſe people, who, ſo far from entertaining the leaſt apprehenſion of being brought to condign puniſhment for their outrageous violences, were conſcious that, as Caligula harboured the moſt implacable enmity againſt the Jews, they could by no means more effectually ingratiate themſelves into his favour than by perſecuting them with the moſt exceſſive rigour.

They proceed to greater outrages, and reſolve to ſet up the emperor's ſtatue in the Jewiſh places of worſhip.

That they might proſecute their barbarous and ſanguinary deſigns with the greater ſecurity, they deemed it expedient to have recourſe to every poſſible ſtratagem of inſinuation and flattery, for the purpoſe of gaining an intereſt with the emperor; and with this view they proceeded in the following manner: the rioters had not ventured to attempt the burning or otherwiſe deſtroying a great number of the oratories, on account of their being attended by very ſtrong parties of Jews, with whom they judged it would be dangerous to engage in a contention: but, with a deſign to interrupt our religious worſhip, offer a groſs indignity to our holy law, and, at the ſame time, ingratiate themſelves with the emperor, they determined to erect his ſtatue in all thoſe places for religious meetings which they had not deſtroyed. In the principal of theſe buildings they placed the ſtatue of Caligula in a chariot with four horſes of braſs. This was an example that many of the Alexandrians were anxiouſly deſirous to copy; and being unable to procure perfect figures of horſes, they took from the gymnaſium, or places of exerciſes, thoſe mutilated ones which are ſaid to have been dedicated to the honour of Cleopatra, the great grandmother of the laſt queen of that name.

Reflections on their abſurd conduct.

It was, indeed, extraordinary that they ſhould expect to gain the eſteem of a prince ſo remarkably vain and imperious as Caligula, by pretending to manifeſt a veneration for his perſon in the dedication of mutilated, old, and decayed figures, which had been formerly dedicated to a woman, and were now unworthy the regard of an imperial prince. They had the confidence to expect that the ridiculous mockery which they had practiſed under the pretext of veneration and reſpect would intitle them to extraordinary rewards: but the circumſtance from which they claimed the greateſt merit was the transforming ſuch numbers of oratories into temples, and increaſing the number of thoſe buildings dedicated to the honour of the emperor; though it is beyond all diſpute that they were not influenced by a regard to the honour of their prince, but by a deſire of gratifying the implacable and inveterate rage which they entertained againſt the Jewiſh people.

No ſtatue or image dedicated to a ſovereign in Egypt during 300 years.

Ten ſovereigns reigned in Egypt for three hundred years, during which time not a ſtatue or an image was conſecrated to any one of them; but though conſcious that they were no more than men, they placed them among the number of the gods, and behaved to them with the veneration and reſpect that are uſually obſerved towards the divinities: but this is a matter that will not greatly excite our admiration, ſince it is their cuſtom to pay adoration to crocodiles, ſerpents, birds, beaſts, fiſhes, and other creatures; and ſince temples, altars, and groves, dedicated to the honour of various kinds of animals, abound in all parts of Egypt.

The Alexandrians are more remarkably addicted to flattery than any other people in the univerſe, and it is their cuſtom to cultivate the favour of princes according to the good fortune they enjoy, without regard to their perſonal virtues or merits: and, therefore, they may urge, in reply to what we have ſaid above, that ſince the Roman emperors greatly ſurpaſs the Ptolemies, in point of power, grandeur, and proſperity, they muſt conſequently be intitled to more diſtinguiſhed honours. The abſurdity of this anſwer muſt inſtantly appear; but let it be demanded of thoſe who may be inclinable to conteſt the matter, What reaſon can be aſſigned that ſimilar honours

Excellent character of Octavianus.

honours were not obſerved towards Octavianus, to whom Caligula ſtands indebted for the poſſeſſion of the imperial dignity? The reign of this prince continued for the ſpace of three and forty years, during which time he exerciſed the government with ſo much wiſdom and diſcretion, that he preſerved both Greece and Barbary in a ſtate of the moſt perfect and uninterrupted tranquillity, enjoying the great bleſſings neceſſarily reſulting from peace; and on his deceaſe, there appeared no proſpect to threaten a diſturbance of the public happineſs. But Octavianus received none of thoſe honours which have been paid to his ſucceſſor. Did this neglect of Tiberius happen becauſe he was inferior to Caligula in point of family? That objection cannot be urged; for it is indiſputable that the deſcent of Tiberius was much more illuſtrious, both by father and mother, than that of Caligula. Can it be aſſerted that Tiberius was deficient in a knowledge of the world, or a capacity for buſineſs? The age in which he lived could not boaſt a man poſſeſſing a more ſound judgment, a deeper penetration into human nature, or greater powers of elocution. No prince or emperor was ever more juſtly celebrated for the perfection of the intellectual faculties at an early period of life, or known to have declined into old age with more diſtinguiſhed honours. It is not uſual for the maturity of underſtanding to arrive but with years and experience: to this, however, Tiberius proved a remarkable exception; for ſo early in youth did the powers of his mind diſplay themſelves in full vigour, that he was diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of *the old young prince*. The eminent virtues of Tiberius, and his great qualifications for the diſcharge of the functions of royalty, ſeemed to have exalted him above the level of human nature. His ſteady reſolution, profound policy, ſound judgment, ſtrict adminiſtration of juſtice, and other great virtues, gave him the firſt title to the glorious name of Auguſtus; and that honourable diſtinction, which he derived not from his anceſtors by virtue of an hereditary claim, but which originated in his own perſonal merit, will be tranſmitted to his deſcendents. But the folly and ingratitude of man is ſuch, that the merit of this incomparable prince has been entirely neglected, and his memory inſulted; for the honours of which he was deemed unworthy have been offered to the barbarous tyrant Caligula.

His wiſe conduct in war, and impartial juſtice.

When Tiberius aſſumed the government, ſo general and deſtructive a war prevailed, that the extirpation of mankind ſeemed to be threatened in the apprehended conſequences of the furious and bloody contention; in which nation was oppoſed againſt nation, and people againſt people; and, in ſhort, the greater part of the world was concerned in this diſpute for empire, whereon the felicity, and even the exiſtence of mankind, ſeemed to depend. At this important juncture, it was the pleaſure of Divine Providence to appoint the deſcendent of an illuſtrious family as the agent by whom mankind was to be relieved from the alarming proſpect of impending ruin. When Tiberius took poſſeſſion of the helm, the ſtorm, as at the word of a guardian angel, ſubſided into a profound peace. This incomparably excellent prince put a period to the hoſtilities and devaſtations which ſo violently raged in every quarter of the globe; he cleared the ſeas of pirates, and cauſed an abundance of all the neceſſaries and conveniences of life, by promoting a commercial intercourſe between the different countries; reformed the manners of the moſt barbarous nations, and gave them to experience the happineſs reſulting from civil ſociety; relieved the provinces from oppreſſion, and ſo great was his bounty to the different towns, that they were ſcarcely ſenſible they did not enjoy unlimited freedom. He adminiſtered juſtice with ſtrict impartiality; ſucceſsfully exerted his endeavours to preſerve an uninterrupted tranquillity, and diſtributed his bounties with unlimited generoſity; ſo that the people had every reaſon to congratulate themſelves on the circumſtance of living under the dominion of a prince ſo admirably qualified to render their happineſs in every reſpect complete. Tiberius continued in the uniform purſuit of this excellent line of conduct till the concluſion of his life. This truly great and glorious prince, the common benefactor of mankind, held the government of Egypt for the ſpace of three and forty years, with unblemiſhed honour to himſelf, and unexampled benefit to the public: but no deſign has been conceived of commemorating his extraordinary virtues, by dedicating images or ſtatues to his honour in any of the places of public worſhip.

Excellent character of Tiberius.

Of all mankind, Tiberius had indiſputably the moſt juſt pretenſion to extraordinary reſpect and veneration; not only as being the author of the auguſt imperial family, but alſo on account of his having aſſumed to himſelf the whole powers of ſovereignty, which were before divided amongſt divers perſons; and continued to exerciſe his authority with ſo much moderation, wiſdom, and diſcretion, as to procure the moſt perfect happineſs to his people. It was a juſt obſervation of an ancient, that "Danger is ever attendant upon a divided ſovereignty, ſince public evils are to be apprehended from the diſagreement of private ſentiments." The great merit of Tiberius has been univerſally acknowledged by mankind, who have decreed to him divine honours, ſuch as temples, groves, porticos, and ſuch other proofs of magnificence and ingenuity as greatly ſurpaſs all other productions, whether ancient or modern. The moſt remarkable of theſe is Cæſar's temple, in Alexandria, bearing the name of Sebaſte. The ſituation of this incomparable ſtructure is oppoſite an exceedingly commodious harbour. It is ſo high that it is to be perceived at a ſurpriſing diſtance, and it is extenſive in proportion to its elevation. All the parts of the building are beautified with gold and ſilver. In point of architecture, it is a moſt curious and maſterly performance.

Nothing can be imagined more truly magnificent than the galleries, libraries, porches, courts, and halls; and the elegance of the ſtructure is greatly improved by the pleaſing diſpoſition of the conſecrated groves. It abounds with capital paintings and ſtatues, and various other rich donatives and oblations. In ſhort, the whole work was finiſhed with all the grandeur and elegance that it could receive from the utmoſt exertions of ingenuity, indefatigable labour, and unlimited expence. It is a conſpicuous guide to mariners, whom it enables to navigate their veſſels with greater ſafety both to and from the harbour.

Since ſuch diſtinguiſhed honours were paid to Tiberius, by the common conſent of the different nations, can it be urged that the people were deficient in acknowledging their great obligations to that moſt excellent emperor, becauſe they omitted to erect his ſtatues in the oratories belonging to the Jews? The reaſon that ſtatues were not erected in thoſe places of worſhip to the honour of Tiberius, was a conſciouſneſs in the people that he was not more deſirous of exacting a conformity to the laws, inſtitutions, and ceremonies of Rome, than of allowing the inhabitants of the different provinces the full enjoyment of their cuſtoms, rights, and privileges. Though he did not entirely approve of the great veneration that was ſhewn towards him, he deemed it imprudent to diſcountenance a practice which the dignity of the empire required, and ſerved to inſpire the public with reſpect and obedience to the government. As a proof that he was not elated by vanity, and that he abhorred ſervile adulation, it is only neceſſary to mention that he would not permit his ſubjects to treat him in the character either of a deity or a maſter; nor did he ſcruple to declare his approbation of the conduct of the people of our nation, in holding ſo abominable a practice in the utmoſt abhorrence. But for theſe ſentiments it cannot be ſuppoſed that he would have ſuffered ſo conſiderable a part of the city beyond Tyber to remain in poſſeſſion of the Jews (the majority of whom had been priſoners of war, but were reſtored to freedom by their maſters), and have allowed them the privilege of living according to the laws and cuſtoms of their own country. He was perfectly acquainted with the nature of the oratories, and that the Jews aſſembled in thoſe buildings, particularly on the ſabbath-days, for the purpoſe of exerciſing the duties of religion, according to the cuſtom of their anceſtors; nor was he a ſtranger to the contributions that were made, and tranſmitted to Jeruſalem, under the denomination of firſt-fruits; or that ſacrifices were offered, and the functions of the prieſthood regularly performed. But he never expreſſed the moſt diſtant intention of expelling our people from the city. Even in Paleſtine they were indulged in the uninterrupted practice of the religion of their country; nor was any kind of reſtraint impoſed upon them, with regard either to their oratories or their meetings for deliberating upon legiſlative points. So far from entertaining a diſapprobation of the ſolemnities of our religion, he preſented our temple with a variety of rich donatives, which we are yet able to produce in teſtimony of the ſanction he gave to our cuſtoms, thereby manifeſting the veneration in which he held our religion. He iſſued an expreſs command, that, entirely at his own expence, ſacrifices ſhould be daily offered to the moſt high God: this cuſtom has been obſerved to the preſent time, and it will ever be ſtrictly adhered to, and juſtly conſidered as an honourable memorial of the virtue and piety of Tiberius. On occaſion of public diſtributions of money and corn, this incomparable prince provided that the Jews ſhould be included in the number of thoſe who partook of the royal bounty; and if the benefactions were to be delivered on the ſabbath of the Jews, when they are prohibited from giving or receiving, or performing any kind of work or buſineſs, particularly if their intereſt is concerned therein, he expreſsly commanded the proper officers to deliver due proportions to them on the following day. The favourable treatment which they experienced from Tiberius gave the Jews a conſiderable ſhare of conſequence with the other nations, who, though natural enemies to them, dared not venture to interrupt them in the enjoyment of their privileges, ſince they were ſo evidently patroniſed, and greatly favoured by the emperor.

His conduct towards the Jews commended.

The circumſtances of the Jews were as auſpicious under the dominion of Tiberius as under that of Auguſtus, although Sejanus exerted his utmoſt endeavours to effect the ruin of ſuch of our people as reſided in the city of Rome, by groſsly calumniating them to the emperor. Soon after the miſerable death of Sejanus, Tiberius diſcovered that the injurious reports which he had communicated reſpecting the Jews, were intirely deſtitute of a foundation in truth, and calculated to anſwer no other purpoſe than that of violently irritating him againſt them, becauſe Sejanus had found them to be a people, whom, of all others, he had moſt reaſon to apprehend would vigorouſly oppoſe the impious deſign he had meditated of ſacrificing the life of his prince. Hereupon Tiberius diſpatched immediate orders to the governors of the ſeveral provinces, enjoining them to treat the Jews with great lenity, excepting only ſome few who had been concerned in Sejanus's conſpiracy; and that no interruption ſhould be offered to them in the exerciſe of their religion; for that he conſidered them as a people whoſe laws, lives, and manners were by no means repugnant to the inſtitutions of government, or dangerous to the public tranquillity.

CHAP. X.

The ALEXANDRIANS comply with CALIGULA's Deſire of being venerated as a Deity. Some Account of the Worſhip practiſed by the ALEXANDRIANS. An EGYPTIAN, named HELICO, who had been a Slave,

a Slave, irritates CALIGULA againſt the JEWS of ALEXANDRIA.

Caligula's vanity and preſumption increaſe.

THE phrenſy of Caligula was now arrived to ſo immoderate a height, that he not only claimed divine honours, but actually believed himſelf to be a divinity; and neither the Greeks, the Barbarians, or any other people, were ſo ready to encourage his extravagant pretenſions as the Alexandrians. They are a people who greatly ſurpaſs all the other inhabitants of the earth in the arts of flattery, diſſimulation and hypocriſy: they have a remarkably inſinuating manner, a great command of words, and are eminently qualified for creating popular tumults and deſtroying the order of government. A proper idea of the religious principles of theſe people will be formed, when it is conſidered that they pay adoration to their ibes (ſerpents), aſps, and divers other animals; and thus they deceive people who are not appriſed of the abominable impiety of the Egyptians: but they are held in the utmoſt abhorrence by all good men who are acquainted with the real nature of their practices.

Fulſome adulation of the Alexandrians.

Caligula was vain enough to entertain the abſurd ſuppoſition that the Alexandrians believed him to be a god in reality; for they hailed him with the acclamations, and obſerved towards him the external formalities, uſual in the religious ceremonies of their country; and there was ſo great a plauſibility in their manner, that the emperor could not perceive the difference between a falſe and a true worſhip. Thus infatuated, he conſidered the veneration paid him by the people, and the ſacrileges they had committed in the oratories, as evident proofs of their great zeal and affection towards his perſon: and the moſt excellent poems or hiſtories could not have been more acceptable to him than the accounts he daily received of what paſſed in Alexandria reſpecting theſe ſubjects. The intelligence was conveyed by his own domeſtics, who were admirably qualified to gratify the inclinations of their maſter; for they extravagantly praiſed whatever he approved, and as ſeverely condemned every thing to which he expreſſed an averſion. Theſe domeſtics were principally Egyptians, an abject, and in every reſpect a contemptible people, educated from their infancy in the abominable practice of paying adoration to ſerpents and crocodiles.

The artful inſinuations of Helico, an Egyptian.

The chief of theſe people was an Egyptian, named Helico, a man of obſcure birth and abandoned principles, who had inſinuated himſelf into favour at court, by unjuſtifiable practices. Helico had acquired ſome literary knowledge while in the capacity of a ſlave to his firſt maſter, by whom he was preſented to the deceaſed emperor Tiberius Cæſar. But this prince, even in the early part of his life, was of a grave diſpoſition, and ever inclined to conſider frivolous matters with contempt; and therefore he entertained no regard for Helico, in whom he obſerved buffoonery to be the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic. Upon the deceaſe of Tiberius, and the ſucceſſion of Caligula to the imperial dignity, Helico determined to accommodate himſelf to the diſpoſition of his new maſter, whom he obſerved to be a prince wholly abandoned to the unlimited indulgence of his inordinate and vicious deſires: and thus he argued with himſelf:

He diſcloſes his private ſentiments.

"The time is now arrived when thou mayeſt promote thy own advantage; therefore, Helico, permit not ſo favourable an opportunity to eſcape, but rouſe thyſelf into activity. Thou haſt now a maſter perfectly agreeable to thy wiſhes: he will attentively liſten to thy diſcourſe, and yield to thy perſuaſions. Thou haſt a diſpoſition that can eaſily accommodate itſelf to all perſons and circumſtances; and there are but few, if any, who can rival thee in the talent of humour, raillery and ſatirical mirth. Thou art not more deeply ſkilled in the liberal ſciences than thoſe which are deemed illiberal. Thou art not only able to employ the arts of flattery with ſucceſs, but alſo to render thoſe againſt whom thou haſt conceived an enmity the objects of ſuſpicion and reſentment by oblique inſinuations: and thou art well aware that thy efforts will operate the more powerfully in proportion to the degree of art with which thy motives are diſguiſed; and that thou haſt now to deal with a prince ever willing to yield attention to reproach and calumny. Thou haſt no cauſe to apprehend the want of ſubjects: for the Jewiſh people, their laws and ceremonies, will afford thee ample materials for the exerciſe of thy ingenuity. To execrate theſe people and their cuſtoms, thou haſt been inſtructed from thy infancy, not merely by particular individuals, but by nearly the whole body of the Alexandrians. Let it then be proved how far thy abilities are able to render thee ſervice."

Inſtigates Caligula to perſecute and deſtroy the Jews.

Helico's thoughts were, therefore, now wholly engroſſed by the plan he had conceived; and he continually employed himſelf in endeavouring to exaſperate Caligula againſt the Jews: he paid no regard to proper times or ſeaſons, but either by day or night, as his inclinations happened to dictate, interrupted the emperor in his moſt private retirements, and during the hours dedicated to pleaſure, and adopted every ſpecies of artifice that was likely to increaſe that averſion which he already entertained againſt the people of our nation; and his wicked and malicious inſinuations had the greater effect, as they were delivered in a ſtyle of ironical pleaſantry. He judged it not good policy openly to declare himſelf the enemy of the Jews, but ſo artfully diſguiſed his meaning, and conducted his treacherous ſcheme with ſo much addreſs, that he involved our people in greater calamities than he could poſſibly have done had his intentions been obvious.

He is greatly careſſed and rewarded by the Alexandrians.

The embaſſadors appointed by the people of Alexandria had no ſooner diſcovered that Helico was a man capable of rendering them eſſential ſervice, than they purſued every poſſible means for attach-

ing

ing him to their intereſt, for which purpoſe they preſented him with very conſiderable ſums of money, and promiſed to procure him diſtinguiſhed honours upon the emperor's arrival at Alexandria, where he was expected in a ſhort time; and he engaged to fulfil their requeſts. Helico greatly delighted himſelf by anticipating in his imagination the reſpect and honour that would be paid to him by the embaſſadors who would reſort to Alexandria from all quarters of the univerſe for the purpoſe of manifeſting their veneration towards the perſon of the emperor.

The Jews endeavour to bring over Helico to their party.

The means of defending ourſelves againſt our open and profeſſed enemies had hitherto intirely engroſſed our attention, ſo that we entertained not the leaſt ſuſpicion that meaſures were purſuing for our deſtruction by an inveterate and concealed enemy in the perſon of Helico. But upon diſcovering that this man was violently prejudiced againſt us, we exerted our utmoſt endeavours, by flattery and ſuch other means as we judged moſt likely to prove effectual, to incline him to our intereſt, conſidering him as a man from whom we had the greateſt reaſon to apprehend danger; for he attended Caligula at feaſtings, balls, wreſtlings, bathings, and all other entertainments and exerciſes, and was his companion in his ſenſual debaucheries. Being firſt gentleman of his bed-chamber, he could on no occaſion be at a loſs for the opportunity of engaging the emperor in converſation. The great object of his deſire was to effect the deſtruction of the Jews; and for this purpoſe he calumniated us with the moſt barbarous ſeverity, but in a ſtyle of ſuch exquiſite humour and raillery, that his malevolent reflections ſeemed to be unpremeditated, without the leaſt deſign of promoting miſchief, but wholly calculated to afford pleaſure to the emperor. He purſued his infamous machinations with the moſt conſummate art, connecting his miſrepreſentations together with ſuch ingenuity, that they mutually ſerved to elucidate and add force to each other. In ſhort, the artifices he employed proved ſo ſucceſsful, that their effects were never to be eradicated from the mind of Caligula.

CHAP. XI.

The JEWS of ALEXANDRIA appoint Deputies to repreſent their Caſe to the Emperor, PHILO being the Chief of the Embaſſy.

The Jews deſpair of ſucceeding with Helico, and intereſt Agrippa in their favour.

HAVING aſſiduouſly laboured to the utmoſt extent of our abilities to influence Helico in our favour, and having experienced the mortifying diſappointment of finding him to be a man of an inſufferably arrogant and haughty diſpoſition, and ſo difficult of acceſs that it was not poſſible to gain his attention to our cauſe, we deemed it neceſſary to ſeek redreſs by other means, not knowing but ſome particular and perſonal pique or enmity might be the cauſe of his prejudicing us in the opinion of Caligula. It was deemed expedient to preſent a memorial to the emperor, repreſenting the grievances we ſuffered, and ſupplicating redreſs. When king Agrippa was going to Syria, not long previous to this time, he ſtopped at Alexandria, and we then preſented to him an addreſs, of which the above-mentioned memorial was an abſtract.

Their deputies meet Caligula in the field of Mars, who diſſembles with them.

We departed, in order to repair to Rome, cheriſhing the flattering belief that we ſhould find Caligula a benevolent prince and an equitable judge: but we were miſerably deceived in our opinion; for fatal experience convinced us that he entertained a moſt inveterate and implacable enmity againſt the people of our nation. He received us in the field of Mars, adjacent to Tyber, and diſguiſed the real ſentiments of his heart by ſaluting us with great complacency and apparent good-will, ſignifying, by a motion of his right-hand, that we were perfectly welcome; and he diſpatched Homulus, the introducer of embaſſadors, to inform us, that on the firſt oportunity of leiſure he would take our cauſe into mature conſideration. From theſe circumſtances, it was imagined, not by the Jews alone, but by all perſons preſent, that our application would ſucceed to the extent of our wiſhes.

Philo appointed head of the embaſſy.

I had the honour to be appointed chief of the embaſſy from the Jews of Alexandria to the emperor Caius Caligula; and the experience and knowledge which I had acquired in the world enabled me to avoid the error of judging from ſuperficial appearances; and, therefore, what afforded ſatisfaction to other people, inſpired me with jealouſy and apprehenſion, and ſuggeſted the following reflections: "Is it not ſtrange that, though embaſſadors are here aſſembled from all quarters of the univerſe, we alone ſhould receive audience? Does not Caligula know that we are Jews, and that we cannot reaſonably expect a deference that is refuſed to other people? It would, indeed, be a degree of lunacy in us, were we to expect peculiar favours and protection from a youthful and free prince, of a different nation from ours, and of principles contrary to thoſe we profeſs. It is indiſputable that he entertains a partiality towards the Alexandrians, and that he is induced, by his regard to them, to haſten the deciſion on our appeal. I am terribly alarmed by the apprehenſion that he will be a powerful enemy to the Jews, and a firm advocate for the Alexandrians: but would to Heaven he may ſo conduct himſelf in the cauſe which is ſubmitted to his determination, as to approve himſelf worthy the character of an equitable judge."

CHAP. XII.

The Embaſſadors are informed that CALIGULA has iſſued Orders to PETRONIUS to cauſe his Statue to

to be erected in the Temple of JERUSALEM. Account of the Deaths of HELICO and the Tragedian APELLES.

Philo's anxiety through foreboding fears.

MY mind was so intirely occupied by the above reflections, that I was unable to take repose either by day or night; but additional troubles were yet to arrive. A circumstance occurred that foreboded the utter ruin of the whole Jewish nation, and I was now most heavily oppressed with affliction.

We had followed the emperor to Puteoli, whither he had repaired for the purpose of enjoying the fresh air on the banks of the sea, and entertaining himself with the view of the palaces and other magnificent buildings which abound in that neighbourhood. We waited in daily expectation of being admitted to an audience, in the last degree of anxiety lest our petition should be rejected; and at length we were accosted by a man trembling and so out of breath that he was at first unable to speak: wildness and distraction appeared in his eyes, and all his features were expressive of the utmost horror. He retired a little, that he might not be overheard by the strangers who were present, and then, in a low tone of voice, said, "Hark ye! have you not heard the dreadful news?" He endeavoured to proceed, but burst into tears, and was unable to articulate another sentence. After a short pause, he prepared again to speak, and frequently renewed his attempts, but his voice was as often interrupted by the same cause. We were greatly surprised at this very extraordinary spectacle, and earnestly intreated the man to inform us what was the motive of his conduct, saying, we could not suppose, from what we had observed, but that he came with a design to weep in our presence; adding, that if he had cause of great affliction, we, who had been long and daily exercised in misery, would join him in mourning and lamentations. At length, he made another effort to speak, and, after many tears, sighs, and other expressions of grief, he said, "Our temple is inevitably ruined; for the emperor has issued an express order for his statue, with the name of Jupiter inscribed thereon, to be erected in the holy sanctuary." This intelligence operated so powerfully upon all who heard it, as nearly to deprive them of all sense and motion; and in a short time we received a fatal confirmation of its authenticity. We now secluded ourselves in an apartment, where we condoled each other on the calamitous situation of affairs; for grief is naturally eloquent, and we had ample cause for lamentation.

Distressing information brought to the embassadors.

Their mournful reflections on the dreaded event.

When we committed ourselves to the mercy of the tempestuous ocean, engaging in a hazardous, fatiguing, and dangerous winter voyage, in the hope of relieving ourselves from intolerable persecution and oppression, we entertained no apprehension of so terrible a storm as we have experienced at land. The tempests of winter, and all the revolutions of the seasons, happen according to the common course of nature, and are to be considered as the works of Providence, being meant to operate to the general good of mankind; and therefore they are not only supportable, but to be submitted to with chearfulness. The tempest which now prevails is caused by a youthful, ambitious, and turbulent prince, who delights in public calamity, and who is so intirely divested of all principles of virtue, that he resembles humanity in no circumstance but that of the external form: and he is to be considered as the more dangerous enemy, since, the whole power of the empire being at his command, no bounds can be prescribed to his wanton and insupportable tyranny. Who would presume to dissuade the most cruel enemy of mankind from offering sacrilegious violence to the temple? Would it not be contrary to reason and common sense, to hope for mercy from a monster whose heart is estranged to all the tender feelings of humanity; or to expect safety and protection from our barbarous and unrelenting oppressors? The man who would dare to violate the holy temple, which, like the sun in the firmament, is conspicuous to the whole world, and is held in universal veneration, must be capable of every species of wickedness, and it would be the height of absurdity to expect that he should, even in a single instance, approve himself the friend of mankind.

"He who submits to death for the laws and religion of his country, will inevitably be rewarded for the glorious sacrifice, by a life of eternity and inexpressible happiness. Why, then (continued we), should we express an anxiety for prolonging the date of mortal existence? But depriving ourselves of life, without being influenced to the irrevocable action by the prospect that happy consequences would thence result to the public, must necessarily subject us to just and severe censure. Should we be guilty of a conduct of this nature, we should but add to the calamities under which we already labour. Being here in the character of embassadors, we should involve those by whom we are deputed in circumstances of aggravated distress, and afford those among our own people, who are unfavourably disposed towards us, an opportunity of attributing a wrong motive to any glorious resolution we might adopt. They may, perhaps, urge that, being in embarrassed circumstances, we dreaded to encounter the threatened danger, and infamously deserted the public cause.

"Smaller interests must give way to greater, and those of individuals must yield to considerations for the public good. If this rule is violated, the order of government will be confounded, and the very existence of government itself, and consequently of the laws by which the national importance and grandeur is supported, will be in danger of falling into a common destruction. We must not, for a moment, be so insensible of the great duties which we owe to our country, as to entertain the thought of abandoning the cause of the Jews of A-

lexandria, who have inveſted us with powers to negotiate an affair, on the iſſue of which depends the ſafety and welfare of the whole Jewiſh nation, who are now in moſt imminent danger of being intirely extirpated from the face of the earth by the violent and barbarous perſecutions and oppreſſions of the inhuman tyrant Caligula.

"Perhaps it may be urged, that if we can by no means inſure ſucceſs, we may ſtill indulge the thoughts of retiring in ſafety, even under the great affliction of our diſappointments. In reply to this, I ſay, that a propoſition of the above nature cannot be advanced by a man poſſeſſed either of perſonal bravery or a knowledge of the holy ſcriptures. It is the natural diſpoſition of truly generous ſpirits never to abandon themſelves to deſpair; and they who believe and heartily embrace the doctrines of the ſacred ſcripture, will find therein an unfailing foundation for ſuſtaining their hopes. The diſtreſs to which we are at preſent reduced may, perhaps, be meant as a trial of our virtue, and to prove with what degree of conſtancy and fortitude we are able to ſupport affliction. Farewel, then, to all expectations of ſublunary comforts, which are ſo uncertain and deceiving as to deſert us when we have moſt occaſion for their ſupport. Let us, with a firm confidence and ſteady faith, rely on the power and goodneſs of Almighty God, by whom our anceſtors were frequently delivered from the moſt calamitous circumſtances, and by whom we ſhall never be forſaken while we hold his ſacred name in due veneration."

In the above manner we conſoled ourſelves on ſo melancholy and unexpected an event. After remaining ſilent for a ſhort time, addreſſing ourſelves to the perſon who had communicated the afflicting intelligence, we ſpoke to the following purpoſe:

"How happens it that you appear to be ſatisfied with having ſimply related to us the matter of fact, which has involved us in extreme miſery; as a ſingle ſpark may occaſion the moſt terrible conflagrations? We ſtill remain wholly ignorant of the motive of the impious reſolution which you ſay the tyrant has adopted."

"It is a matter of public notoriety (replied he) that the emperor is ambitious of being diſtinguiſhed as a divinity. Conceiving the Jews to be the only people who would endeavour to fruſtrate his blaſphemous deſign, he determined to exert every poſſible effort for obviating the oppoſition which he apprehended from them. He judged that he could not proceed in a more effectual manner towards facilitating the execution of his purpoſe, than by wreaking vengeance upon the Jews, by offering indignities and profanations to the holy temple of Jeruſalem, which is univerſally allowed to be the moſt magnificent and beautiful ſtructure that has ever been formed by human invention and labour, and which contains immenſe treaſures, donatives, and oblations, that have been conſtantly accumulating during the ſucceſſion of many ages: and theſe ſacred articles Caligula had the effrontery to claim for his own private uſe.

"Capito, who enjoyed the office of a queſtor, and a commiſſion for receiving the tributes of Judæa, wrote letters to the emperor, which exaſperated him to additional rage againſt the people of our nation. Capito came into Judæa in very indigent circumſtances, but, by fraudulent and corrupt meaſures, he amaſſed conſiderable wealth, though not without rendering himſelf the object of univerſal abhorrence to the inhabitants of the ſeveral provinces. Apprehending that the Jews would exhibit juſt complaints againſt him, and call him to account for the notorious delinquency of his conduct, he judged that it would be a ſeaſonable ſtroke of good policy to irritate the emperor againſt them, that their expected accuſations might operate with the leſs power; and he availed himſelf of the following occaſion for carrying his treacherous purpoſe into execution:

"Jamnia is one of the moſt populous cities in Judæa, and, excepting ſome few ſtrangers, who removed from the neighbouring countries, and, unhappily for us, came to reſide there, it is inhabited intirely by the people of our perſuaſion. Theſe ſtrangers have ever been violent enemies to the laws, cuſtoms, and manners, of the Jews; and they had no ſooner gained information that Caligula was ambitious of the character of a deity, and that he harboured a mortal and unconquerable hatred towards the people of our nation, than they determined to exert every poſſible effort for involving us in deſtruction, conceiving that a more favourable opportunity was not likely to occur for the execution of their treacherous and iniquitous purpoſe. They cauſed the utmoſt expedition to be uſed in the erection of an altar, formed of clay, wrought into bricks; and this meaſure they ſuppoſed would be underſtood by us as a ſufficient indication of their hoſtile principles; and they were not deceived in the conjecture that a quarrel would enſue.

"In a ſhort time the Jews aſſembled, and laid the altar in ruins; in conſequence of which the faction exhibited complaints before Capito, and requeſted that he would grant them redreſs for the injury and affront they had received. Capito, who originally concerted the ſcheme, induſtriouſly aided its operation; and when it had arrived to maturity, he congratulated himſelf on the ſucceſs of his invention, and tranſmitted to the emperor an account of the affair, including every aggravation that appeared likely to inflame him to an exceſs of rage and indignation. The intelligence being received by the impetuous, vain, and preſumptuous Caligula, he immediately commanded that, in revenge for the deſtruction of the brick altar in Jamnia, his ſtatue, of the ſize of a coloſſus, and richly decorated with gold, ſhould be placed in the temple of Jeruſalem. In this matter the emperor followed the advice of thoſe reſpectable counſellors Helico, who had ſo greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf as the buffoon of

of the court, and the tragedian, named Apelles. Having ſignaliſed himſelf by the profligacy of his manners, in the early part of life, Apelles afterwards engaged in the theatrical profeſſion: and it will, perhaps, be thought ſcarcely neceſſary to obſerve, that there is no claſs of people more remarkable, than thoſe dependent on the ſtage, for the lewdneſs of their principles and the licentious courſe of their lives. Helico and Apelles are the preceptors of Caligula: it is the buſineſs of the firſt to qualify him in the arts of raillery, and that of the latter to inſtruct him in ſinging, and in the manner of reciting poetry. Thus, like a ſcorpion, did Helico diſcharge his Egyptian venom againſt the Jews, as did Apelles that of an Aſcalonite, which word ſignifies an irreconcileable enemy to the people of our nation."

Helico and his colleague Apelles put to death.

The above relation ſo grievouſly afflicted us, that we could not have been ſenſible of more acute pain had a poniard been ſtruck to our hearts at every word. The execrable adviſers of Caligula, however, ſurvived not long before they received the retribution of their abominable impiety. Apelles, being apprehended and committed to priſon, was heavily laden with chains, and ſubjected to the moſt excruciating tortures, which were inflicted at certain intervals, that his ſufferings might be prolonged, and, at length, they produced his death. Helico was put to death by order of Claudius, who ſucceeded Caligula in the imperial dignity.

CHAP. XIII.

PETRONIUS, the Governor of SYRIA, receives the Emperor's Order for erecting his Statue in the Temple of JERUSALEM; and, apprehending the dangerous Circumſtances in which he would involve himſelf by a Refuſal, he determines to comply with the Orders of CALIGULA.

Petronius ordered to erect a ſtatue to Caligula in the temple of the Jews.

THE emperor now diſpatched orders to Petronius, the governor of Syria, for erecting and conſecrating a ſtatue to his honour in the temple of Jeruſalem; and every poſſible precaution was inſerted in the commiſſion, leſt the ſacrilegious ſcheme ſhould fail of being carried into execution. He commanded Petronius to ſummon half the troops forming the army ſtationed on the river Euphrates, for the purpoſe of repelling the oriental kings and nations, in caſe of their attempting inroads or other enterpriſes, and to employ them in attending the ſtatue: the deſign of Caligula, however, was not to give an appearance of ſolemnity to the ceremony of conſecration, but that a ſufficient force ſhould be ready to deſtroy ſuch of the Jews as ſhould preſume to oppoſe the extravagant meaſure.

"Alas! (exclaimed Petronius) is it thus, inhuman prince, that you declare hoſtilities againſt the Jews, who, you are conſcious, will ſubmit to the moſt violent and cruel deaths rather than live to be the miſerable witneſſes of an infringement of their laws and a profanation of their temple? What purpoſe will be anſwered by employing the military power, but that of conſecrating the ſtatue with the blood of ſo numerous a body of innocent people as will loſe their lives on this unhappy occaſion?"

His diſtreſs on receiving the command, and wiſe reaſonings on the impracticability of its execution.

The order received from Caligula involved Petronius in a moſt afflicting embarraſſment. He was fully appriſed of the great danger that would attend a refuſal to comply with the emperor's command, or the leaſt delay in carrying it into execution; and he was perfectly ſenſible that, in caſe of his acquieſcence, infinite difficulties would neceſſarily occur, as he knew the Jews to be a people in whom no conſiderations would repreſs the ſpirit of a moſt vigorous and unremitting oppoſition when their religion was in danger of violation. It is natural for the people of every country to be jealous and apprehenſive leſt they ſhould be abridged of their cuſtoms and privileges; but the Jews are more remarkably ſo than any other of the inhabitants of the globe. They conſider their laws as being oracles delivered to them by the Almighty; they are inſtructed from their earlieſt years in the neceſſity of paying a rigid obedience to them; the more they reflect upon them, the more does their veneration for them increaſe; and they are ſo deeply engraven upon their hearts, that the impreſſion is not to be defaced. It is their practice to grant ſtrangers, who become proſelytes to their profeſſion, the full enjoyment of all the privileges of free citizens; and in ſhort, ſo ſacred is their veneration for their religious inſtitutions, that they would ſooner relinquiſh life than be guilty of the ſmalleſt violation of their duty. There cannot be a ſtronger proof of their great and ſcrupulous regard to the dignity of the holy temple, than the law which conſigns any man to death without mercy who ſhall preſume to enter the ſanctuary: but to all other parts of the building the Jews of the different provinces are allowed the indiſcriminate right of admiſſion.

The order which he had received for erecting the ſtatue of the emperor in the temple of Jeruſalem proved exceedingly diſtreſſing to Petronius, who anxiouſly revolved the matter in his mind, and advanced a variety of propoſitions and objections before he could determine on the line of conduct that it was moſt eligible to purſue. The reſult of his deliberations was, that he muſt carefully avoid any innovation in points of religion; and his reaſons were

1ſt, Becauſe the introduction of a change in the cuſtomary manner of the Jewiſh worſhip would be contrary to juſtice and piety: and,

2dly, Becauſe the vengeance of an incenſed Creator was to be dreaded, beſides the conſequences that would probably enſue from irritating the paſſions of a violent and determined people, and driving them to a ſtate of deſperation.

He

He reflected on the immenſe multitudes compoſing the great body of the Jewiſh nation; a people, not like others, confined to any particular province, but diſperſed throughout every part of the univerſe, in the iſlands as well as upon the continent, and in ſuch numbers, that they were ſuppoſed, upon computation, to be nearly equal to all the other inhabitants; and he thus argued with himſelf:

Cool and deliberate reflections on the ſubject.

"In my preſent ſituation, it will certainly be prudent to defer taking any meaſures reſpecting the matter in queſtion until I ſhall have taken them into mature deliberation. The Jews are ſo ſurpriſingly numerous, that to provoke them to a general confederacy would be a meaſure exceedingly dangerous to the public ſafety; for were ſuch myriads of people to unite in a common cauſe, their force would be ſufficient to ſubdue all the reſt of the world. Vaſt numbers of theſe people at preſent inhabit the country of Judæa; and, notwithſtanding they are repreſented by their enemies as barbarians, they indiſputably poſſeſs noble and generous minds; they are a people ſkilled in the arts of war, able to bear fatigue, and of approved bravery; and they poſſeſs ſuch an invincible conſtancy, that they will obſtinately contend for the preſervation of their rights, and infinitely rather yield up their lives, with their ſwords in their hands, than ſubmit to be the witneſſes of a violation of their religion and the admirable laws tranſmitted to them by their anceſtors."

Petronius was alſo greatly apprehenſive of danger from the troops reſident on the other ſide of the river Euphrates, in Babylon, and divers other provinces, who he was confident were ſtrongly attached to the intereſts of the Jews. "Theſe people (ſaid he) have regularly tranſmitted their annual contributions, which they call holy treaſure, to the temple of Jeruſalem, under the denomination of firſt-fruits; and ſo great is their piety, that, notwithſtanding the danger and difficulty of the paſſage, they have never entertained the apprehenſion that the treaſure would not arrive in ſafety. Upon gaining intelligence of the dedication of the ſtatue of Caligula, there is every reaſon to believe that they will immediately take the field, and then we muſt expect that they will ſurround us and ſacrifice our lives to their revenge."

Having ruminated in the above manner, the governor turned his thoughts to the character and diſpoſition of Caligula. "The emperor (ſaid he) is a young man of violent and impetuous paſſions; he has no idea either of humanity or juſtice, nor any guide to his conduct but the dictates of an arbitrary inclination; and his pride, arrogance and preſumption are ſo exceſſive, that he is ambitious of being diſtinguiſhed as a divinity. Whether I comply with or diſobey his command, my life muſt be expoſed to moſt imminent danger. By a compliance I ſhall expoſe myſelf to the dangers attendant upon war, the events of which, however, it muſt be allowed are uncertain: but immediate death muſt be the inevitable conſequence of diſobedience."

CHAP. XIV.

PETRONIUS employs Artificers in forming the Statue of CALIGULA, and endeavours to obtain the JEWS' Conſent to its Erection. The JEWS ſupplicate Permiſſion of PETRONIUS to repreſent their Caſe to the Emperor.

The Roman officers are diſpoſed for war; which is over-ruled.

IN order to avoid the fury of the emperor, which they dreaded would fall upon them as a puniſhment for their diſobedience to the expreſs command reſpecting the dedication of the ſtatue, the Roman officers who aſſiſted in the government of Syria, under Petronius, recommended the engaging in the war as a meaſure highly expedient. But it proved a happy circumſtance that the time employed in preparing the ſtatue afforded an opportunity of mature deliberation, for orders were not iſſued either for conveying a ſtatue from Italy, or for making uſe of the beſt that could be procured in Syria. Thus it appeared as if a providential interference operated in favour of God's people; for had not the delay happened, the war would have taken place before we could have made the neceſſary proviſion againſt the terrible calamities with which we were threatened.

Petronius prepares to make and erect the ſtatue, and endeavours to prevail on the Jews to conſent to the placing it.

Having formed the reſolution of carrying the emperor's orders into effect, Petronius ſent to Phœnicia for the moſt celebrated artiſts to repair to him. Upon the arrival of theſe people he conſulted with them reſpecting the buſineſs they were to undertake, for which he furniſhed them with all neceſſary materials, and appointed Sidon as the place where they were to perform the work. He diſpatched intelligence of the intended dedication to the high-prieſts, magiſtrates, principal officers and other leading people among the Jews, exhorting them to a ready obedience to the emperor's pleaſure, as the only means of avoiding the grievous calamities that otherwiſe muſt inevitably enſue; adding, that in caſe of an oppoſition, death and deſtruction would univerſally prevail in all their variegated forms of horror; for ſtrict orders had been iſſued to the Syrian troops to employ fire and ſword in laying the whole country in a ſtate of abſolute deſolation if the Jews ſhould make the ſlighteſt attempt to obſtruct the dedication of the ſtatue in their temple.

Oppoſition of the Jews to the meaſure.

Petronius proceeded in the above manner, hoping that he ſhould be able to prevail upon the leading people to acquieſce in the meaſure, and that their example would be readily followed by the multitude: but he was greatly deceived in his expectation. The matter being intimated to the people, they were ſtruck with inexpreſſible aſtoniſhment and horror; their grief was ſo exceſſive as to deprive them of the power of ſpeech, and they wept to ſuch an exceſs that their tears ſeemed to proceed from an inexhauſtible ſource; their paſſions then became more violent, and they tore the hair from their heads and beards, and by other extravagant actions proved that they were driven to

the verge of diſtraction. Having, at length, recovered the power of utterance, they vented exclamations to the following effect: "Alas, how deplorable is our fortune to have ſurvived till this time to experience miſeries, of which our anceſtors could not form the leaſt conception! But we will never ſubmit to be the miſerable witneſſes of the profanation of our holy temple; for rather than behold the abominable impiety, we will deprive ourſelves of the organs of ſight, and at the ſame time put an end to our exiſtence."

Their determination to reſiſt circulated throughout Judæa.

The above reſolution ſoon reached Jeruſalem, and was circulated throughout the country of Judæa; and the Jews, as if by a common conſent, deſerting their cities, towns, caſtles, and other places of habitation, collected themſelves into one body, and directed their march towards Phœnicia, in order to make application to Petronius. Upon the appearance of ſuch an immenſe concourſe of people, the friends of Petronius urged him to be careful of his ſafety; adding, that a powerful army was on the march to attack him; for they did not conceive it to be poſſible that the Jews alone could form ſuch an innumerable multitude.

A vaſt multitude of Jews proceed in ſearch of Petronius.

Upon the nearer approach of the Jews they appeared to cover the whole ſpace of ground as far as the ſight could extend, but they were entirely deſtitute of arms either for aſſault or defence. The air reſounded with the moſt terrible outcries and lamentations; and when their complaints were ſuſpended, the ſound was for a long time continued by the echo. At length they had recourſe to ſuch earneſt prayers and ejaculations as were deemed proper on the melancholy occaſion. Theſe unhappy people arranged themſelves into ſix claſſes; the old men, young men, and boys, forming the three diviſions on one ſide; and the old women, young women, and virgins, compoſing the three on the other; and in this order they proceeded.

They remonſtrate with him in a very humble and affecting manner.

Being arrived within view of Petronius, who, in order to receive them, had placed himſelf upon an elevated ſeat, they caſt themſelves upon the earth, ſtill keeping their ranks with the utmoſt regularity, and conducting themſelves in every reſpect perfectly conſiſtent with the character and ſituation of earneſt ſupplicants. That they were deeply penetrated by affliction, was apparent from their whole behaviour, which was exceedingly pathetic, and attended with ſuch an uncommon degree of harmony that they appeared to be actuated by one mind. The governor ordered them to riſe and approach nearer to him; but ſuch was their humility, that it was not without the greateſt difficulty that they were able to perſuade themſelves to comply. At length, however, they roſe and advanced towards Petronius, being in ſackcloth and aſhes, their eyes bathed in tears, and their hands bound behind them, like thoſe of priſoners under condemnation; and one of the ſenators, in the name of the whole people, addreſſed the governor in terms to the following purpoſe:

The humble addreſs of a ſenator to him

"Behold, powerful Sir, the unhappy people who now preſent themſelves before you: leſt it ſhould be apprehended that we entertain hoſtile deſigns, we come entirely unarmed; and even our hands are confined, ſo that we have voluntarily deprived ourſelves of all power of making uſe of offenſive weapons; and we ſubmit ourſelves entirely to your mercy. We have abandoned our habitations, and brought with us our wives, children and families to unite in ſupplications to the emperor, through the agency of Petronius, to grant us a common preſervation, or ſuffer us to fall in a common deſtruction. We are a people naturally diſpoſed to peace; and it is our intereſt as well as inclination to entertain pacific ſentiments; for we are conſcious that we thence derive very conſiderable advantages.

"Upon intelligence being tranſmitted to Vitellius, your predeceſſor in the government of Syria, who then reſided at Jeruſalem, reſpecting the advancement of Caligula to the throne, we were the firſt people of the whole country who teſtified our joy on the occaſion, and congratulated him on his ſucceſſion to the imperial dignity, and it was through our means that the news of his exaltation was ſo rapidly circulated through the different cities and other places. Our temple was the firſt wherein vows and ſacrifices were offered for prolonging the life, and rendering auſpicious the reign of the new emperor. Can it be juſt, then, that we ſhould be the firſt, if not the only, people to be abridged of the privilege of exerciſing the duties of our religion, according to the forms which, for ſo many ages, we have practiſed in our holy temple? Our habitations, plate, houſehold effects, and all other poſſeſſions, both public and private, of whatever denomination, we are ready to reſign into your hands; and we ſhall do it with the utmoſt willingneſs, accounting ourſelves even to be gainers by the ſurrender of our property. We only deſire your acquieſcence to one condition; which is, that our temple may be preſerved from profanation. Suffer us to continue in the enjoyment of our religious privileges as they were tranſmitted from our anceſtors, and we ſhall have no further requeſt to make: but if you are determined to reject our ſupplications on this head, we moſt earneſtly intreat that you will condemn us to the loſs of life; for we can ſubmit to the moſt violent and tormenting deaths with infinitely more ſatisfaction than to the violation of our ſacred laws.

"A powerful military force is in readineſs to attack ſuch of our people as ſhall preſume to oppoſe the conſecration of the emperor's ſtatue: but we are not ſo thoughtleſs and imprudent as to harbour the moſt diſtant notion of offering reſiſtance to our lawful maſter. The ſoldiers may aſſault us, and even cut us into pieces, without ſubjecting themſelves to any kind of danger; for, be aſſured, no oppoſition will be offered on our part. It was unneceſſary to draw out ſo powerful an army for the ſlaughter of our people, who will, on no conſideration, attempt a defence of their lives. We will even execute the functions of our prieſts; and in offering our ſacrifices,

the victims ſhall be our wives, ſons, daughters, brothers and ſiſters; nor, in ſo deſperate an extremity, will we regret to incur the appellation of the ſlayers of men, women and children; and having ſpilt the blood of ſo great a number of innocent people, it will be our next buſineſs to deprive ourſelves of exiſtence, mingling our blood with that of our friends. Our lives will be concluded with a ſupplication to the Almighty that he will not be offended with us for a conduct to which we were actuated by a regard to the authority of the emperor, and the ſacred laws and religion of our country. Thus ſhall we behave, if we have ſufficient virtue to perſevere in the reſolution of holding a life in contempt, by the preſervation of which all good men would think themſelves degraded.

"Among the ancient Greek fables there is related a ſtory concerning Gorgon's head, which had the power of transforming all who looked upon it into ſtone. Though this matter is a mere fiction, it muſt be allowed that it bears ſome emblematical reſemblance to truth; particularly in inſtances of unexpected, great, and aſtoniſhing events. To be the objects of the diſpleaſure of their prince, is the moſt deplorable misfortune that can befal a people. Suffer me, Petronius, to requeſt that you will picture in your imagination the circumſtance of our people being ſpectators of the dedication of the emperor's ſtatue in the holy temple (but this event may gracious Heaven avert!). Do you not ſuppoſe that ſhocking ſpectacle would give them the appearance of men transformed into lifeleſs marble? Their eyes would be fixed in their ſockets with aſtoniſhment and horror, nature would receive a ſhock, and all the functions of life be ſuſpended.

"We by no means intend to inſinuate that we are deſirous of obtaining a diſcharge from our allegiance to the emperor: we moſt earneſtly ſupplicate that you will not precipitate us into the laſt extremity of diſtreſs, but grant us time and your permiſſion to repreſent our caſe to the imperial Caligula, through the agency of ſuch deputies as we may nominate to plead for redreſs. It is poſſible that the emperor may be prevailed upon to grant us the liberty of living in a ſtrict conformity to the laws and religious inſtitutions tranſmitted to us by our anceſtors: and there will appear ſome reaſon to hope that our petition will not be rejected, ſince privileges equal to thoſe we requeſt are granted to the people of all other nations without exception. Our remonſtrance may, perhaps, diſpoſe the emperor to conſider our appeal in a favourable point of view. It cannot be ſuppoſed that the minds of princes are incapable of change; the poſſeſſion of the royal dignity does not render the heart inexorable; and the diſpleaſure of emperors and kings, like that of other people, will certainly admit of palliation or entire removal. We have been greatly prejudiced in the opinion of the emperor by calumny and undeſerved reproaches. Permit us then to do ourſelves juſtice by repreſenting to him the truth; that we may not be condemned unheard, is all the favour we have to requeſt. Suppoſing we ſhould find it impoſſible to prevail upon the emperor to comply with our deſire, our endeavours will not deprive him of the power of carrying his purpoſe into execution. And now, that we may come to a concluſion, we moſt earneſtly ſupplicate that you will extend your goodneſs and generoſity ſo far as to grant your permiſſion for us to diſpatch an embaſſy to plead the cauſe of a miſerable people before the imperial Caligula. By a refuſal you will blaſt all the hopes of this vaſt multitude of people, whoſe lives entirely depend on the iſſue of the preſent cauſe. Permit me to add that we have no view to private advantage in our preſent requeſt, but are wholly impelled by ſentiments of piety; and that we mean not to promote our own intereſts any farther than as they are connected with the intereſts of our religion."

CHAP. XV.

PETRONIUS compaſſionates the Situation of the JEWS, and writes on their Behalf to the Emperor. Upon Receipt of the Letter, CALIGULA is highly offended, and furiouſly exclaims againſt PETRONIUS. CALIGULA dictates a Letter in Reply to that from PETRONIUS, but from political Conſiderations diſguiſes his Rage.

The governor compaſſionates the ſituation of the Jews.

PETRONIUS, who was of a diſpoſition naturally humane and benevolent, was greatly affected by their diſcourſe, as indeed were all who heard it; and the tenderneſs of their feelings was evident from the expreſſion of their features, their geſtures, and, in ſhort, from their whole deportment. The governor was a man of great moderation, and a ſteady friend to, and advocate for, honour, truth, and juſtice. He conſidered the requeſt made by the Jews as being perfectly reaſonable, and commiſerated them as labouring under misfortunes peculiarly ſevere. In a diſcourſe with the perſons appointed to aſſiſt Petronius in the government, he obſerved, that the ſeverity of thoſe who had entertained the moſt violent prejudices, began now greatly to relax; and this change afforded him no inconſiderable ſhare of ſatisfaction. Petronius was perfectly acquainted with the ſavage barbarity and unforgiving diſpoſition of the emperor: but he conducted himſelf as if he was influenced by a pious regard to the religion of the Jews. Being a man of literature, perhaps his knowledge enabled him to form a right judgment; or he might be inclined in favour of our people by the natural benevolence of his diſpoſition; by the information he acquired after his advancement to the government in Aſia and Syria, where all the towns abound in Jewiſh inhabitants; or by the juſt ſentiments with which the Almighty inſpires virtuous people for the good both of themſelves and the public: and the latter, indeed, appears to have been the caſe on the preſent occaſion.

Orders

He gives orders for the well executing of the ſtatue, but not too haſtily.

Orders were given to the ſtatuaries to employ their utmoſt attention for rendering the image of the emperor as complete a performance as it was poſſible for the joint efforts of art and induſtry to produce: they were not enjoined to uſe expedition, but inſtructed to take time ſufficient for the full diſplay of their ingenuity; for haſty productions meet with but ſlight regard, and are ſoon conſigned to oblivion; while thoſe which long remain under the hands of ſkilful artificers, acquire a celebrity that is continued to diſtant ages without diminution.

Not judging it expedient to ſend embaſſadors to Caligula, he diſpatches a letter to him.

Petronius conſidered that by ſending embaſſadors to Caligula, the Jews would expoſe themſelves to the mercy of a powerful, vindictive, capricious, and oppreſſive prince; and that granting his full conſent to, or putting an abſolute negative upon, their requeſt, would be equally productive of unhappy conſequences; and, therefore, he adopted a meaſure that ſeemed likely to obviate the danger of either extreme. He diſpatched a letter to Caligula, wherein he omitted to mention the late proceedings of the Jews, but contented himſelf with obſerving that the delay of conſecrating the ſtatue was to be entirely attributed to the conſiderable ſpace of time which the artificers muſt neceſſarily employ in producing a piece of workmanſhip executed in ſo maſterly a manner as to be worthy the glorious purpoſe for which it was deſigned.

Wiſe precaution of Petronius.

Thus did Petronius act with the view of gaining time; and he hoped that Caligula might, in the interim, alter his reſolution; for this being the ſeaſon for reaping the harveſt, there was reaſon to apprehend that if the Jews were to be driven to deſpair by the profanation of their temple, they would become wholly regardleſs of their lives and all other conſiderations, and ſet fire to their corn and the other products of the earth, in revenge for the abrogation of their laws and religious rites and ceremonies. In order to guard againſt the apprehended miſchief, Petronius took an early opportunity of cauſing the fruits to be gathered and the grain to be reaped; and he was partly induced to this meaſure by a deſire of providing for a ſupply in caſe of a public exigency.

A groundleſs report of Caligula's deſigning to viſit Egypt.

At this time, a report univerſally prevailed that Caligula entertained a deſign of going to Alexandria in Egypt: but, indeed, it did not appear very probable that the emperor, attended by ſo great a concourſe of people as thoſe who compoſed his retinue, would expoſe himſelf to the great dangers and unavoidable difficulties of a long voyage; ſince he might, with much greater convenience and ſafety, have proceeded by the way of the coaſts of Aſia and Syria; for, by purſuing the latter route, he might have had the advantage of diſembarking and embarking, according to his inclination, having, excluſive of the veſſels of burden, two hundred long boats, purpoſely adapted to the uſe and ſervice of the coaſts.

Neceſſity, in that caſe, of ſupplying the towns of Syria, eſpecially thoſe on the coaſt, with proviſions.

It became neceſſary to furniſh the ſeveral towns of Syria with a great ſupply of proviſions, but particularly thoſe ſituated on the ſea coaſts, on account of the amazing concourſe of people that had reſorted to that country from all quarters of the globe. The multitude was compoſed of men of wealth and diſtinction, military and naval commanders, civil officers, and perſons of every other denomination, and the number of domeſtics was nearly equal to that of the ſoldiers. Theſe people were not to be ſupplied in ſuch a manner as would merely ſerve for the preſervation of exiſtence; but were to be entertained with a degree of profuſion and magnificence correſponding with the dignity and illuſtrious character of the emperor.

Great hopes entertained from the letter ſent to the emperor.

It was the generally received opinion that the letter would meet with the intire approbation of the emperor, and that he would applaud the prudential meaſures ſuggeſted by Petronius, and approve of the delay in erecting the ſtatue in the temple; though it was not expected that this moderate behaviour would proceed from any tenderneſs that he entertained towards the Jews, but merely from the conſideration that, by ſecuring the corn and fruits, a material advantage would be obtained. The letter, then, having received full approbation, a fair tranſcript of it was ordered to be made, with which a meſſenger was diſpatched, with expreſs commands to uſe all poſſible expedition in conveying it to the emperor.

Indignation of Caligula, on ſight of the letter.

Upon peruſing the letter from Petronius, the emperor's colour deſerted his cheeks, his eyes ſparkled with fury, his geſture was expreſſive of the utmoſt violence of rage and indignation, and, claſping his hands together, he thus vehemently exclaimed againſt Petronius:

"Is it, then, thus, Petronius? Have you not yet learnt to obey your maſter? You ſeem to imagine that, becauſe you will not ſubmit to the emperor, the emperor will ſubmit to you. The poſſeſſion of an honourable and dignified commiſſion has elated you to ſuch an extravagant degree of vanity, that you appear to be inſenſible that there is ſuch a man in exiſtence as Caligula: but a ſhort time will convince you of your egregious error. The world is not inhabited by any people who are ſuch implacable enemies to me as the Jews; notwithſtanding which, your deſire of preſerving the laws and cuſtoms of theſe people is infinitely more powerful than your inclination to obſerve a due obedience to the commands of your lawful prince. You conceive that there is danger, on account of the great numbers of people by whom the Jewiſh nation is compoſed: but the apprehenſion is vain and ridiculous; for you have at command an army ſufficiently formidable to oppoſe the utmoſt

utmoſt force of the kings of Parthia, and the united power of the whole eaſt. Suppoſing you entertain a compaſſion for the Jews; are you, then, not highly criminal in ſuffering that ill-placed compaſſion to prevail over the duty which you owe to your prince and maſter? In excuſe for your diſobedience to my expreſs commands, you plead a ſolicitude for ſaving the harveſt, in order that you might provide a ſufficient ſupply of ſtores in preparation for my intended voyage: but this is a frivolous pretext; for, admitting ſo extraordinary a ſcarcity to prevail in Judæa as even to occaſion a famine, we might, in ſuch an extremity, produce ample ſupplies from the adjacent provinces. But why do I employ the time in idle words? The life of this inſolent governor ſhall be ſacrificed to my revenge. He ſhall be convinced that, although I decline farther menaces, my reſentment and indignation ſtill ſubſiſt with their original fury."

His letter to Petronius in reply, wherein he conceals his reſentment.

Having delivered the above exclamation, the enraged emperor, after a ſhort pauſe, dictated to one of his ſecretaries a letter, in reply to that he had received from Petronius: but judging it expedient to avoid all meaſures that might tend to irritate the different governors, and induce them to excite the people to inſurrections, and particularly thoſe commanding in the extenſive and populous provinces, containing powerful armies, as was the caſe in that immenſe territory extending along the banks of the river Euphrates, he carefully concealed his violent diſpleaſure, and highly applauded the foreſight and prudent conduct of Petronius. But after diſſembling the rancour of his heart, under the appearance of reſpect and approbation, he ſtrictly enjoined him to ſuffer all other buſineſs entirely to ſubſide, rather than prolong the period for conſecrating the ſtatue in the temple of the Jews; adding, that ſince the harveſt was now concluded, no pretext could poſſibly be adduced to juſtify a farther procraſtination.

CHAP. XVI.

AGRIPPA comes to ROME, and, being informed of the Emperor's Determination, is ſeized with a fainting Fit. He writes an expoſtulatory Letter to CALIGULA on the Subject of the intended Dedication.

Agrippa waits on Caligula at Rome.

SOON after this period king Agrippa repaired to Rome, in order to pay his reſpects to the emperor, according to his uſual manner. He was an entire ſtranger as to the letter written by Petronius, and the anſwer returned by Caligula. Upon making his ſalutations, he obſerved that the emperor's countenance was expreſſive of great anger; and, therefore, he employed his thoughts in examining into his own conduct; but finding, upon the moſt ſtrict ſcrutiny, that he was unconſcious of any action that could be interpreted into the cauſe of offence, he juſtly concluded that Caligula's diſpleaſure muſt be pointed towards ſome other object. But his apprehenſion was renewed, upon remarking that the fierceneſs of the emperor's eyes ſeemed to be more violent when they regarded him than when they were directed any other way; and on this account he ſeveral times intended to aſk the reaſon of ſo ſingular an alteration; but he ſuppreſſed this deſire, fearing that he might incur the diſpleaſure of the prince by an imprudent indulgence of his curioſity.

The emperor's addreſs to Agrippa, on obſerving a fearful concern in his countenance.

No man poſſeſſed a greater ſkill than Caligula in penetrating into the ſentiments of people from the expreſſion of their countenances; and, judging of the painful ſtate of Agrippa's mind, he addreſſed him in the following manner: "I am convinced, Agrippa, that you are perplexed with anxiety and doubt; and I will now relate to you the matter of which you are ſo deſirous to be informed. The period of our acquaintance has, ſurely, been of ſufficient duration for you to have convinced yourſelf that I make uſe of my eyes, as well as my tongue, to expreſs my meaning. Thoſe of your nation are the only people of the univerſe who have the preſumption to refuſe acknowledging me as a divinity: and from their inſolent diſregard of my ſovereign pleaſure, they ſeem to be deſirous of precipitating themſelves into irretrievable deſtruction. I have iſſued my expreſs commands for placing the ſtatue of Jupiter in the ſanctuary of the temple; and in conſequence of this, immenſe numbers of people have abandoned their reſpective places of reſidence, and collected themſelves into a body, in order to make application to me under the character of humble ſupplicants; but their deſign is to ſhew in what contempt they hold my commands."

Agrippa's violent agitation of mind, on converſing with the emperor, who is thereby more incenſed againſt the Jews.

The emperor was proceeding in his addreſs, but ceaſed, upon obſerving that Agrippa had on a ſudden changed colour, and evidently appeared to be greatly diſordered. A violent trembling pervaded the whole frame of the king, and his legs being no longer able to ſupport him, he muſt have fallen to the ground, had he not been aſſiſted by the perſons who ſtood near him. While under this indiſpoſition, occaſioned by the ſudden ſhock which his ſpirits received from the afflicting news he had heard from the emperor, Agrippa was conveyed to the place of his reſidence in a ſtate of perfect inſenſibility. So far from being ſenſible of any degree of tenderneſs, on account of the alarming accident that had happened to king Agrippa, it ſerved to inflame the emperor to a more extravagant degree of rage againſt the people of our nation. "Since Agrippa (ſaid the emperor), who has profeſſed the moſt ſincere eſteem for me, and whom I have entertained as a faithful and familiar friend, and on every occaſion gratified to the utmoſt extent of my abilities, entertains

tains so high a veneration for the laws and religious rites and ceremonies of his country, that all the powers of life seemed to desert him only upon hearing them mentioned with disrespect, how little reason, then, have I to expect that the rest of the Jews, who have no such considerations to influence them in my favour, will do a violence to their sentiments, in order to indulge the inclinations of their prince?"

During the rest of that, and the greatest part of the following day, the indisposition of Agrippa continued; and he lay dosing and insensible: but towards the evening his spirits somewhat revived, and, raising his head a little, with much difficulty he opened his eyes, and cast them towards those who were about him, but without being able to recollect their persons. In a short time after this he fell into a sounder sleep, his respiration being less interrupted, and his body seeming to be gradually acquiring its former temperature; and these were deemed to be very favourable symptoms. Having remained some time in this situation, he awaked, saying, "Where am I? Is this the palace of the emperor? and is he present?" In reply to these questions, they said, "Take courage, Sir: you are now at your own place of residence; and Caligula is not here. The time you have slept has been sufficient; endeavour, therefore, to sit up a little; and inform us whether you have any recollection of those who are now about you. Be assured, Sir, here are none present but your friends, your domestics, and freed-men, and that we are all most anxiously concerned for your recovery." The kind solicitude which the attendants testified, contributed to relieve the king, in some degree, from the affliction under which he laboured. That Agrippa might not be disturbed, and that some remedies and refreshments might be administered, the physicians ordered the company to quit the apartment; whereupon he said, "Do not concern yourselves in providing delicacies for the gratification of my palate: a plain diet is all I require; for, under my present afflictions, it is sufficient that I take only what is just necessary to sustain life: I could not, indeed, persuade myself to receive any kind of nourishment, but for the pleasing hope that I shall survive to relieve my country from the deplorable situation to which it is now reduced." These words were accompanied with sighs and tears; and he made a slight meal, the refreshments which he received being no more than what were absolutely necessary for the support of nature. His food was of the most plain and simple kind, and his attendants not being able to prevail upon him to have any wine mixed with his water, he drank the element in its native purity. Having concluded his repast, he said, "I have now discharged a debt to nature; and it only remains for me to exert my utmost efforts in order to avert the terrible calamities with which my unhappy country is threatened." He now ordered a tablet to be brought, and wrote to the emperor in the following manner:

No. 31.

King AGRIPPA to the Emperor CAIUS CALIGULA.

SIR,

Letter from king Agrippa to the emperor Caligula.

"THE dread of incurring your high displeasure, and the veneration which I have for your sacred person and the dignity of your exalted character, will not permit me to obtrude into the presence of your imperial majesty; and, therefore, I presume, by means of a letter, to address myself to your majesty with the utmost respect, deference, and humility.

"You are sensible, imperial Sir, that nature inspires men with an ardent affection for the place of their nativity, and an awful veneration for the laws to which they have been taught to yield a perfect obedience. The justice of this observation is fully confirmed by an eminent example which is shewn in your own person; for you piously adhere to the exercise of the duties of religion, and are careful to exact a strict conformity to the legislative institutions of your country. It is the natural disposition of man to continue his attachment to the principles which he has early imbibed, and to respect the laws, customs, and manners, to which he has been long familiarized, however erroneous and undeserving his preference; for there are certain instances wherein we are rather influenced by our passions and prejudices, than directed by judgment and reason.

"You are not ignorant, Sir, that I am by birth a Jew, and that the place of my nativity is Jerusalem, in which city stands the glorious edifice dedicated to the honour of the most high and Almighty God. I am descended from ancestors who were invested with the regal authority. Some of them were high-priests; and they considered themselves as deriving infinitely more honour from that dignified station than from the possession of sovereignty: they considered that as the Almighty is superior to man, so the sacerdotal character must necessarily be more exalted than that of royalty; the exercise of the former being directed towards divine matters, and the other having relation only to things of a sublunary nature.

"So nearly am I connected with, and deeply interested in, the fate of this nation, country, and temple, to which I am indebted in great and manifold obligations, that I cannot suppress the desire of imploring your imperial majesty with earnestness, but, at the same time, with due respect, deference, and humility, that you will be graciously pleased to extend to them your royal favour. Permit me, Sir, to supplicate that you will not compel the people of our nation to violate that religion which they have received from their ancestors, the free exercise of which they consider as a privilege infinitely more dear to them than the preservation of life. Reflect, Sir, on the truth, loyalty, and zeal, that the Jews have, on every occasion, manifested towards the

princes of your illuſtrious family. It cannot be admitted that the people of any other profeſſion have been ſo liberal of vows and ſupplications to Heaven for the proſperity of your empire, or ſo attentive to the performance of ſacrifices and oblations, which they have conſtantly obſerved, not upon ſolemn feſtivals alone, but upon all other days, without intermiſſion: and they have fully teſtified that their ceremonies did not conſiſt of an idle parade of words and external formalities, but that their expreſſions of piety, veneration, and affection, proceeded from them in the ſincerity of their ſouls: and from this line of conduct they have never deviated, except when, on particular occaſions, they were compelled by a reverential obedience due to the holy laws and religion of their country.

"I muſt intreat permiſſion of your imperial majeſty to obſerve that Jeruſalem, wherein I received my nativity, is not to be conſidered merely as the metropolis of Judæa, but of many conſiderable colonies which have been peopled from that holy city; for inſtance, thoſe of Egypt, Phœnicia, the Upper and Lower Syria, Pamphylia, Cilicia, and ſeveral other parts of Aſia, extending as far as Bithynia and Pontus; in Europe, Theſſaly, Bœotia, Macedonia, Ætonia, Athens, Argos, Corinth, and the greateſt part of Peloponneſus; and, likewiſe, the moſt celebrated of the iſlands; as Eubœa, Cyprus, and Crete. Reſpecting the country on the other ſide the Euphrates, I may ſafely aſſert, that, excepting a ſmall part of the province of Babylon, and ſome other governments, there is ſcarcely a city of any conſideration that is not occupied by Jewiſh inhabitants. Hence, then, it appears that I do not intercede in favour of my own country, in particular, but for the general advantage and happineſs of Aſia, Europe, and Africa, the people inhabiting the iſlands as well as the continent.

"By graciouſly condeſcending to comply with my petition in favour of the city where I received my birth, you will confer great and laſting obligations upon the people of many other places ſituated in the different quarters of the globe; for on the act of clemency which I now preſume to ſolicit, depends the common welfare and happineſs of almoſt the whole body of mankind. What action can be more conſiſtent with the exalted character of the great and illuſtrious Cæſar, than that which will gratify the deſires and procure the felicity of all mankind, and conſequently ſecure to him the tribute of admiration, eſteem, and reverence, from the moſt diſtant generations? I am not without hope that the confidence of my addreſs will meet with pardon; for my zealous endeavours in the preſent cauſe are meant to promote a mediation which will ſecure great and immortal fame to the emperor.

"In compliance with the interceſſions of ſome particular friends, you have been graciouſly pleaſed to conſtitute the inhabitants of whole towns free citizens of Rome, thereby advancing to the character of maſters thoſe who were before in a ſtate of ſervitude; and on theſe occaſions your royal beneficence was as great to thoſe who ſolicited the bounty as to thoſe on whom it was conferred. Of all the princes who acknowledge you as their maſter, there are but few who can juſtly claim a ſuperiority to me in point of dignity; and none who bear towards your ſacred perſon a more profound and ſincere reſpect, eſteem, and veneration. The inſtances of friendſhip which you have been graciouſly pleaſed to confer upon me have been great and numerous; and both honour and gratitude have hitherto prompted, and will ever continue to excite, my moſt ſincere acknowledgments. Nevertheleſs, I do not preſume to ſolicit your imperial majeſty on the ſcore of grants and privileges, or that you will allow my countrymen an exemption of the payment of tributes. I only intreat a favour that cannot be productive of any kind of injury or inconvenience to your imperial majeſty, but which will prove highly advantageous and ſatisfactory to the Jews; for what greater earthly bleſſings can ſubjects deſire than the good opinion, eſteem, and friendſhip of their acknowledged ſovereign? Jeruſalem was the firſt place that congratulated Caligula on his ſucceſſion to the imperial dignity; and ſhe communicated the joyful event to the adjacent provinces. May we not reaſonably expect that ſome favour will be ſhewn to our holy city, in acknowledgment of the loyal and zealous principles ſhe expreſſed when ſhe hailed Caligula in the character of her lawful ſovereign? It is judged that the eldeſt ſon is entitled to the greater ſhare of honour, becauſe, by his birth, his parents firſt acquired the venerable appellations of father and mother: may we not, therefore, conclude that ſome conſideration, ſuperior to ſuch as can be reaſonably expected by any other cities, is due to Jeruſalem; ſince ſhe firſt congratulated Caligula on the occaſion of his advancement to the regal ſtation?

"Having thus ſpoken concerning my nation and my country, it now remains for me moſt humbly to implore your majeſty's clemency towards the holy temple of Jeruſalem. The glorious ſtructure of which I now mean to ſpeak, is conſecrated to the honour of Almighty God, who reſides therein. The productions of ſtatuaries and painters only repreſent the viſible deities: but to attempt the repreſentation of the inviſible and eternal God whom we adore, is conſidered by the people profeſſing the Jewiſh religion as a moſt abominable impiety.

"Our temple was held in a high degree of veneration by Agrippa, your majeſty's grandfather. Auguſtus expreſsly commanded that the ſacred building ſhould be ſupplied with the oblations denominated firſt-fruits from the ſeveral quarters of the globe, and that daily ſacrifices ſhould be offered therein. The empreſs, your great grandmother, entertained a pious eſteem and reverence for the temple. Neither prince nor potentate, Greeks, Barbarians, nor our moſt deadly enemies, nor all the horrors of foreign and domeſtic war, ſedition, bondage, nor the moſt terrible calamities to which human nature is ſubject, could ever prevail upon

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us to admit of an idol being placed in our temple. It must be acknowledged that there have been enemies to the sacred edifice; but the religion exercised therein was still secure. The building being consecrated to the Creator and Father of the universe, people refrained from placing idolatrous statues therein, lest they should incur the judicial vengeance of an offended God. It will not be necessary to recur to strangers for examples, since so many of a domestic nature may be produced.

"During the reign of king Herod, my grandfather, Marcus Agrippa, the grandfather of your imperial majesty, honoured him so far as to visit him in Judæa; and on this occasion Agrippa proceeded by the way of the sea-coast to the city of Jerusalem. The magnificence and splendor of the holy temple, the exercise of the religious rites and ceremonies, the simplicity of the manners of the people, and many other circumstances, served to inspire the illustrious visitor with admiration, reverence, and esteem; and he availed himself of every opportunity of testifying his veneration for the glorious fabric. During the time that he remained in Jerusalem, he daily attended the temple, employing himself in contemplating the holy vestments, the manner of performing sacrifices, the dignity of the high-priest, seated on an eminence, and superbly habited in his pontifical robes, and the piety which was expressed by him as well as the other priests who officiated in the religious functions.

"Previous to his departure, Agrippa conferred upon the citizens every indulgence that it was possible for him to bestow, excepting only an exemption from the payment of the usual taxes, and presented the holy temple with many donatives of great value. On his return, Agrippa was accompanied by Herod to the sea-shore, where these two eminent personages mutually acknowledged the great obligations they had received from, and the friendship they entertained for, each other. On occasion of the departure of Agrippa, the people assembled in great multitudes, strewing the way by which he was to pass with boughs and flowers, thereby intimating their gratitude for the great bounties they had received, and their veneration for his person, on account of the pious regard he had shewn to the temple; and they put forth earnest supplications for his happiness and prosperity.

"It is a fact that will be acknowledged by the whole world, that the sentiments of your grandfather, Marcus Agrippa, were exactly similar to those of your great uncle Tiberius, with regard to the laws and religion of the people of our nation.

"During the whole reign of the emperor Tiberius, which continued for the space of three and twenty years, he intimated not the most distant intention of introducing a change in the accustomed manner of celebrating the rites and ceremonies of our religious worship, or of offering any kind of violation or indignity to our holy temple. Though I received very severe treatment from Tiberius, I cannot be so unjust as to omit mentioning a part of his conduct, the relation of which will reflect high honour upon his memory. I am sensible, Sir, that truth is ever acceptable to you; and I shall now proceed to some particulars which will enable you to form an opinion of the sentiments entertained by Tiberius in relation to the religious institutions and practices of the Jews.

"At the time when Judæa was under the government of Pilate, he placed certain gilt bucklers in the palace of Herod, situated in the city of Jerusalem, and dedicated them to the honour of the emperor Tiberius. It was not from any motive of respect or veneration towards the emperor that Pilate consecrated these bucklers, but merely from a rancorous and malignant principle to the people of our nation. The bucklers were inscribed with the two names of the dedicator and the party in honour of whom they were dedicated, but they did not exhibit figures or any other work prohibited by our laws. But intelligence of the dedication being circulated among the populace, they became exceedingly dissatisfied, and soon made application to the four sons of the king, some other branches of the royal family, and divers other persons of the first distinction, requesting that they would exert their utmost endeavours to prevail upon Pilate to remove the bucklers, the dedication of which they could not consider but as a violation of their laws and religion, and the customs transmitted to them by their ancestors, which had been held in high esteem and sacred veneration by all preceding kings and emperors. Pilate being of a morose, violent, and ungracious disposition, replied to the intercessions of the mediators in an abrupt and affronting manner, in consequence of which the populace were greatly exasperated, and they exclaimed against Pilate in the following manner:

"Cease, Pilate, to interrupt the tranquillity of people who are disposed to observe a due allegiance to their lawful sovereign, nor endeavour to aggravate them to engage in dissensions and hostilities. Do not deceive yourself in the opinion that people are so weak as to be amused by the frivolous pretext, by means of which you endeavour to conceal the injustice of your conduct. Be assured that it is not by embroiling the public peace and happiness, and offering violations to the law, that you will be able to do the emperor honour, or to convince him of the veneration you pretend for his person. We are fully persuaded that Tiberius is by no means disposed to abridge us of the privilege of living according to the laws and customs of our ancestors, which we have hitherto enjoyed without interruption. If Tiberius has granted to you an edict or warrant, or signified by letter, or any other kind of instrument, that he approves the measures against which we complain, we request that you will shew us your authority: it will then be unnecessary to remonstrate with Pilate; the course we must pursue is this: we must nominate deputies to represent our case to our imperial lord and master, and humbly

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ſupplicate that he will be graciouſly pleaſed to remove the cauſe of our juſt complaints: and this we ſhall do in the full confidence of obtaining redreſs; for we are perfectly convinced that Tiberius will never countenance the oppreſſion of his loyal and affectionate ſubjects.

"The intimation that the people would remonſtrate with the emperor, through the agency of deputies, and petition for the removal of the gilt bucklers, proved a circumſtance highly alarming to Pilate, who apprehended that if they proceeded ſo far as to ſend a deputation to the emperor, the whole delinquency of his conduct muſt of neceſſity be expoſed; and he now reflected on the injuſtice, corruption, devaſtations, violence, and oppreſſion, of which he had been guilty, and that he had condemned many innocent perſons to expire under the moſt excruciating torments; thence concluding, that if Tiberius ſhould be informed of theſe facts, the utmoſt violence of the royal indignation would be directed againſt him, for having ſo ſhamefully abuſed the power with which he was inveſted. This violent and impetuous man was greatly embarraſſed as to the conduct that, in his preſent ſituation, it would be moſt eligible to purſue: he was greatly averſe to removing the bucklers, which he had already made ſacred by the ceremony of conſecration; and he was beſides exceedingly unwilling to ſubmit to the remonſtrances of the people, who had highly irritated him, by preſuming to oppoſe his inclination.

"When the great perſonages who had undertaken to intercede in behalf of the Jews diſcovered that Pilate, notwithſtanding his diſſimulation, was greatly alarmed, and appeared to repent of the proceedings which were ſo exceedingly diſagreeable to the people, they deliberated on the ſtate of the matter in queſtion, and the reſult of their conſultation was, that the moſt expedient means they could adopt for obtaining redreſs would be to make immediate application to the emperor. In conſequence of this determination, they diſpatched a letter to Tiberius, repreſenting the caſe of the Jews, and praying for redreſs; and this letter was written in the moſt earneſt, but, at the ſame time, in the moſt loyal and affectionate terms that could be conceived.

"Tiberius, though a man not eaſily provoked to ſudden and violent expreſſions of anger, had no ſooner peruſed the letter on behalf of the Jews, than, with great warmth of paſſion, he reprobated the preſumptuous behaviour and indecent language of Pilate. The emperor immediately wrote to Pilate, ſeverely reprimanding him for the impropriety and inſolence of his conduct, and ſtrictly enjoining him to cauſe the bucklers to be immediately removed and conveyed to the ſea-port named Cæſarea, and depoſited in the ſtructure dedicated to the honour of Auguſtus. By this expedient, the reſpect due to the honour of the emperor was preſerved, and the affront to the laws and cuſtoms of the Jewiſh nation was removed.

"Upon the above-mentioned bucklers no images were engraven, nor did they exhibit any other repreſentations prohibited by our law; and they were placed only in the governor's palace. But I learn that it is now intended to erect a ſtatue in the ſanctuary of the temple of Jeruſalem. This ſanctuary is a place held in ſuch ſacred veneration, that all perſons, excepting only the high-prieſt, are excluded from admiſſion; and even the high-prieſt himſelf is not permitted to enter the holy ſanctuary, excepting on one day in every year, when, after celebrating a ſolemn faſt, the duty of his ſacred office requires him to burn incenſe to the glory and honour of the Almighty, and fervently to pray, according to the inſtitutions of the Jewiſh religion, that the Lord, in his unbounded mercy and benevolence, will be graciouſly pleaſed to beſtow a common peace and felicity on mankind during the enſuing year.

"Any perſon of our nation, excepting only the high prieſt, who ſhall preſume to enter the holy ſanctuary, is condemned by the law to ſuffer death without mercy. If even the high-prieſt himſelf enters this place oftener than on one day in a year, or more than once on the day when he has a right to admiſſion, he will inevitably be put to death, as a puniſhment due to his preſumption. Theſe proviſions were made by our great legiſlator, that the ſacred place might be preſerved inviolate and held in due veneration.

"You cannot but imagine, Sir, that, ſince ſuch ſeverity of puniſhment is denounced againſt thoſe who tranſgreſs the law reſpecting the point in queſtion, the public ſafety would be greatly endangered by the popular tumult that would certainly take place in conſequence of erecting a ſtatue in the holy ſanctuary, where not even the high-prieſt is permitted to enter but on certain expreſs conditions. In ſhort, rather than ſurvive to be the miſerable witneſſes of ſo abominable an impiety, and ſo ſhocking a violation of our ſacred laws, our prieſts would put their wives and children to death, and yield up their own lives in a common ſacrifice.

"I ſhall now proceed to ſpeak concerning the conduct of the truly illuſtrious Auguſtus, who was indiſputably a prince of the moſt exalted virtue that ever poſſeſſed the imperial dignity. His ſuperior wiſdom and virtue juſtly entitled him to the glorious appellations by which he was diſtinguiſhed. He long maintained an uninterrupted tranquillity throughout the whole world; in gratitude for which bleſſing he became the object of univerſal admiration and applauſe.

"In a conference reſpecting the temple of Jeruſalem, this illuſtrious prince was informed that our law contained a prohibition to the placing any carved image therein, becauſe it was improper that a viſible figure ſhould be conſidered as a repreſentation of the eternal and almighty God. The emperor deemed the prohibition to be perfectly conſiſtent with reaſon; and, being a man of great literary accompliſhments, he took occaſion of expreſſing many judicious remarks on what had tranſ-

pired in the converſation, ſometimes deducing his obſervations from the diſcourſe of the learned men by whom he was conſtantly attended, at other times pronouncing the ſentiments that were dictated by his own fine genius and excellent underſtanding.

"Auguſtus was ſo great an admirer of literature, that while he ſat at table, and during feſtival entertainments, he engaged in converſation with the moſt celebrated philoſophers and other men of learning; ſo that, while he received the refreſhments which were neceſſary for the ſupport of nature, he improved the time to ſuch great advantage as to enjoy the exquiſite ſatisfaction reſulting from the indulgence of the intellectual appetite. Innumerable inſtances might be adduced to prove the liberality of the ſentiments entertained by Auguſtus regarding the people of our perſuaſion; but, on the preſent occaſion, I ſhall introduce only two circumſtances; and it is humbly preſumed that your majeſty will deem them ſufficient to prove that he was by no means an enemy to the Jewiſh laws and religion.

"Upon gaining information that the buſineſs of tranſmitting the treaſures, under the denomination of firſt-fruits, to the holy temple of Jeruſalem, was not attended to with the regularity that the importance of the matter required, the emperor diſpatched letters to the governors of the ſeveral provinces of Aſia, ſtrictly commanding them to offer no kind of impediment or interruption to the Jews in regard to their aſſembling in the ſynagogues. But the liberty of holding public meetings was not extended to any people but thoſe of our nation. The emperor obſerved that the aſſemblies of the Jews did not reſemble Bacchanalian entertainments, where encouragement was given to inebriation, ſedition, and other diſorderly proceedings, but were rather to be conſidered as academies, in which people were inſtructed in the love and practice of virtue, piety, and juſtice; and that the annual contributions, called the firſt-fruits, were intended for no other purpoſe than that of offering ſacrifices in the temple to the honour of the Almighty. In ſhort, this illuſtrious and benevolent prince iſſued an expreſs command that the Jews ſhould uninterruptedly enjoy the privilege of holding their meetings and making their contributions, according to the accuſtomed practices of their anceſtors. I do not pretend to have a perfect recollection of the exact diſpoſition of the words of the deceaſed emperor's order, but I am confident that I am not deceived as to the purport thereof; and of this, Sir, you will be convinced, on the peruſal of a letter from C. Norbanus Flaccus, of which I now ſend your majeſty a faithful tranſcript.

C. NORBANUS FLACCUS, Proconſul, to the Magiſtrates of EPHESUS, greeting.

The emperor's edict in favour of the Jews.

"The emperor has tranſmitted to me a letter, wherein he has been pleaſed to ſignify, that whereas the people of the Jewiſh nation hold religious meetings and collect monies to be tranſmitted to their temple at Jeruſalem, under the name of firſt-fruits, it is his imperial will and pleaſure that they be allowed full liberty of continuing the exerciſe of their privileges in theſe points, according to the ancient cuſtoms of their country. This command you are to obſerve, and thereto yield a due obedience."

"There cannot, ſurely, be a more incontrovertible proof of the favourable ſentiments entertained by Auguſtus reſpecting our temple, than the circumſtance of his granting us the indulgence of publicly obſerving the rites and ceremonies of our religion, the liberty of making contributions for ſacred purpoſes, and of exerciſing divers other functions of piety, and living according to the laws of our anceſtors.

"There is yet another evidence to be produced in confirmation of what I have ſaid on the ſubject of the friendly opinion which Auguſtus entertained of the people of the Jewiſh nation; and this matter I ſhall here introduce. Auguſtus commanded the obſervance of a daily ſacrifice in the temple; that the victims ſhould be a bull and two lambs; and that the expence attending theſe offerings to the honour of the Almighty ſhould be defrayed from his own revenue. Theſe oblations have been continued, without interruption, till the preſent period. It was the intention of Cæſar that the ſacrifices ſhould be offered upon the altar: but he was, nevertheleſs, perfectly ſenſible that there was no kind of image or repreſentation of a divinity either within or without the temple. This learned and ſagacious prince was ſenſible that it was highly expedient to have a glorious temple conſecrated with peculiar veneration to the honour of the inviſible God, and that no ſtatue ſhould be contained in the ſacred building, wherein men were to perform their devotional exerciſes in the confidence that their piety would be crowned with the deſired reward.

"I ſhall now intreat your majeſty's permiſſion to ſpeak of the great diſtinction that was ſhewn to our temple by your great grandmother, the empreſs Julia. This truly admirable princeſs, after the example of her illuſtrious conſort, beſtowed a profuſion of donatives, of ineſtimable value, upon the holy fabric, conſiſting of gold and ſilver veſſels, and divers other rich and curious articles. But theſe donatives exhibited no figures, nor were they in any reſpect offenſive to our laws. The mental faculties of women are generally weak, and it is ſeldom that they are affected but by ſenſible objects. But the empreſs Julia was greatly ſuperior to the reſt of her ſex, poſſeſſing an acute diſcernment, and a remarkable ſtrength and ſolidity of judgment. She directed her mind to great and noble purſuits, and, by unwearied ſtudy and attention, made ample amends for the deficiencies incidental to her ſex. Her mind was ſtrongly attached to ſpeculative points, of which ſhe conſidered practical matters to be the mere ſhadow.

"Having produced so many remarkable instances in proof of the favour, clemency, and protection, which the people of our nation experienced from the illustrious personages of your own family, and particularly from your immediate progenitor, to whom you are indebted for your life, and the exalted station which you at present enjoy, I humbly presume to supplicate that your imperial majesty will be graciously pleased to continue to us the enjoyment of those inestimable privileges which were confirmed to us by your illustrious predecessors. Emperors petition the man who is at present invested with the imperial dignity, august princes intercede with a prince of the august line, grandfathers and great grandfathers supplicate a grandchild, and divers other exalted personages plead before the great and powerful Caligula, in favour of the Jewish religion, laws, and customs, which, from the time of their original institution, have been held in sacred veneration to the present period.

"It must be acknowledged that if the abrogation of our laws takes place, it is possible the transgression may not be immediately followed by a judicial vengeance: but let it be remembered, that, to discover the events of futurity is beyond the utmost power of the human mind; and that, though divine justice is sometimes delayed, it must, at length, inevitably arrive. What man, who has not a heart polluted with guilt, and does not impiously reject all belief in the existence of an eternal and Almighty God, can be so insensible of these considerations as to defy the stings of conscience, and prove himself to be possessed of so daring a spirit as not to tremble under the dreadful apprehension of meeting the retribution due to his iniquities?

"The great obligations which your majesty has been pleased to confer upon me are so numerous that sufficient time is not allowed me barely to recount them; and the subject is of too sacred a nature to be treated slightly. The mention of some particular facts, however, will suffice to prove your unbounded benevolence to me, without relating the variety of interesting circumstances with which they were accompanied. It is a matter of public notoriety that it was my fortune to be made a prisoner, and, when reduced to that state, thrown into chains. With the utmost gratitude, I acknowledge that your majesty was graciously pleased to restore me to freedom: but permit me to hope that you did not relieve me from my miserable confinement in irons, to subject me to more insupportable oppression. During the time I remained in irons, my sufferings were confined to a particular part of my body; but my very soul sinks under the enormous burden of my present misfortunes. You rescued me from the alarming apprehension of death, and, indeed, from a situation that was to be considered as but little better than a state of actual dissolution; and you afterwards bestowed upon me a profusion of kindness infinitely beyond what I could reasonably expect.

"The humble petition of Agrippa, whose obligations to your majesty surpass all powers of expression, is, that you will be graciously pleased to preserve the life you have given: and I am induced to hope that you will not reject my earnest supplication; for I cannot imagine that you would rescue me from one calamity, and prolong the date of my existence, that I might survive to meet destruction in a more terrifying form.

"I am indebted to you, Sir, for the possession of the regal dignity; and after having invested me with that distinguished honour, it was the pleasure of the mighty Cæsar to afford an additional proof of his royal bounty, and therefore he extended my authority over Trachonitis and Galilee. Do not, Sir, divest me of those invaluable privileges, the loss of which will render the great and numerous favours I have received from you intirely destitute of their use and value. After having advanced me to the most glorious situation that the heart of man can aspire to enjoy, do no precipitate me into the contrary extreme of misery. I entertain no solicitude for the preservation of the authority with which it was your pleasure to invest me: but, on the contrary, with the utmost willingness, can resign all the dignity and honours annexed to royalty, and return to my former station in life. The only object of my petition is, that the laws and religion of my country may be preserved from all violation. If I prove so unfortunate as to meet with your refusal, the consequence must be that the Jews, as well as all other people, will consider me either as a vile betrayer of the interests of my country, or as being no longer esteemed worthy the friendship of the emperor; and either of these events would be productive of insupportable affliction. If the public imagine me to be still one among the number of those who are honoured with the royal favour, and at the same time observe me to be a witness to the profanation of our holy temple, which is the greatest glory of the Jewish nation, they will accuse me as being a traitor to their cause, on the supposition that I had neglected to exert my influence for averting the destruction of my country; for it is not supposed to be probable that emperors can deny such favours as I presume to request, when they are petitioned by persons who are honoured with the royal friendship. If I am so unhappy as to have forfeited that place which I once possessed in your esteem, I intreat, Sir, that you will not, after the example of Tiberius, cast me into chains; but that, instead of depriving me of liberty, you will consign me to instant death; for what inducement can there remain to wish for a continuance of life, after having lost the friendship of the imperial Caligula, in which I have reposed my best hopes of sublunary happiness? And now, Sir, I submit my own fate, and the cause of my country, to your sovereign pleasure."

CHAP. XVII.

CALIGULA deliberates on the Contents of AGRIPPA's

PA's Letter, and, at length, he writes to PETRONIUS, the Governor of SYRIA, commanding him to offer no Profanation to the Temple of JERUSALEM; but he afterwards revokes this Order. He cauſes a Statue to be made at ROME, and tranſported to JERUSALEM, without the Knowledge of the JEWS. Inſtances of the capricious, inhuman, and violent Diſpoſition of CALIGULA.

Agrippa's letter diſpatched to Caligula.

HAVING ſealed up the letter, and diſpatched a meſſenger, with a ſtrict command to uſe all poſſible expedition in conveying it to the emperor, Agrippa cloſely confined himſelf within the place of his reſidence, waiting, under the greateſt anxiety of mind that can be imagined, the iſſue of his remonſtrance; for he was conſcious that the preſervation or ruin, not only of Judæa, but of the Jews inhabiting the ſeveral parts of the univerſe, would depend on the gracious or unfavourable judgment that would attend his application to the emperor.

The emperor peruſes the letter with great emotion, but at length relaxes.

Upon peruſing the letter from Agrippa, the countenance of the emperor plainly indicated the various emotions of his mind. At one time he was highly offended upon recollecting the diſobedience that had been ſhewn to his expreſs commands in the delay of conſecrating a ſtatue to his honour in the temple of Jeruſalem; and then the natural auſterity of his diſpoſition relaxed, in ſome degree, in favour of king Agrippa, whoſe application he could not deem to be inconſiſtent with either juſtice or reaſon, and from the humility of whoſe addreſs he could not with-hold ſome ſhare of approbation. At other times, according to the impulſes of his variable mind, he cenſured and approved the conduct of Agrippa. He ſeverely reflected upon the king for the extraordinary zeal he had teſtified on behalf of his countrymen, whom he knew to be the only people inclined to oppoſe the dedication: but he acknowledged that the conduct of Agrippa muſt certainly be dictated by a great and noble ſoul, and that he was intitled to commendation for the generoſity and candour with which he had declared his opinion, and for proceeding agreeable to the genuine ſentiments of his heart.

He is diſpoſed to favour the Jews.

Having employed himſelf ſome time in deliberating in the manner above recited, Caligula's mind gradually became more compoſed; and he, at length, determined to extend his clemency to the Jews. He diſpatched a letter in reply to that he had received from Agrippa, ſaying that the interceſſions of the king had prevailed upon him to countermand the orders reſpecting the dedication. At the ſame time he wrote to Petronius, the governor of Syria, adviſing him that a change of inclination had taken place, and that it was now his ſovereign pleaſure to preſerve the temple of Jeruſalem from every kind of profanation. But that the prohibition might not operate at a future period in a manner diſagreeable to him, the emperor inſerted a condition in the ſame letter of a tendency highly alarming to the Jews; and it was conceived in terms to the following purpoſe: "But it is provided, that if any perſon, of whatever denomination, ſhall hold our will and pleaſure in ſuch diſreſpect as to offer any kind of impediment or oppoſition to the conſecration of temples, altars, or ſtatues, to the honour of our royal ſelf, or any branch of our imperial family in any city, town, or other place whatſoever, excepting only the metropolis of Judæa, bearing the name of the city of Jeruſalem, all and every perſon or perſons ſo offending ſhall be puniſhed on the ſpot, during the very act of diſobedience to this our expreſs command, or in failure of this, be ſubmitted to our auguſt will and pleaſure, in order that ſuch puniſhments may be inflicted as may be adjudged adequate to his or their demerits."

An alarming clauſe in the letter ſent by Caligula to Petronius.

It paves the way for civil diſturbances.

The above clauſe was in effect a revocation of the emperor's grant in favour of the temple of Jeruſalem. In ſhort, it was laying a foundation for civil hoſtilities. It was univerſally expected that the enemies of the people of the Jewiſh perſuaſion would ſacrilegiouſly conſecrate ſtatues throughout every part of the country, under the ſanction of the edict iſſued by the emperor; but it was not imagined that they would be induced to this conduct ſo much by their reſpect to Caligula as by their enmity to the Jews. Our enemies ſuppoſed that the Jews would on no conſideration patiently ſubmit to be witneſſes to the profanation of their laws, which they had ever held in the moſt ſacred veneration; and that their oppoſition to his pleaſure would ſo highly incenſe Caligula, that, in order to puniſh them for their diſobedience, he would renew his poſitive commands for conſecrating the ſtatue in the ſanctuary of the holy temple.

Commendable moderation in the people.

But notwithſtanding the reaſon that appeared to juſtify the apprehenſion of a popular tumult, it was the pleaſure of Divine Providence to maintain good order and diſcipline among the people; and no outrageous proceedings ſeemed to be threatened. Though the multitude appeared to be diſpoſed to confine their meaſures within the bounds of moderation, our affairs, notwithſtanding their flattering appearance, were by no means in a more auſpicious train; for the emperor repented of the determination he had ſo lately paſſed in our favour, and renewed his former ſentiments reſpecting the dedication of his ſtatue.

Caligula orders a ſtatue to be made at Rome, and privately tranſported to Jeruſalem.

Leſt the multitude ſhould be provoked to oppoſe the meaſure, no farther diſcourſe was held on the ſubject of preparing a ſtatue at Sidon: but Caligula iſſued an order that one ſhould be provided at Rome, and that this figure ſhould be compoſed of copper, and richly gilt. He alſo commanded that all poſſible care ſhould be employed in ſecretly tranſporting the image by ſea to Jeruſalem, and for adopt-

adopting ſuch meaſures as would enable the people employed in this buſineſs to erect the figure in the temple, before the Jews could be well appriſed of the matter: and Caligula's voyage to Egypt was to afford an opportunity of doing this buſineſs, which was to appear as the voluntary act of the people, without even the knowledge of the emperor.

He makes preparation for viſiting Alexandria.

Caligula entertained an anxious deſire of viſiting Alexandria, and he ordered no expence to be ſpared in providing every accommodation that could contribute to the convenience of his paſſage. Alexandria being the capital of Egypt, and on account of its advantageous ſituation a place of univerſal commerce, Caligula imagined that the example of that city could ſcarcely fail of influencing thoſe of leſs conſideration, ſince people in a collective body were to be conſidered as bearing a ſimilarity to individuals in the circumſtance of regulating their conduct agreeable to the example of their ſuperiors. Hence, then, he concluded that he could not determine upon a ſituation where a greater probability of ſucceſs would attend his ridiculous ſcheme of claiming the public honours of a divinity.

Inſtances of Caligula's capricious, inhuman, and violent diſpoſition.

The emperor was naturally of a variable, vindictive and cruel diſpoſition; and this aſſertion will be fully juſtified by the following inſtances: Having reſtored a number of priſoners to liberty, he almoſt immediately ordered them again into cloſe confinement, and rendered their ſituation infinitely more inſupportable than that which they had before experienced, by depriving them of every hope of recovering their freedom, although no circumſtance whatever could be alledged againſt them to juſtify their detention. Other perſons, who were intirely unconſcious of guilt, became the objects of the tyrant's diſpleaſure; and knowing that their fate would be decided by a judge equally a ſtranger to mercy and juſtice, they conſidered it as a matter of certainty that the ſentence of death would be pronounced upon them: but they were, however, ordered into baniſhment. Notwithſtanding their perfect innocence, they deemed this ſentence to be a proof of great lenity, conſidering the character of the man who had acted in the capacity of their judge. In ſhort, they went into exile, deeming themſelves happy in having eſcaped more ſevere treatment, and patiently ſubmitted to their misfortunes, conducting themſelves with unblemiſhed honour and integrity. In a ſhort time, however, the emperor commanded a military power to aſſaſſinate the unfortunate exiles; and when this inhuman order had been executed, it was not in his power to aſſign a motive for his extraordinary conduct; for he had received no kind of provocation, the unhappy ſufferers having behaved with ſuch exemplary prudence as to avoid every proceeding that could poſſibly excite the barbarity of the tyrant. On occaſion of this melancholy event, all the noble families of Rome put themſelves into mourning, in teſtimony of their affliction for the horrid murder of their friends and relations.

His rapaciouſneſs.

When the emperor parted with money, it was ever with a rapacious deſign, and with a pre-determination to effect the ruin of thoſe who received it. He would never acknowledge that the money was to be conſidered either as a gift, or as a loan, for which intereſt was to be paid: but conſtantly pretended that it had been ſtolen or fraudulently obtained. The unfortunate people were not barely compelled to make reſtitution, but even to ſurrender to Caligula their whole eſtates, whether they had become poſſeſſed of them in virtue of hereditary right, or acquired them by their own induſtry.

Dreadful effects of his friendſhip.

It was the practice of Caligula to ruin the fortunes of thoſe people who imagined themſelves honoured by his moſt particular eſteem. By a complimentary addreſs and the appearance of friendſhip, he ſeduced them to provide entertainments for him at an enormous expence. To compliment the emperor on occaſion of theſe meetings, invention was tortured to diſcover the means of yielding full gratification to the moſt exquiſite luxury; and it frequently happened that the magnificence and profuſion of a ſingle entertainment was ſo great, that the attendant expence conſumed an ample fortune, and, excluſive of that, incumbered the hoſt with a debt that he could not expect ever to be in a condition to diſcharge. People of diſcernment, however, were appriſed of the true motive of Caligula's plauſibility of behaviour; and inſtead of endeavouring to ingratiate themſelves into his favour, avoided contracting a familiarity with him, which they conſidered as a dangerous allurement to deſtruction.

His extreme averſion to the Jews.

Such was the diſpoſition of Caligula. There were no people againſt whom he entertained ſo mortal an averſion as the Jews; and they experienced the moſt violent effects of his impetuous, cruel and unrelenting temper. He commenced his oppreſſive proceedings in Alexandria, where he expelled the Jews their oratories, and erected in thoſe buildings ſtatues to his honour, while our people, being awed by the conſideration of his great power and authority, dared not venture to oppoſe the horrid profanation. The temple of Jeruſalem was the only ſacred place now remaining unviolated; and the emperor had even the preſumption to purſue meaſures for conſecrating that holy fabric to his honour, under the denomination of, "The temple of the new Jupiter, the illuſtrious Caius Caligula."

His inſatiable ambition, and arrogant blaſphemy.

The character of Caligula affords the moſt ſtriking inſtance that can be produced of arrogance, inhumanity, and blaſphemous irreverence towards the almighty Creator. The command of the whole univerſe was not equal to the gratification of his extravagant ambition, but he impiouſly preſumed to aſpire to the ſovereignty of Heaven! Canſt thou imagine, Caligula, that the Omnipotent Power who created, is not intitled to the government of the world? Wilt thou not permit a city, a temple, or any part of this ſublunary

lunary ſphere, to be peculiarly dedicated to the moſt High God, wherein men may acknowledge the pious veneration they entertain towards his ſublime Majeſty? You have but little conception, Caligula, of the terrible calamities in which you will involve yourſelf and the whole empire by perſevering in your blaſphemous purpoſe, the accompliſhment of which is beyond the power of poſſibility: but your extravagant preſumption is ſuch, that the very idea of it cannot fail to ſtrike men leſs abandoned and reprobate than yourſelf with horror and deteſtation."

CHAP. XVIII.

The inſulting and cruel Treatment which PHILO, and the other Perſons compoſing the Embaſſy from the JEWS of ALEXANDRIA, received from the Emperor CALIGULA.

Caligula's haughty and inſulting cruelty towards Philo and the other deputies

IT is now neceſſary that we ſhould proceed to the relation of ſome particulars which tranſpired in regard to the ſubject of our embaſſy from the Alexandrian Jews to the emperor Caius Caligula. The time being arrived when we were to have audience, we were introduced into the preſence of the emperor; the fierceneſs of whoſe countenance and deportment we interpreted into a certain indication that he was to be conſidered as an inveterate enemy rather than an impartial judge. Preparatory to a judicial deciſion on ſo important a cauſe, an impartial man would, with the aſſiſtance of counſel, have carefully examined into the merits of the caſe, and having heard, attentively conſidered, and candidly compared the allegations of either party, have publicly declared his opinion. But Caligula diſpenſed with the introduction of theſe and all other judicial formalities. So important was the cauſe in agitation, that on the iſſue thereof abſolutely depended the privileges and even the lives of the vaſt multitudes of Jews who inhabited Alexandria. The rights for which the Jews contended were ſo evidently founded in juſtice, that during the ſpace of four hundred years their claim had remained wholly uncontroverted. Inſtead of behaving to us with the candour and moderation becoming the character of a judge, and conforming to the uſual methods of equity and juſtice, the inhuman tyrant treated us with diſreſpect and indignity that would have proved degrading to the moſt contemptible of his vaſſals.

He orders them to be introduced.

The emperor had for three or four days retired to the two gardens ſituated between the palace and the town, and occupied by Mæcenas and Lamias. By Caligula's deſire the gardeners were called into his preſence: and he ordered them to open the ſeveral doors, ſaying that he was diſpoſed to walk for the benefit of the freſh air, and to amuſe himſelf by examining the curioſities with which the place abounded; and he now gave orders for our introduction.

Reſpectful behaviour of the deputies, and the emperor's malicious return.

Upon our appearance before the emperor we proſtrated ourſelves at his feet, addreſſing him by the titles of emperor and Auguſtus, and affording other proofs of the moſt profound humility and reſpect. Caligula returned our ſalutations in a manner that convinced us our application would be rejected, and that our lives were in imminent danger. At length, with a malicious ſmile, the emperor accoſted us in this manner: "I preſume you belong to that deteſtable fraternity who inſolently affront my ſacred perſon with contempt, by offering adorations to an unknown and nameleſs god, when all the reſt of the world yield a willing obedience to the divinity of Caligula." He now raiſed his hands towards heaven, and, with great vehemence, uttered expreſſions too horrible for repetition. The behaviour of Caligula was underſtood by our adverſaries as a declaration in their favour; and, being unable to conceal their joy on this occaſion, they applied to the emperor every attribute, name, and honour, peculiar to Almighty God.

Iſidore's impious flattery, and falſe accuſation of the Jews.

A man named Iſidore, of an inſinuating, treacherous, and crafty diſpoſition, obſerving the remarkable ſatisfaction with which the emperor liſtened to the extravagant and impious flatteries that were offered him, availed himſelf of the opportunity of ſpeaking to the following effect: "Your diſpleaſure, Sir, would be more violent againſt theſe people, as well as thoſe by whom they are deputed, were you but ſenſible of the implacable averſion they have towards your ſacred perſon. The Jews were the only people who with-held their concurrence when vows and ſupplications were offered up for preſerving the life, and rendering auſpicious the reign of the imperial Caligula." Hereupon, we unanimouſly exclaimed, "We are moſt groſsly traduced to your majeſty: we have offered up whole hecatombs for the long life, happineſs, and proſperity, of Cæſar; and, after ſprinkling the blood of the victims upon the altar, we did not, according to the practice of many people, convey the fleſh away, in order to feaſt ourſelves, but we committed the whole ſacrifice to be conſumed in the ſacred fire. Three ſeveral times have we thus ſhewn honour to Caligula. Firſt, on occaſion of your advancement to the imperial dignity; ſecondly, on your reſtoration to health from an alarming ſickneſs, which had proved the ſource of infinite affliction to the ſeveral nations; and, thirdly, when we offered up vows and ſupplications for rendering your troops in Germany victorious."

Caligula's blaſphemous reply.

"I acknowledge (replied the furious Caligula) that you have offered up ſacrifices; but they were not intended as an honour to me: they were offerings to an unknown imaginary divinity." Upon hearing this horrible blaſphemy, a trembling pervaded all our bodies, and the courſe of the blood was ſtopped within our veins.

The Jewiſh deputies are

The emperor now proceeded to view the ſeveral apartments, from the common

mocked and derided by their Pagan enemies.

offices to the rooms of entertainment, pointing out what he deemed to be defective, and ordering the improvements that he was desirous of having introduced. We followed the emperor from place to place, our adversaries making us the objects of raillery and contempt. Like buffoons on a stage, they insulted our misfortunes with illiberal and acrimonious jests. The conduct of our adversaries, in short, was like a theatrical representation, where the man who should have maintained the character of a judge became an accuser, permitting his partiality to be increased to a more shameful degree by the irritations of the favoured party. Having so iniquitous a judge, and so implacable an enemy in the person of the emperor, we deemed it prudent to remain in silence, considering that as our only defence; for the most powerful arguments could not assist our cause, and we were unwilling to provoke the tyrant to offer additional affronts to our religion.

Caligula asks them why they still refuse to eat swine's flesh.

Having given some directions respecting the buildings, Caligula said to us, with an affected gravity, "I beg to be informed of the reason you have for so obstinately persisting in a refusal to feed upon swine's flesh." Hereupon, our opponents burst into a violent fit of laughter, which was partly excited by the ridicule of the question, and partly affected with a view of ingratiating themselves with the emperor, by pretending to admire his vivacious and satirical humour. Some persons of distinction, who possessed a greater share of good manners than the rest, censured the behaviour of these people, as being exceedingly indiscrete in presence of the emperor; adding, that such liberties were not to be excused but among persons of equal rank living on terms of friendship and familiarity.

Their reply, and his raillery.

In reply to the emperor's question concerning swine's flesh, we said, that various customs and manners respectively prevailed in different places and among different people; that we admitted the use of some things were denied to us, but begged, at the same time, to observe that our opponents were prohibited the use of others. It was said by one of the company, that some people refused to eat mutton. "The people who refuse to eat mutton (said Caligula) certainly are intitled to commendation; for it is by no means grateful to the palate:" and these words he accompanied with a smile. It must be confessed that these sarcastic and insulting reflections proved an aggravation to our distress. At length, the emperor addressed us in an impetuous manner, demanding on what foundation it was that we rested our claim to the privilege of citizens. We immediately proceeded to urge arguments in defence of our rights; but the emperor, observing that they were founded in such strict justice, as to be wholly incontrovertible, and apprehending that it was in our power to adduce others of still greater force, he abruptly interrupted the speech, and suddenly starting from his seat, hastened into the great hall. Having walked for some time in this place, he gave orders for the windows to be shut. The glass of these windows was as transparent and brilliant as the clearest crystal, and so contrived as to exclude the sun, as well as the wind, and yet afford a free admission to the light. Soon after this, he approached us with a gentle pace, a composed countenance, and an air of complacency, and, in a softened tone of voice, demanded what request we had to urge to him. We now determined to communicate our requisitions in as few words as the nature of the case would admit: but, instead of listening to us, Caligula suddenly departed, and went into an apartment in which was deposited a valuable collection of paintings, the productions of the most celebrated masters of antiquity.

Caligula's mortifying behaviour.

The repeated interruptions to the decision of our cause, and the vexatious measures that were pursued to insult and distress us, and a servile attendance upon an imperious, inconstant, and cruel prince, became, at length, insupportably afflicting; and we judged that, under the terrible disappointments which we had experienced, the most laudable conduct we could pursue would be to make the necessary preparations for death.

The deputies, apprehensive of instant death, supplicate the Almighty, who softens the tyrant's rage.

In this extremity, we humbled ourselves before the throne of the most high God, the Creator of heaven and earth, offering up adorations to his divine Majesty, and earnestly supplicating that, in his unbounded mercy, he would be graciously pleased to avert the rage and menaces with the effects of which his faithful and humble servants were threatened by a blasphemous impostor. The Almighty was pleased to compassionate the miserable situation of his humble supplicants, and to moderate the fury of our persecutor. In fine, Caligula proceeded to no farther outrages against us, but ordered us to retire, saying only the following words: "These people who refuse to honour me as a divinity, I consider as being rather unhappy than iniquitous."

Recapitulation of their scornful treatment.

In the above manner were we delivered from our calamitous situation. I might, indeed, say that we were rescued from a prison or a theatre. I speak of a theatre, because we were made the objects of ridicule, contempt, laughter, and other indignities; and the utmost rigours of a prison would have been infinitely more supportable than the torments our very souls experienced, upon hearing the abominable blasphemies uttered by Caligula, or the consideration that we were wholly subject to the power of an inhuman, capricious, tyrannical, and powerful prince. The Jews were the only people of the world who refused to pay divine honours and veneration to Caligula; and in this determination they uniformly persevered, in despite of the tyrant's utmost power. The unremitting constancy which they testified for preserving their holy laws from violation, was the origi-

original and only ſource of the tyrant's implacable enmity and rage.

The Jews aſſert their fortitude, under the moſt barbarous uſage.

We now enjoyed ſome reſpite from our calamities. But it is not to be underſtood that we were alarmed by the dread of death: on the contrary, to have yielded up our lives for promoting the common cauſe of our country, and for preſerving the rites of our religion, we ſhould have accounted the greateſt bleſſing to which human nature could poſſibly arrive. In the ſituation to which we were reduced, our deaths could not poſſibly have been productive of happy effects; but would have incurred diſgrace upon our employers, if not have tended to the ruin of our cauſe. When deputies prove unſucceſsful in their negotiations, the failure is generally attributed to the improper conduct of their principals. On this conſideration, we deemed ourſelves fortunate in having eſcaped ſo material a part of the threatened danger; but we were ſtill under a terrible anxiety on account of the ſentence which the emperor was yet to pronounce; for it was not poſſible that he could judge as to the equity of our claim, ſince he had not condeſcended to be informed of the particulars of the cauſe ſubmitted to his deciſion. It would have been a moſt deplorable circumſtance, had the vaſt multitudes of people compoſing the Jewiſh nation been ſubjected to the ſeverity of treatment experienced by their five embaſſadors. Had the emperor determined the cauſe in favour of the Alexandrians, we muſt have expected perſecutions in every other place. Our habitations, oratories, and other places dedicated to religious purpoſes, would have been deſtroyed, and the ſacred laws and religious rites of our anceſtors intirely aboliſhed; and thus, abridged of every hope of relief from our grievous oppreſſion, the burden of life would have become intolerable. When reduced to the moſt deplorable ſtate of miſery that it was poſſible for human nature to ſuſtain, we were treacherouſly deſerted by our temporiſing friends, on whom we had placed our moſt ſanguine hopes of receiving ſupport, and who were conſcious of the juſtice of our cauſe, and of the extravagant vanity and preſumption of Caligula, in exacting public veneration as a divinity.

Critical ſituation of the Jews, and their happy deliverance.

VINDICATION

OF THE

TESTIMONIES OF JOSEPHUS,

CONCERNING

Our Bleſſed Saviour *JESUS CHRIST*, *JOHN* the *BAPTIST*, and *JAMES* the *JUST*.

Preſatory remark.

SINCE we meet with many important teſtimonies in Joſephus, the Jewiſh hiſtorian, concerning John the Baptiſt, the harbinger or forerunner of Jeſus of Nazareth, concerning Jeſus of Nazareth himſelf, as alſo James the Juſt, the brother of Jeſus of Nazareth: and as the principal teſtimony has been queſtioned by many, and rejected by ſome as ſpurious, I hold it my duty, having ever declared my firm belief that theſe teſtimonies are genuine, to produce original evidences, in order to confirm them, and then make proper obſervations, for the more complete ſatisfaction of the reader. Before I enter upon my main deſign, it may not be impertinent, by way of prepa-

preparatory, to quote the opinion of perhaps the moſt learned perſon and competent judge that ever was, as to the authority of Joſephus; I mean Joſeph Scaliger, from whoſe works in Latin the following is a tranſlation.

Scaliger. "Joſephus is the moſt diligent and the greateſt lover of truth of all writers. We can confidently affirm of him, that it is more ſafe to believe him, not only as to the affairs of the Jews, but alſo as to thoſe that are foreign to them, than all the Greek and Latin writers, and this, becauſe his fidelity and his compaſs of learning are moſt conſpicuous throughout his works."

Tacitus. This writer, in his annals, affirms, that "Nero, in order to ſtifle the rumour (though he himſelf ſet Rome on fire), aſcribed it to thoſe people who were hated for their ſtrange practices, and called, by the vulgar, Chriſtians. Theſe he puniſhed exquiſitely. The author of this name was Chriſt, who, in the reign of Tiberius, was put to death by Pontius Pilate, the procurator of Judæa."

As Joſephus gives us his teſtimony, and ſince almoſt all the reſt that is true of the Jews in Tacitus, was directly taken by him out of Joſephus, there can remain no reaſon to doubt but this paſſage was taken from him alſo. He could not have this account from that other Jewiſh hiſtorian, Juſtus of Tiberias; for Photius, who peruſed his hiſtory, aſſures us, that Juſtus made no mention at all of Jeſus Chriſt. The true writing of theſe names, Chriſt and Chriſtians, as in Joſephus, is another argument that Tacitus had this account from him; which names he would otherwiſe moſt probably, with Suetonius, and other old Romans, have written Chreſt and Chreſtians. The words of Tacitus are alſo ſo very like thoſe of Joſephus, that it is moſt reaſonable to conclude they were taken from him, and from no other author whatever.

Juſtin Martyr He thus expreſſes himſelf: "You (Jews) knew that Jeſus was riſen from the dead, and aſcended into heaven, as the prophecies foretold was to happen."

Origen, concerning James "James was ſo ſhining a character among the people, on account of his righteouſneſs, that Flavius Joſephus, when in his twenty books of the Jewiſh Antiquities, he deſcribes the cauſe why the people ſuffered ſuch miſeries till the ſacred temple was demoliſhed, ſays, that theſe things befel them through the divine anger, for what they had dared to do with James the brother of Jeſus, who was called Chriſt. He ſays farther, that the people thought they ſuffered theſe things for the ſake of James."

John the Baptiſt, and Jeſus. "In the 18th book of the Jewiſh Antiquities, Joſephus teſtifies, that John was the Baptiſt, and that he promiſed purification to thoſe that were baptiſed. The ſame Joſephus, alſo, when inquiring into the cauſe of the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and the demolition of the temple, ought to have ſaid, that their perſecutions againſt Jeſus were the cauſe of theſe miſeries coming on the people, becauſe they had ſlain that Chriſt who was foretold by the prophets; he, though as it were unwillingly, yet as one not remote from the truth, ſays, "Theſe miſeries befel the Jews by way of revenge for James the Juſt, who was the brother of Jeſus that was called Chriſt; becauſe they had ſlain him who was a moſt righteous perſon." Now this James was he whom that genuine diſciple of Jeſus, Paul, ſaid he had ſeen as the Lord's brother (Gal. i. 19.) which relation implies not ſo much nearneſs of blood, or fameneſs of education, as it does agreement of manners and preaching. If, therefore, he ſays, the deſolation of Jeruſalem befel the Jews for the ſake of James, with how much greater reaſon might he have ſaid, that it happened for the ſake of Jeſus?" To this, Origen adds, "Titus deſtroyed Jeruſalem, according to Joſephus, on account of James the Juſt, the brother of Jeſus, that was called Chriſt; but, in truth, on account of Jeſus, the Chriſt of God."

Euſebius, concerning Jeſus Chriſt. "Although the atteſtation of thoſe I have already produced concerning our Saviour may be ſufficient, it may not, however, be amiſs if, over and above, we make uſe of Joſephus, the Jew, as an additional witneſs. In the 18th book of his Antiquities, where he relates an account of what happened under Pilate, he mentions our Saviour in theſe words: "Now there was, about this time, Jeſus, a wiſe man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of ſuch men as had a veneration for truth. He drew over to him both many of the Jews and many of the Gentiles. He was the Chriſt. And when Pilate, at the ſuggeſtion of the principal men among us, had condemned him to the croſs, thoſe that loved him at firſt did not forſake him, for he appeared to them alive again the third day, as the divine prophets had ſpoken of theſe and many other wonderful things concerning him. Whence the tribe of Chriſtians, ſo named from him, are not extinct at this day." If, therefore, we have the teſtimony of this hiſtorian, that he not only brought over to himſelf the Twelve Apoſtles, with the Seventy Diſciples, but many of the Jews and many of the Gentiles, he muſt manifeſtly have ſomewhat in him extraordinary above the reſt of mankind; for how, otherwiſe, could he draw over ſo many of the Jews and Gentiles, unleſs he performed admirable and amazing works, and uſed a method of teaching that was not common? Moreover, the ſcripture of the Acts of the Apoſtles bears witneſs that there were many thouſands of Jews (Acts xxi. 20.) who were perſuaded that he was the Chriſt of God, who was foretold by the prophets."

From eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, about the year 330. In that part of holy ſcripture called the Goſpels, mention is made of John the Baptiſt having his head cut off by the younger Herod. Joſephus alſo concurs in this hiſtory, and makes mention of Herodias by name, as the wife of his brother, whom Herod had married, upon divorcing his former lawful wife. She was the daughter of Aretas, king of Arabia Petræa,

Petrea, and which Herodias had parted from her husband while he was alive. On this account, also, Aretas made war with him because his daughter had been used dishonourably. In which war, when it came to a battle, he says, that all Herod's army was destroyed, and that he suffered this because of his wicked contrivance against John. Moreover, this same Josephus, by acknowleding John to have been a most righteous man, and the Baptist, concurs in his testimony with what is written in the Gospels. He also relates, that Herod lost his kingdom, for the sake of the same Herodias, together with whom he was himself condemned to be banished to Vienne, a city of Gaul. See further respecting John, in his Antiquities, Book XVIII. Chap. VII. p. 334.

When Josephus had written as above quoted, he makes mention of our Saviour in the same history (in the manner already quoted); therefore, as this writer sprung from the Hebrews themselves, he hath delivered these things in his own work concerning John the Baptist, and our Saviour. What room, then, can there be for further evasion?

Now James was so wonderful a person, and so celebrated by all others for righteousness, that the judicious Jews thought this to have been the occasion of the siege of Jerusalem, which came on presently after his martyrdom, and that it befel them for no other reason, than that impious fact they were guilty of against him. Josephus, therefore, did not refuse to attest thereto in writing. See Origen, above. The same Josephus declares, also, the manner of his death, in his Antiquities, Book XX. Ch. VII. p. 380. of this edition.

Ambrose, or Hegesippus.

"It was the opinion and belief of the Jews, as Josephus affirms (who is an author not to be rejected when he writes against himself), that Herod lost his army, not by the deceit of men, but by the anger of God, and that justly, as an effect of punishment for what he did to John the Baptist, a just man, who had said to him, "It is not lawful for thee to have thy brother's wife." The Jews themselves also bear witness to Christ, as appears from Josephus, the writer of their history, who says, That there was at that time a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man; a doer of wonderful works, who appeared to his disciples, after the third day from his death, alive again, according to the writings of our prophets, who foretold these, and innumerable other miraculous events, concerning him. From him arose the congregation of Christians, which have penetrated amongst all sorts of men. Nor does there remain a nation in the Roman world that continue strangers to his religion." If the Jews do not believe us, let them, at least, believe their own writers. Josephus, whom they esteem a very great man, hath said this; he hath spoken truth after such a manner, that is, historical truth, because he held it unlawful to deceive, though he was no believer, which rather confirms than invalidates his testimony concerning this wonderful person."

Rufinus, concerning Christ

"There was at that time Jesus, a wise man, if at least it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of wise things to those who were willing to hear the truth. He also drew over to him many of the Jews, and many of the Gentiles. He was Christ. And when Pilate, at the accusation of the principal men of our nation, had decreed that he should be crucified, those that had loved him from the beginning did not forsake him; for he appeared to them alive again the third day, according to what the divinely-inspired prophets had foretold, that these and innumerable other miracles should come to pass about him. Moreover, both the name and sect of Christians, who are denominated from him, continue still in being."

Hieronymus, or Jerom.

"In the 18th book of his Antiquities, Josephus most expressly acknowledges that Christ was slain by the Pharisees, on account of the greatness of his miracles, and that John the Baptist was truly a prophet, and that Jerusalem was demolished on account of the slaughter of James the Apostle. He wrote concerning our Lord after this manner. "At the same time there was Jesus, a wise man, if yet it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of those who willingly receive the truth. He had many followers, both of the Jews and Gentiles. He was believed to be Christ. And when, through the envy of our principal men, Pilate had condemned him to the cross, notwithstanding this, those who had loved him at first, persevered: for he appeared to them alive on the third day, as the oracles of the prophets had foretold many of these and other wonderful things concerning him. And the sect of Christians, so named from him, are not yet extinct." See the preceding article.

Isidore of Pelusium, a scholar of Chrysostom.

"One Josephus, a Jew of the greatest reputation, was very zealous for the law: he also paraphrased the Old Testament with truth, and acted valiantly for the Jews, and hath shewn that their settlement is nobler than can be described by words. Now since he made their interest give place to truth (for he would not support the opinions of impious men), I think it necessary to set down his words. What, then, does he say? "Now there was," &c. See the two foregoing articles. I cannot but admire this man's love of truth, in many instances, but chiefly, where he says, "Jesus was a teacher of men who with pleasure received the truth."

Sozomen.

"Josephus the son of Matthias, a priest, a man of very great note both among the Jews and the Romans, may well be deemed a witness of credit as to the truth of Christ's history; for he scruples to call him a man, as being a doer of wonderful works, and a teacher of the word of truth. He names him Christ openly, and is not ignorant that he was condemned to the cross, and appeared on the third day alive; and that many other wonderful things were foretold of him by the

divine prophets. He teſtifies, alſo, that thoſe whom he drew over to him, being many of the Gentiles as well as Jews, continued to love him, and that the tribe named from him Chriſtians was not then extinct. He appears, likewiſe, to have been ſo affected by the wonders he performed, as to run in a kind of middle path, ſo as not to put any indignity upon believers in him, but rather to afford his ſuffrage to their truth and reality."

Caſſiodorus. "Joſephus the ſon of Matthias, a prieſt, a man of great nobility among the Jews, and of great dignity among the Romans, ſhall be a witneſs to the truth of Chriſt's hiſtory; for he dares not call him a man, but a doer of famous works, and a teacher of true doctrines. He names him Chriſt openly, and is not ignorant that he was condemned to the croſs, and appeared on the third day alive, and that an infinite number of other wonderful things were foretold of him by the holy prophets. Moreover, he teſtifies, alſo, that there were then alive many whom he had choſen, both Greeks and Jews, and that they continued to love him, and that the ſect which was named from him was by no means extinct at that time, but rather in a flouriſhing ſtate.

Teſtimony of Epiphanius Scholaſticus, concerning John the Baptiſt. "Some of the Jews believed, that Herod's army did therefore periſh, becauſe the divine indignation was kindled againſt him, and that very juſtly, by way of vengeance for John, who was called the Baptiſt. For Herod had ſlain him who was a very good man, and exhorted the Jews to follow virtue, to exerciſe righteouſneſs, to obſerve piety towards God, and to unite together by baptiſm, as a thing acceptable, if uſed not only for the waſhing away of ſins, but for the purification of the ſoul, and as a kind of ſeal of all the virtues together. When ſuch precepts were taught by him, and a very great concourſe of people flocked to hear him, Herod, fearful leſt, by the perſuaſion of his doctrine, the people ſhould depart from his government (for he ſaw that the common people were ready to obey the precepts and admonitions he gave them in all points), thought it more expedient to prevent any ſedition that might ariſe, by taking him off, than, after diſturbances had happened, to repent when it was too late. It was upon this ſuſpicion alone of Herod that John was ſent a priſoner to the caſtle of Machæras, and there beheaded. But, as we before obſerved, the Jews were of opinion that God had brought deſtruction upon his army, and thereby inflicted a juſt puniſhment on Herod, for his cruelty to John."

Epiphanius. "There was," &c. See before, the teſtimony of Rufinus, in the preceding page, 629.

The ſame, of James, the brother of our Lord. "The high-prieſt, Ananus, believing that he had found out a proper time to exerciſe his authority, Feſtus the procurator being dead, and Albinus only upon the road, appointed a council of judges, and bringing ſeveral before him, among whom was the brother of Jeſus, who is called Chriſt, whoſe name was James, he accuſed them of acting againſt the law, and delivered them up to be ſtoned. But thoſe of the citizens that ſeemed the moſt moderate, and were concerned to have the law exactly obſerved, were greatly offended, and ſent to the king (Agrippa) intreating him that he would write to Ananus, that he ſhould deſiſt from ſuch actions as could not be defended.

Anaſtaſius Abbas. "Joſephus, a Jewiſh author, ſays of Chriſt, that he was a juſt and good man, ſhewn and declared ſo to be by divine grace, who, by ſigns and miracles, gave aid to many."

Freculphus. "In the 18th book of his Antiquities, Joſephus moſt expreſsly acknowledges, that Chriſt was ſlain by the Phariſees on account of the greatneſs of his miracles; that John the Baptiſt was truly a prophet; and that Jeruſalem was demoliſhed on account of the ſlaughter of James the Apoſtle. Nay, he wrote concerning our Lord after this manner:" See the teſtimony of Rufinus, in the preceding page.

Johannes Malela, concerning Chriſt. "Joſephus, the philoſopher of the Hebrews, hath written, that the deſtruction of the Jews began from that time: he alſo ſaid, that from the time the Jews crucified Chriſt, who was a good and righteous man (that is, if it be fit to call ſuch a one a man, and not a God), the land of Judæa was never free from trouble. Theſe things are related in the writings of the ſaid Joſephus the Jew."

Photius, of Chriſt, and John the Baptiſt. This author ſays, "I have read the treatiſe of Joſephus about the univerſe; the title of which I have elſewhere read to be, of the ſubſtance of the univerſe. It is contained in two very ſmall treatiſes. He treats of the origin of the world in a brief manner. He ſpeaks, however, of the divinity of Chriſt in a way much reſembling ours, declaring, that the ſame name of Chriſt belongs to him, and writes concerning him in general, in a manner that cannot be juſtly cenſured. The phraſeology of this treatiſe does not at all differ from his other works.

"Joſephus writes, that Herod, the Tetrarch of Galilee, and of Peræa, the ſon of Herod the Great, fell in love with the wife of his brother Herod, whoſe name was Herodias, the grand-daughter of Herod the Great, by his ſon Ariſtobulus, whom he had ſlain. Agrippa was alſo her brother. Now Herod took her away from her huſband, and married her. This is he that ſlew John the Baptiſt, that great man, the forerunner of Chriſt, being afraid (as Joſephus ſays) leſt he ſhould raiſe a ſedition among his people; for they all followed the directions of John, on account of that excellent virtue for which he was famed."

Macarius, concerning Chriſt. "A prieſt of Jeruſalem, named Joſephus, who wrote with truth the hiſtory of the Jewiſh affairs, bears witneſs that Chriſt was incarnate and crucified, and the third day roſe again, whoſe writings are depoſited in the public library. Since, therefore, the writer of the Hebrews hath

hath given this teſtimony concerning our Lord and Saviour, in his own books, what defence can there remain for unbelievers, who diſcredit them?"

Suidas, of Jeſus. "Joſephus, who hath written about the taking of Jeruſalem (of whom Euſebius makes frequent mention in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory), ſays, openly, in his memoirs of the captivity, that Jeſus officiated in the temple with the prieſts. This we have found Joſephus ſaying, a man of ancient times, and not very long after thoſe of the apoſtles."

Sophronius, concerning Chriſt and John. "That lover of truth, Joſephus the Jew, ſpeaks of the forerunner of Chriſt, and of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. In the 18th book of his Antiquities, he openly acknowledges that Chriſt was ſlain by the Jews, on account of the greatneſs of his miracles, and that John the Baptiſt was truly a prophet, and that Jeruſalem was demoliſhed on account of the ſlaughter of James the apoſtle of Jeſus Chriſt.

Cedrenus, of John the Baptiſt, and Chriſt. "Joſephus does, indeed, write concerning John the Baptiſt, as follows: "Some of the Jews thought that the deſtruction of Herod's army came from God, and that he was puniſhed very juſtly, for the puniſhment he had inflicted on John that was called the Baptiſt; for Herod ſlew him that was a good man, and exhorted the Jews to exerciſe virtue, both by righteouſneſs towards one another, and piety towards God, and ſo to come to baptiſm." But as concerning Chriſt, the ſame Joſephus ſays, "That about that time there was Jeſus, a wiſe man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, and a teacher of ſuch men as receive the truth with pleaſure; for that Chriſt drew over many even from the Gentiles, of whom, when Pilate had crucified, thoſe who at firſt loved him did not leave off to preach concerning him; for he appeared to them the third day alive again, as the divine prophets had teſtified, and ſpoken theſe and other wonderful things concerning him." We will produce Joſephus himſelf for a witneſs, who was one of the ſect of the Jews. Conſider the love of truth that was in this man, who, although he were a Jew, yet he did not permit himſelf to follow the Jewiſh falſehoods and evaſions."

Theophylact, concerning James. Theophylact ſays, "The city of the Jews was taken, and the wrath of God was kindled againſt them: as alſo Joſephus witneſſes, that this came upon them on account of the death of James the Apoſtle.

The Alexandrian chronicle, of John and Chriſt. In the 18th book of his Antiquities, Joſephus relates, that John the Baptiſt, that holy man, was beheaded at the inſtigation of Herodias, the wife of Philip. For Herod had divorced his former wife, who was ſtill alive, and had been his lawful wife. She was the daughter of Aretas, king of Arabia Petræa. When, therefore, Herod had taken Herodias away from her huſband, while he was yet alive (on whoſe account he ſlew John), Aretas made war againſt him, becauſe his daughter had been diſhonourably treated. In this war, he ſays, that all Herod's army was deſtroyed, and that he ſuffered that calamity becauſe of the wickedneſs he had committed againſt John. The ſame Joſephus relates, that Herod loſt his kingdom on account of Herodias, and that with her he was baniſhed, &c. Now that our Saviour taught and preached three years is demonſtrated both by other authors, as alſo out of the Holy Goſpels, and out of the writings of Joſephus, who was a wiſe man among the Hebrews.

"In the ſame book of the Jewiſh Antiquities, Joſephus writes, that, after Annas, there were three high-prieſts, Iſhmael the ſon of Baphi, and Eleazar the ſon of Ananas, and Simon the ſon of Camathus, &c. He alſo relates, in the 7th book of the Jewiſh War, that Jeruſalem was taken in the ſecond year of Veſpaſian, and many years after they had dared to put Jeſus to death: in which time, he ſays, that James, the brother of our Lord, and biſhop of Jeruſalem, was thrown down from the temple, and ſtoned to death."

Zonaras. In this author you have alſo an abridgment of all that Joſephus wrote concerning our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt and John the Baptiſt. "He wrote thus concerning this John, that Herod ſlew him who was a good man, and exhorted the Jews to exerciſe virtue both as to righteouſneſs towards one another, and piety towards God, and ſo to come to baptiſm; for by that means the waſhing with water would be acceptable to him. Now Herod, who feared leſt the great influence John had over the people might put it in his power to raiſe a rebellion (for they ſeemed ready to do any thing he ſhould adviſe), thought it beſt, by putting him to death, to prevent any miſchief he might cauſe, and not to bring himſelf into difficulties by ſparing a man, who might make him repent of it, when it ſhould be too late. Accordingly, he was ſent a priſoner, by reaſon of Herod's ſuſpicion, to Machæras, and there put to death. Now the Jews had an opinion that the deſtruction of the army was ſent as a puniſhment upon Herod, and a mark of the diſpleaſure of God to him.

"It was about this time, alſo, that our Lord Jeſus Chriſt appeared in Judæa, concerning whom Joſephus, in the 18th book of his Antiquities, ſays thus: "Now there was about this time a wiſe man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of ſuch men as receive the truth with pleaſure. He drew over to him many of the Jews and many of the Gentiles. He was the Chriſt. And when Pilate, at the ſuggeſtion of the principal men among us, had condemned him to the croſs, they that loved him at firſt did not forſake him; for he appeared to them the third day alive again, as the divine prophets had ſaid theſe and many other wonderful things concerning him. And the tribe of Chriſtians, ſo named from him, are not extinct at this day. Theſe things Joſephus wrote in his Antiquities concerning Chriſt. Johannes Sariſburienſis, Petrus Comeſtor, Gotfridus Viterbienſis, and Vincentius Bellovacenſis, all add their

their teſtimonies concerning Joſephus in words nearly ſimilar to the above."

Glycas. "Philo and Joſephus flouriſhed at that time. The laſt was ſtyled the lover of truth, becauſe he commended John, who baptiſed our Lord, and becauſe he bore witneſs that Chriſt, in like manner, was a wiſe man, and the doer of great miracles, and that he appeared the third day after he was crucified."

Teſtimony of Nicephorus Calliſtus concerning John the Baptiſt. "Now this (concerning Herod the Tetrarch) is atteſted to, not only by the book of the Holy Goſpels, but by Joſephus, that lover of truth, who alſo makes mention of Herodias his brother's wife, whom Herod had taken from him, while he was alive, and married, having divorced his former lawful wife, who was the daughter of Aretas, king of Arabia Petrea. On whoſe account, alſo, when he had ſlain John the Baptiſt, Aretas made war upon him, becauſe his daughter had been diſhonourably uſed. In which war he relates, that all Herod's army was deſtroyed, and that he ſuffered this on account of the moſt unjuſt ſlaughter of John. He alſo adds, that John was a moſt righteous man. Moreover, he makes mention of his baptiſm, agreeing in all points thereto relating to the goſpel. He alſo informs us, that Herod loſt his kingdom on account of Herodias, with whom alſo he was condemned to be baniſhed to Vienne, which was their place of exile, a city bordering upon Gaul, and lying near the utmoſt bounds of the weſt.

"However, in the 18th book of his Antiquities, he ſays this farther concerning John: "Some of the Jews thought the deſtruction of Herod's army came from God, and that very juſtly, as a puniſhment for what he did againſt John, that was called the Baptiſt. For Herod ſlew him who was a good man, and one that exhorted the Jews to exerciſe virtue and piety towards God, and ſo to come to baptiſm, as by that means the waſhing with water would appear acceptable to him, when they uſed it not for the putting away of ſome ſins only, but for the purification of the body, ſuppoſing ſtill that the ſoul be thoroughly purified beforehand by righteouſneſs. Now when many others came in crowds about him (for they were greatly moved by hearing his words), Herod was afraid that his great power of perſuaſion might tend to ſedition, for they ſeemed diſpoſed to do every thing he ſhould adviſe them to. He ſuppoſed it better to prevent any attempt at innovation from him by calling him off, than that ſuch change ſhould be brought about, and the public ſuffered to repent of that negligence. Accordingly, he was ſent a priſoner, owing to Herod's ſuſpicious temper, to the caſtle of Machæras, and there ſlain. This is alſo the account of Joſephus." This writer concurs with the foregoing in his teſtimony of Joſephus, concerning Jeſus Chriſt our Saviour.

Hardmannus Schedelius. He thus writes: "Joſephus the Jew, who was called Flavius, a prieſt, and the ſon of Matthias, a prieſt of that nation, a moſt celebrated hiſtorian, and very ſkilful in many things. He was certainly a good man, of excellent character, and one who had the higheſt opinion of Chriſt."

Teſtimony of Platina, concerning Chriſt and John the Baptiſt. He informs the reader, that he "ſhall avoid mentioning what Chriſt did, until the thirtieth year of his age, when he was baptiſed by John the ſon of Zacharias; becauſe not only the Goſpels and Epiſtles are full of thoſe acts which he performed in the moſt excellent manner; but ſuch books as are quite remote from his way of living and acting. Flavius Joſephus himſelf, who wrote twenty books of Jewiſh Antiquities in the Greek language, when he had proceeded as far as the emperor Tiberius, ſays, "There was," &c. See the teſtimony of Ruſinus, p. 629. The ſame Joſephus alſo affirms, that John the Baptiſt was a true prophet, and on that account eſteemed by men in general; that he was ſlain by Herod the ſon of Herod the Great, a little before the death of Chriſt, in the caſtle of Machæras; and that this cruel order was given by Herod at the inſtigation of Herodias, the ſiſter of Agrippa, and the wife of his brother Philip, whom he had married in an inceſtuous manner."

Trithemius the Abbot. "Although Joſephus continued to be a Jew, he frequently commended the Chriſtians, and in the 18th book of his Antiquities wrote down an eminent teſtimony concerning our Lord Jeſus Chriſt." Whether Trithemius found more paſſages concerning the Chriſtians in his copies of the genuine works of Joſephus, now or formerly extant, or aſcribed the book concerning the univerſe to him, and therein met with other commendations of the Chriſtians that were in his genuine works, cannot now be determined. So far, however, is plain, that this very learned abbot, who affirms, that Joſephus frequently commended the Chriſtians, had more teſtimonies in the works he believed to be Joſephus's, to this purpoſe, than we are at preſent acquainted with. Which ſeems to have been the caſe of Origen, Euſebius, the author of the Alexandrian Chronicle, Suidas, and Theophylactus, as appears in our quotations out of them.

We might adduce more quotations from the moſt reſpectable writers, ſuch as the Latin Verſion from Haimo, Anonymus Bambergenſis, Conradus Urſpergenſis, Albertus Stadenſis, &c. &c. mentioned by Fabricius, all which authors cite the ſame teſtimony concerning Chriſt: but, that we may not be blamed for a tedious prolixity, we paſs them over; as we preſume thoſe already quoted are ſufficient, on an attentive peruſal, to ſatisfy the candid and impartial reader.

REMARKS

REMARKS AND OBSERVATIONS

FROM THE FOREGOING

TESTIMONIES

CONCERNING

JESUS CHRIST.

Authenticity of the ſtyle of the teſtimonies.

I. WITH reſpect to the ſtyle of all the foregoing original teſtimonies belonging to Joſephus, it is exactly the ſtyle of the ſame Joſephus, and eſpecially his ſtyle about thoſe parts of his Antiquities wherein we find theſe teſtimonies. His teſtimonies concerning John the Baptiſt and James the Juſt, have been rendered equally undeniable as that concerning Chriſt, of whom he makes ſuch honourable mention.

The clauſes concerning John and James genuine.

II. Thoſe clauſes found in Joſephus concerning John the Baptiſt and James the Juſt, eſpecially ſuch as are in all our preſent copies, as well as thoſe cited from their copies by the ancients, are plainly and undeniably genuine. One writer ſeems deſirous of ſetting aſide that concerning John the Baptiſt, though expreſsly quoted by Origen himſelf, out of Joſephus; but, ſince he hardly produces any thing like an argument to ſupport his pretence, I ſhall paſs it by without farther notice.

Joſephus not ſuppoſed to omit a teſtimony of Chriſt.

III. Hence it follows, that theſe teſtimonies, being confeſſedly and undeniably written by Joſephus himſelf, it is almoſt impoſſible that he ſhould wholly omit ſome teſtimony concerning Jeſus Chriſt: nay, while his teſtimonies of John the Baptiſt, and of James the Juſt, are ſo honourable, and he gives them ſuch reſpectable characters, his teſtimony of Chriſt can be no other than very honourable, or ſuch as afforded him a ſtill greater character. Could the very ſame author, who gave ſo full and advantageous a character of John the Baptiſt, the forerunner of Jeſus of Nazareth (all whoſe diſciples were by him directed to that Jeſus of Nazareth, as to the true Meſſiah, and all whoſe diſciples became afterwards his diſciples), omit to ſpeak honourably of that Jeſus of Nazareth himſelf? And this in our hiſtory of thoſe very times in which he was born, lived, and died? This can ſcarce be credited.

Beſides, could the very ſame author, who gave ſo advantageous a character of James the Juſt, and this under the very appellation of James, the brother of Jeſus, who was called Chriſt, which James was one of the principal diſciples, or apoſtles, of this Jeſus Chriſt, and had been many years the only Chriſtian biſhop of the unbelieving Jews of Judæa and Jeruſalem, in the very days, and in the very country of this writer; could he, I ſay, wholly omit, nay, could he with-hold a very honourable account of Jeſus Chriſt himſelf, whoſe diſciple and biſhop this James moſt certainly was? This alſo is not worthy of belief.

He diſtinguiſhes Jeſus from others of that name.

IV. That remarkable clauſe in this teſtimony of Joſephus concerning Chriſt, "This was Chriſt, or the Chriſt," clearly points out that this Jeſus was diſtinguiſhed from all others of that name, of which there were not a few, as mentioned by Joſephus himſelf, by the addition of the other name of Chriſt; or, that this perſon was no other than he whom all the world knew by the name of Jeſus Chriſt, and his followers by the name of Chriſtians, ſo denominated firſt at Antioch.

Joſephus, a Nazarene, or Ebionite Jewiſh Chriſtian.

V. It appears that Joſephus did not deſign here to declare himſelf openly a Chriſtian, yet he could not poſſibly believe all that he aſſerts concerning Jeſus Chriſt, unleſs he were ſo far a Chriſtian as the Jewiſh Nazarenes or Ebionites then were, who believed Jeſus of Nazareth to be the true Meſſiah, without believing that he was more than a man; who alſo believed the neceſſity of the obſervation of the ceremonial law of Moſes, in order to ſalvation for all mankind; which were the two main of thoſe Jewiſh Chriſtians' faith, though in oppoſition to all the apoſtles of Jeſus Chriſt in the firſt century, and in oppoſition to the whole catholic church of Chriſt in the following centuries. It is, then, highly probable that Joſephus was, in his own mind and con-

ſcience, only a Nazarene, or Ebionite Jewiſh Chriſtian; and it is obſervable that his intire teſtimony, and all that he ſays of John the Baptiſt and of James, as well as his abſolute ſilence about all the reſt of the apoſtles, exactly agrees with him under that character, and no other. We are well aſſured, that the thouſands of Jews who believed in Chriſt (Acts xxi. 20.) in the firſt century, were all zealous of the ceremonial law; and by conſequence, if there were any reaſon to think our Joſephus to be, in any ſenſe, a believer or a Chriſtian, as from theſe teſtimonies there are very great ones; all theſe, and all other reaſons, could not but conſpire to aſſure us he was no other than a Nazarene, or Ebionite Chriſtian, as they were at that time denominated.

VI. We conclude, therefore, as Joſephus appears to have been, in his own mind and conſcience, no other than a Nazarene or Ebionite Chriſtian, and by conſequence with them rejected all our Greek goſpels and Greek books of the New Teſtament, and received only the Hebrew goſpel of the Nazarenes or Ebionites; that we ought alſo to have that Nazarene, or Ebionite goſpel, with the other Nazarene or Ebionite fragments in view, when we conſider any paſſages of Joſephus relating to Chriſt, or to Chriſtianity. Thus, ſince that goſpel omitted all that is in the beginning of our St. Matthew's and St. Luke's goſpels, and began with the miniſtry of John the Baptiſt; in which firſt parts of the goſpel hiſtory are the accounts of the ſlaughter of the infants, and of the emolument or taxation under Auguſtus Cæſar and Herod; it is no matter of wonder that Joſephus has not taken care to preſerve thoſe hiſtories in a clear and particular manner.

In like manner, when we find that Joſephus calls James, the brother of Chriſt, by the name of James the Juſt, and deſcribes him particularly as a moſt juſt or righteous man, we are to remember that ſuch is his name and character in the goſpel according to the Hebrews, and the other Ebionite remains of Hegeſippus, but no where elſe. Nor are we to ſuppoſe they herein referred to any other than that righteouſneſs which was by the Jewiſh law, wherein St. Paul (Philip. iii. 6.), before he embraced Chriſtianity, profeſſed himſelf to have been blameleſs.

His diſtinguiſhing character of James the Juſt.

Thus Joſephus, with other Jews, who aſcribed the miſeries of that nation under Veſpaſian and Titus, with the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, to the barbarous murder of James the Juſt, muſt remember what we learn from the Ebionite fragments of Hegeſippus, that theſe Ebionites interpreted a prophecy of Iſaiah, as foretelling this very murder and theſe conſequent miſeries: "Let us take away the juſt one, for he is unprofitable to us; therefore ſhall they eat the fruit of their own ways." Joſephus alſo ſays, as we have ſeen, that the moſt equitable citizens of Jeruſalem, and thoſe that were moſt zealous of the law, were very uneaſy at the condemnation of this James, and ſome of his friends, or fellow Chriſtians, by the high-prieſt and Sanhedrim, and declares, that he himſelf was one of thoſe Jews who thought the ſhocking calamities of that nation, effects of the divine vengeance, for the murder of this James; we may eaſily ſee thoſe opinions could only be the opinions of converted Jews or Ebionites. The high-prieſt and Sanhedrim, who always perſecuted the Chriſtians, and the body of thoſe unbelieving Jews who are ſuppoſed to ſuffer for murdering this James, could not ſurely be of that opinion. Thus laſtly, when Joſephus is cited in Suidas, as affirming that Jeſus officiated with the prieſts in the temple, this account is by no means diſagreeable to the pretenſions of the Ebionites. The very ſame thing is affirmed of James the Juſt, by Hegeſippus the Ebionite.

The moderate Jews uneaſy at the condemnation of James.

The next author I have alledged for it is Juſtin Martyr, one ſo nearly coeval with Joſephus, that he might be born about the time when he wrote his Antiquities. Juſtin elſewhere appeals to the ſame Antiquities by that very name, and though he does not here directly quote them, yet does he ſeem to me to allude to this very teſtimony in them concerning our Saviour, when he affirms in this place to Trypho the Jew, that his nation originally knew that Jeſus was riſen from the dead, and aſcended into heaven, as the prophecies did foretel was to happen. Nor, indeed, does he ſeem to me to have any thing elſe particularly in his view, but thoſe clauſes of this very teſtimony, where Joſephus ſays, that "Jeſus appeared to his followers alive the third day after his crucifixion, as the divine prophets had foretold theſe and other wonderful things concerning him."

Opinion of Juſtin Martyr examined.

Origen is the next author I have quoted for Joſephus's teſtimonies of John the Baptiſt, of Jeſus of Nazareth, and of James the Juſt. He is, indeed, allowed, on all hands, to have quoted him for the excellent characters of John the Baptiſt, and of James the Juſt; but his ſuppoſed ſilence about this teſtimony concerning Chriſt is uſually alledged as the principal argument againſt its being genuine, and particularly as to the clauſe, "This was the Chriſt," and that, as we have ſeen, becauſe he twice aſſures us, that in his opinion Joſephus did not himſelf acknowledge Jeſus for Chriſt. As to this latter clauſe, I have to obſerve, that Joſephus did not here, in writing to Greeks and Romans, mean any ſuch thing by theſe words as Jews and Chriſtians naturally underſtand by them. I have alſo to obſerve, that all the ancients allow ſtill, with Origen, that Joſephus did not, in the Jewiſh and Chriſtian ſenſe, acknowledge Jeſus for the true Meſſiah, or the true Chriſt of God, notwithſtanding their expreſs quotation of that clauſe in Joſephus as genuine. So that, unleſs we ſuppoſe Origen to have had a different notion of theſe words from all the other ancients, we cannot conclude, from this aſſertion, that he had not thoſe words in his copy.

Origen's opinion.

However, it ſeems to me that Origen affords us four ſeveral indications, that the main parts, at leaſt, of this teſtimony itſelf, were in his copy. Firſt, When

Miſeries of the Jews aſcribed to the murder of James, but more properly to that of Jeſus.

When Origen introduces the teſtimony of Joſephus concerning James the Juſt, that he thought the miſeries of the Jews were an inſtance of the divine vengeance on that nation for putting James to death, inſtead of Jeſus, he uſes an expreſſion no way neceſſary to his purpoſe, nor occaſioned by any words of Joſephus there, I mean, that they had ſlain "that Chriſt which was foretold in the prophecies." Whence could that expreſſion come into Origen's mind, when he was quoting a teſtimony from Joſephus concerning the brother of Chriſt, from his remembrance of a clauſe in the teſtimony of the ſame Joſephus concerning Chriſt himſelf, that "the prophets had foretold his death and reſurrection, and had related concerning him many other wonderful things?"

Secondly, it is aſked, Why was Origen ſo ſurpriſed at Joſephus's aſcribing the deſtruction of Jeruſalem to the Jews murdering of James the Juſt, and not to their murdering of Jeſus, as we have ſeen he was, if he had not known that Joſephus had ſpoken of Jeſus and his death before; and that he had a very good opinion of Jeſus, which yet he could learn in no way ſo authentic as from this teſtimony? Nor do the words he uſes, that Joſephus was "remote from the truth," perhaps allude to any thing elſe, but this very teſtimony which we are now conſidering.

Jeſus ſuppoſed by many of the Jews to have been a divine perſon.

Thirdly, What could induce Origen, upon a ſlight occaſion, when he had juſt ſet down that teſtimony of Joſephus concerning James the Juſt, the brother of Jeſus, who was called Chriſt, to ſay, that "It may be queſtioned whether the Jews thought Jeſus to be a man, or whether they did not ſuppoſe him to be a being of a diviner kind?" This appears ſo very like thoſe clauſes of this teſtimony in Joſephus, that "Jeſus was a wiſe man, if it be lawful to call him a man," that it is highly probable Origen thereby alluded to them. And this is the more to be depended on, becauſe all the unbelieving Jews, and all the reſt of the Nazarene Jews, eſteemed Jeſus with one conſent as a mere man, the ſon of Joſeph and Mary; and it is not, I think, poſſible to produce any one Jew but Joſephus, who ſays any thing like his being more than human, or, according to the import of his words, "a divine perſon." I take this argument to be a very forcible one.

Fourthly, it may be aſked, Why Origen affirms twice ſo expreſsly, that "Joſephus did not himſelf own, in the Jewiſh and Chriſtian ſenſe, that Jeſus was Chriſt?" Notwithſtanding his quotations out of him are of eminent teſtimonies for John the Baptiſt his forerunner, and for James the Juſt, his brother, and one of his principal diſciples? There is no paſſage in all Joſephus ſo likely to perſuade Origen of this as in the famous teſtimony before us; wherein, as he and all the ancients underſtood it, he was called Chriſt, the common name whence the ſect of Chriſtians was derived; and where he all along ſpeaks of thoſe Chriſtians, as a ſect then in being, whoſe author was a wonderful perſon, and his followers great lovers of him and of truth, yet as ſuch a ſect as he had not joined himſelf to. Nor can I deviſe any other reaſon but this, and parallel language of Joſephus elſewhere, when he ſpeaks of James, or the brother, not of Jeſus who *was* Chriſt, but of Jeſus who was *called* Chriſt, that could ſo naturally induce Origen and others to adopt that ſentiment.

Photius the critic.

VII. With reſpect to Photius, that great critic, who flouriſhed in the ninth century, and is ſuppoſed not to have had this teſtimony in his copy of Joſephus, or elſe to have eſteemed it ſpurious, becauſe, in his extracts from the Antiquities of Joſephus, it is not expreſsly mentioned; I cannot but be ſurpriſed that a ſection, which had been cited out of the copies of Joſephus all along, before the days of Photius, as well as it had been all along cited out of them ſince his days, ſhould be ſuppoſed not to be in his copy, becauſe he does not directly mention it in certain ſhort and imperfect extracts, no way particularly relating to ſuch matters. They who lay a ſtreſs on this ſilence of Photius, ſeem to have attended little to the nature and brevity of thoſe extracts. They contain little or nothing, as he in effect profeſſes at their entrance, but what concerns Antipater, Herod the Great, his brethren and family, with their exploits, till the days of Agrippa the younger, and Cumanus, governor of Judæa, fifteen years after the death of our Saviour; without one word of Pilate, or what happened under his government, which yet was the only proper place in which this teſtimony could come to be mentioned. However, ſince Photius ſeems, therefore, as we have ſeen, to ſuſpect the treatiſe of the univerſe aſcribed by ſome to Joſephus, becauſe it ſpeaks highly of the divinity of Chriſt, this bears a great ſemblance of his knowledge and belief of ſomewhat real in the ſame Joſephus, that ſpoke of him in an inferior manner, which could hardly be any other paſſage than this teſtimony before us. And ſince, as we have alſo ſeen, when he ſpeaks of the Jewiſh hiſtory of Juſtus of Tiberias, as infected with the prejudices of the Jews, in taking no manner of notice of the advent, the acts and the miracles of Jeſus Chriſt, while yet he never once ſpeaks thus of Joſephus himſelf, this moſt naturally implies alſo, that there was not the like occaſion here as there; but that Joſephus had not wholly omitted that advent, thoſe acts or miracles, which yet he has done every where elſe, in the books ſeen by Photius, as well as Juſtus of Tiberias, but in this famous teſtimony before us. So that it is moſt probable Photius not only had this teſtimony in his copy, but alſo believed it to be genuine and authentic.

Clement of Alexandria.

VIII. The ſilence of Clement of Alexandria, who cites the Antiquities of Joſephus, but never cites any of the teſtimonies now before us, cannot be deemed a matter of wonder, ſince he never cites Joſephus but once, and that for a point of chronology only, to determine

mine how many years had paſſed from the days of Moſes to the days of Joſephus: ſo that his ſilence may almoſt as well be alledged againſt an hundred other remarkable paſſages in Joſephus as againſt theſe now under conſideration.

Tertullian.

XI. The like ſilence obſerved by Tertullian does not imply that theſe teſtimonies, or any of them, were not in the copies of his age. Tertullian never once hints at any treatiſes of Joſephus, but thoſe againſt Apion, and that in general only for a point of chronology. Nor does it any where appear that Tertullian ever ſaw any of the writings of Joſephus beſides, and it is far from certain that he ever ſaw theſe. He had particular occaſion, in his diſpute with the Jews, to quote Joſephus above any other writer, to prove the completion of the prophecies of the Old Teſtament in the deſtruction of Jeruſalem and miſeries of the Jews at that time, of which he there diſcourſes; yet he never once quotes him upon that ſolemn occaſion. So that it rather ſeems, that Tertullian never read the Greek Antiquities of Joſephus, or his Greek books of the Jewiſh Wars. Nor is this at all ſtrange in Tertullian, a Latin writer, who lived in Africa, as none of the African writers that I know of cited any one clauſe out of any of the writings of Joſephus. Nor is it worth while, or of any great conſequence, in ſuch numbers of poſitive citations, to mention the ſilence of other later writers.

Juſtin Martyr, Origen, &c.

The moſt doubtful of all theſe teſtimonies, as has been of late ſuppoſed, I mean that concerning our Saviour Chriſt, is atteſted to for genuine, as we have ſeen by the plain reference of Tacitus, by the probable reference of Juſtin Martyr, about the middle of the ſecond century; by the more probable reference of Origen, about the middle of the third; by a double expreſs citation of it by Euſebius in the former part of the fourth; by a looſe verſion of it out of Joſephus, by Ambroſe, or Hegeſippus, ſoon after it in the ſame century; by the expreſs Latin tranſcript made by Rufinus in his verſion of the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory; by another expreſs Latin verſion of it out of Joſephus, by Hieronymus or Jerom, and a Greek verſion of that Latin verſion, and by his learned friend Sophronius, all three about the end of the fourth century, or beginning of the fifth.

Iſidorus and Sozomenus, &c.

Iſidorus of Peluſium, the ſcholar of Chryſoſtom, and Sozomenus the eccleſiaſtical hiſtorian, both early in the fifth century. Caſſiodorus alſo, and his friend, ſuppoſed to be Epiphanius Scholaſticus, give us two Latin verſions of it early in the ſixth century. We have the ſame teſtimony plainly, though briefly, cited by Anaſtaſius, the abbot, in the eighth century. We have Jerom's verſion of it repeated by Freculphus Lexevienſis; the whole ſet down in Greek by Hamartolus, and by one Macarius, both in or about the ninth century; beſides the imperfect copy of part of it, by Malela, the chronologer, and the probable alluſion to it by Photius, both in the ſame ninth century. We have Sophronius's Greek verſion of Jerom's Latin verſion, repeated by Suidas, about the tenth century. We have an almoſt complete copy of it given us by Cedrenus, in the eleventh century. We have a ſtill more complete copy of it given us by Zonaras, the ſubſtance of it, three copies of Rufinus's Latin verſion, out of the Greek of Euſebius, by Joannes Sariſberienſis, Gotfridy Viterbienſis and Petrus Comeſtor, all in the twelfth century. We have another copy of Rufinus's Latin verſion, by Vicentius Bellovacenſis, in the thirteenth century. We have a complete copy of it in Nicephorus Calliſtus, in the fourteenth century. We have alſo a clear reference to it in Hardmanorus Schedelius, and a new Latin verſion of it in Platina, and a full reference to it in Trithemius, the learned abbot, in the fifteenth century; all which evidence has been produced at large. To ſay nothing of the old Latin verſion, as repeated by Haimo in the ninth, and Conradus Urſpergenſis, and Albertus Stadenſis, in the thirteenth century, which, though not tranſcribed, are to be eſteemed real confirmations of all the former allegations. This, as we have abundantly proved, has been the caſe of this teſtimony, in all the paſt ages of Chriſtianity, and, during the firſt fifteen centuries of the church, in all the ſeveral countries of Europe.

Another argument in favour of the authenticity of this teſtimony, belonging to all the paſt ages, is uſually overlooked by learned Chriſtians, though I think it no inconſiderable one; and that is, the contempt all the unbelieving Jews have ever ſhewn for Joſephus, the beſt hiſtorian, beyond diſpute, which their nation ever produced after the ſacred ones. What can be the reaſon of this contempt of the genuine Greek Joſephus? What the foundation of the fallacious pretence that the Hebrew Joſephus was not the genuine Joſephus, unleſs it were the teſtimonies now under conſideration, and eſpecially that concerning Jeſus Chriſt, which bears ſo hard upon the unbelieving Jewiſh nation, as could not be endured by them? This muſt appear to the impartial world the principal cauſe of their rejecting this excellent author; nor can I deviſe any other probable cauſe for this rejection; which, if admitted as the true reaſon, the authenticity of theſe teſtimonies, and eſpecially of that concerning Jeſus Chriſt, will alſo be admitted to be wholly undeniable by all unprejudiced perſons. Nor are we intirely deſtitute of evidence, that when this teſtimony had been inſerted in a manuſcript of Joſephus in Hebrew, whether it were in an Hebrew verſion of his Antiquities, or in a later Hebrew epitome, ſome Jews cauſed it to be eraſed out of it. For ſee Itigius's Prolegomena, and Dr. Cave's Hiſtoria Literaria, Vol. II. under the particular article of Joſephus. Thus far concerning the firſt fifteen centuries.

Contempt of moſt of the Jews for Joſephus, an argument in favour of his teſtimonies.

After the invention of printing, in the 16th century, we find this teſtimony, I think, in every edition, and in every verſion of Joſephus, in all languages.

Opinions of writers ſince printing began.

Nay,

Nay, ſince Giſanius and Oſiander ſtarted that queſtion in the 16th century, and Tanquil Faber firſt wrote againſt it in the 17th century, all the remaining manuſcripts of Joſephus, Euſebius, &c. &c. have been carefully looked into and examined, and every one of them have been found to contain this teſtimony, and almoſt every one to contain it in its proper place under the government of Pilate, and that without any conſiderable variations. Nor do we diſcover that any ancient author from the days of Joſephus to thoſe of Giſanius, pretended that he knew of any copies in any language without it, nor give us the leaſt reaſon to ſuppoſe they ſuſpected it, or eſteemed it as any otherwiſe than an authority truly certain and undeniable. To this muſt be added the high probability there is, from the undiſputed teſtimonies about John the Baptiſt and James the Juſt, that Joſephus muſt have given us ſome ſuch teſtimony concerning Chriſt, and the very great probability there is that Joſephus's own private opinion was that of the Nazarene or Ebionite Jewiſh Chriſtian, with which character it very well agrees in every circumſtance. Since, therefore, this is no other than the true ſtate of the caſe, I think every upright judge that conſiders it muſt declare, that this teſtimony is not only evidently and undeniably genuine, but, upon the whole, as fully ſo as any other clauſes or ſections in the works of Joſephus now extant. It will alſo here be but reaſonable to vindicate Joſephus in a point wherein ſome late writers have dealt very hardly with him; I mean when they accuſe him as flattering Veſpaſian with being the true Meſſiah of the Jews.

Vindication of Joſephus from the accuſation of his adverſaries.

We ſhall take the two paſſages upon which the accuſation is built in Joſephus's own words. The former is in the 6th book of his hiſtory of the Jewiſh Wars, and runs thus: "If theſe things are duly conſidered, it will be found that God exerciſes a providence over mankind, and by many means diſcovers to them beforehand what is for their preſervation, but that they periſh by their own folly, and their misfortunes are voluntary. For the Jews made the temple four ſquare, by the demolition of the tower of Antonia, while they had it written in their own oracles, that their city, and the ſacred houſe ſhould then be taken when the temple ſhould become four ſquare. But what chiefly excited them to the war, was an ambiguous oracle, that a certain perſon would ariſe about that time out of their country, who ſhould have dominion over the world. This they took to refer to themſelves, and many of the wiſe men were deceived by that determination: while the oracle deſigned the dominion of Veſpaſian, who was proclaimed emperor when he was in Judæa." The other paſſage is in Joſephus's own ſpeech to Veſpaſian, in the third book of the ſame hiſtory: "You have now in hand Joſephus, a priſoner, and your preſent view, perhaps, extends no farther, but I come to you as a meſſenger of greater things. Had it not been for this commiſſion, I could not have been here at preſent, contrary to the duty of a Jewiſh general, alive in the hands of an enemy. Wherefore am I to be ſent to Nero, when Veſpaſian himſelf is ſo near the empire, that I can hardly diſtinguiſh betwixt Veſpaſian and the emperor, or Cæſar? Beſides, his ſon Titus is to come after him. Keep me cloſe as you pleaſe, provided I may be Veſpaſian's priſoner, who is not only my maſter, but in effect lord of the univerſe. This is what I have in charge to deliver, and whenever I ſhall be found to uſe the divine authority, to countenance a fraud, make an example of me." Now in all this we have not one word of thoſe predictions relating to the Meſſiah, which Joſephus, in his famous teſtimony concerning Chriſt, declares to be very numerous; but of one only concerning the taking of Jeruſalem, and the holy houſe, when the temple ſhould become four ſquare; and one only which foretold, that about that time a very great potentate ſhould ariſe out of Judæa.

This laſt prediction the other wiſe men then interpreted as one of Jewiſh extraction; but Joſephus of Veſpaſian, who was firſt proclaimed emperor when he was in Judæa, without the leaſt intimation that he thought him to be the Meſſiah of the Jews. All the Jews, with one conſent, ever expected that their Meſſiah was not only to ariſe in Judæa, and that of Jewiſh parents in general, but to be of the ſeed of David, and of the town of Bethlehem, where David was to be a great prophet, like Moſes, and to come peculiarly for the ſalvation, and not the deſtruction, of Iſrael, with many other characters intirely inconſiſtent with Veſpaſian. To what particular oracles, or predictions, Joſephus referred, is hard to determine, ſince he does not name them. I ſuppoſe, with Reland, that the firſt of them might be Dan. ix. 26, 27, as then read and interpreted by the Jews; as alſo, that the ſecond was no other than the famous prophecy of Balaam, that "a ſtar ſhould ariſe out of Jacob, and a ſceptre out of Iſrael," &c. Numb. xxiv. 17, 18, 19, Balaam being ever conſidered as a true prophet by Joſephus.

Joſephus applies the latter prediction to Veſpaſian.

We ſhall here endeavour to vindicate the ſame Joſephus from another imputation, which hath been laid upon him, viz. that when in his ſecond book againſt Apion, he makes a compariſon between Moſes the Jewiſh legiſlator and Minos, with other old heathen legiſlators, he inſinuates, that though Moſes artfully pretended to a divine revelation, for the laws he gave the Iſraelites, as did the others as to their own laws; yet that this was only in the way of a pious fraud, and that he did not himſelf believe that any ſuch divine revelation was made to him." This is, I ſuppoſe, a new hypotheſis, that our Joſephus, after all his zeal for Moſes, and for the Moſaic laws, ſhould ſtill believe him to be no better than a direct cheat and impoſtor. And, as I ſuppoſe this hypotheſis to be intirely new, ſo do I venture to affirm, and that upon no ſmall acquaintance with the writings of Joſephus, that the hypo-

Vindication of Joſephus from an imputation of Apion concerning Moſes.

theſis is intirely falſe, and contrary to the whole drift and tenor of Joſephus throughout his writings.

This author begins his Antiquities with this moſt true and uſeful obſervation, that Moſes did not act as did the heathen ſages; he did not found a government on human contrivance, to be guided by political maxims; but laid his foundation on the belief of the being, attributes, and providence of the one true God, the Creator and Governor of the whole world, and in the fear of that God being deeply impreſſed on the minds of the Iſraelites, through a perſuaſion that he gave them the laws by which they were to be governed, and that, in conſequence, thoſe who broke them would incur his diſpleaſure, and conſequently be miſerable.

His belief and defence of the Scripture.

Joſephus always appears to give firm credit to the moſt difficult parts of the ſacred books, and aſſures you every Jew was brought up in that profound veneration for them, that they were always ready to yield up their lives, rather than contradict them. He ſtill gives his aſſent to the fall of Adam, the tranſlations of Enoch and Elijah; to the deluge of Noah; to the long lives of the patriarchs; to the burning of Sodom, &c. as thoſe accounts ſtand in the ſacred writings; as alſo to the ſcripture prophecies, when they frequently occur, with the obſervation of their conſtant competitions, all along afterwards, even down to his own time. He pleads the accuracy of the prophet Daniel's predictions, as compared with their completions, and wonders how the Epicureans can bear up againſt ſuch evidence for a Divine Providence. He thinks Moſes ſo fully inſpired, that he takes the account in Deuteronomy of his death, and unknown place of his burial, not to have been added by others afterwards, as expoſitors ſince have done, but written by himſelf prophetically beforehand. He frequently declares his belief in good and bad angels, or demons, and their concern with mankind, as alſo in divine and prophetic dreams ſometimes afforded eminent perſons, and profeſſes to have had ſuch dreams or divine communications himſelf; of which we have produced a remarkable example about Veſpaſian's ſucceſſion to the Roman empire, before any in Judæa knew the death of Nero himſelf, much leſs of the ſucceſſions and deaths of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, who came between them, the truth of which is alſo fully atteſted by Suetonius and Dio the heathen hiſtorians.

Confirms their truth and divinity from heathen teſtimonies.

He has given us a large and valuable collection of the moſt ancient and authentic heathen teſtimonies, ſtrongly confirming the truth and divinity of the ſacred books of the Old Teſtament, which he was enabled to do by the vaſt number of ancient Pagan writers which he peruſed and quoted. He had, indeed, contrary to the body of his own nation, moſt liberal notions as to freedom of inquiry among all ſects whatſoever, was utterly averſe to all tyranny, perſecution, and oppreſſion, of mankind, and was for giving all ſober men of every party liberty to think freely, and ſpeak freely for themſelves, as they thought proper, without taking offence at one another: yet do his ſentiments always go along with the ſacred books and the ſacred hiſtory. Nay, what is moſt of all remarkable, this was all ſaid and done by Joſephus, under the moſt unpromiſing circumſtances of himſelf and his nation poſſible; or, when Jeruſalem with its temple and temple worſhip were utterly deſtroyed, and when he himſelf was become a captive at Rome under idolators. At this very time he firmly retained his faith in God, in Moſes, and in the prophets, and even then ſaid plainly, that Daniel the Jewiſh prophet had long ago foretold that deſtruction of Jeruſalem by the Romans which he ſaw, as did Jeſus of Nazareth interpret that prophet alſo, Matt. xxiv. 15. Mark xiii. 14. Nay, he farther intimated to obſerving readers, that the Meſſiah of the Jews (or Jeſus of Nazareth) the ſtone cut out of the mountain in the ſame prophet, would in time break that Roman monarchy in pieces, and ſet up a better kingdom, which ſhould endure for ever. See Dan. ii. 45.

Should any be ſtill offended with Joſephus's frequent permiſſion of his heathen readers to determine as they ſhould think proper concerning many of thoſe miracles which he relates from the Jewiſh Scriptures, as if he himſelf therefore doubted of their truth and reality, which has been, and may be a common objection againſt him; I muſt beg liberty to adduce in his vindication the very oppoſite words of the faithful, accurate, and judicious Reland, who has the following note upon one of Joſephus's remarkable expreſſions of this nature, I mean that concerning the miraculous paſſage of the Iſraelites over the Red Sea. The expreſſion is, "Let every one judge and determine as he pleaſes," and this is the note.

Reland's vindication of Joſephus.

"Joſephus (ſays Reland) does not, by this way of ſpeaking, ſignify that he doubted whether what was ſaid of the paſſage of the Iſraelites through the Red Sea were true or not; but he only uſes theſe words in writing to the Gentiles, that if this appeared incredible to them, they might enjoy their own liberty of belief, and not be thereby deterred from reading farther what he was to deliver; for that he himſelf did not doubt of this is ſufficiently apparent from the manner of his narration, and from his own teſtimony, that he took it out of the ſacred volumes. He uſes the ſame expreſſion after he had ſaid, that it was falſely believed that Moſes and the Iſraelites were expelled Egypt for leproſy. Is it therefore to be inferred, that he intended to ſuggeſt this alſo was uncertain? This is no other than the very calumny which Joſephus himſelf confutes and expoſes in his firſt book againſt Apion. He thus ſpeaks, when he relates the aſcent of Moſes to Mount Sinai, and with the ſame concluſion ends his third book of Antiquities, where he treats of the divinity of the laws of Moſes. He alſo uſes the ſame words where he relates the age of Noah, which he did in the firſt book, and produces examples from profane hiſtory, that the thing may appear more proba-

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ble to the Gentiles. In fine, he uſes this expreſſion on divers other occaſions: "But while he is ſo frequently wont to introduce this phraſe or mode of ſpeaking in his books of Antiquities, I do not remember, that I have once met with them in his books of the Jewiſh wars. I apprehend the cauſe of his ſo frequently introducing the expreſſions alluded to, in the books of Antiquities, to be, that he wrote thoſe books for the uſe of the Gentiles; while the others were for certain written for the uſe of thoſe of his own nation that dwelt beyond the Euphrates. I might confirm this interpretation from other writers, but I think I have already rendered the matter plain beyond a doubt."

There is no doubt that the obſervations of this profeſſor, where he intimates that Joſephus never uſed the expreſſion, "Let every one judge and determine as he pleaſes," concerning the miracles of the Old Teſtament, in his ſeven books of the wars of the Jews, are certainly true; for having read thoſe books over ſeveral times with care and attention, the ſame obſervation has occurred to me. As to any pretence of forgery, which it has been ſuppoſed ſome catholic chriſtian might here have been guilty of with regard to the teſtimony of Joſephus concerning Chriſt, and that as early as the days of Euſebius, if not of Euſebius himſelf; I muſt aver it is the effect of the groſſeſt ignorance and partiality, and by no means chargeable upon this reſpectable author, who is almoſt univerſally allowed to pay the ſtricteſt regard to truth in all his writings.

REFLECTIONS
ON THE ACCOUNTS OF
TACITUS AND *SUETONIUS*,
Concerning divers EVENTS relative to the JEWISH NATION.

Tacitus favourable to Joſephus's Hiſtory.

THEY who have read, or may be diſpoſed to read, the annals of Tacitus, the beſt writer of his age, muſt obſerve the great regard he had to the hiſtory of Joſephus, while though he never names him, as he very rarely does any of thoſe Roman authors, whence he derives other parts of his hiſtory, yet does it appear that he refers to the different books of the Jewiſh Wars, very frequently in the courſe of a few pages, and almoſt always depends on his accounts of the affairs of the Romans and Parthians, as well as of the Jews, during the ſpace of upwards of 200 years, to which thoſe books extend. Speaking of the origin of the Jews (liber v. cap. ii.), he writes,

His account of the origin of the Jews.

"There are thoſe who report, that they were Aſſyrians, who wanting land, got together, and obtained part of Egypt, and ſoon after ſettled themſelves in cities of their own in the lands of the Hebrews, and the parts of Syria that lay nearer to them." This account comes neareſt the truth of all his others, and is moſt probably derived from Joſephus, though diſguiſed by himſelf.

Further quotations from Tacitus.

Cap. III. "Many authors agree, that when an infectious diſtemper broke out in Egypt, and made men's bodies impure, Bacchoris their king went to the oracle of Jupiter (Ammon) and begged he would grant him ſome relief againſt this evil, and that he was enjoined to purge his nation of them, and to baniſh this kind of men into other countries, as hateful to the gods." This ſtory alſo Tacitus might have out of Joſephus, who at large confutes the like ſtory, as publiſhed by Lyſimachus and Manethon in his 1ſt book againſt Apion, very particularly obſerving, that the gods are angry, not at bodily imperfections, but at wicked practices. Again,

Cap. V. "Accordingly, they have no images in their cities, much leſs in their temples; they never grant this piece of flattery to kings, or this kind of honour to emperors." Theſe conceſſions were to be learned from Joſephus, and almoſt only from him; out of whom therefore I conclude Tacitus took the fineſt part of his character of the Jews. Again,

Cap. VI. "The limits of Judæa eaſterly are bounded by Arabia. Egypt lies on the ſouth: on the weſt are Phœnicia and the great ſea. They have a proſpect of Syria on their north quarter, or at ſome diſtance from them." See the chorography of Joſephus in the 3d Book of the Wars, whence moſt probably Tacitus framed this abridgment. It comes in both authors naturally, before Veſpaſian's firſt campaign. Again,

Cap. VII. "Not far from this lake are thoſe plains, which are related to have been of old, fertile,

tile, and to have had many cities full of people." This is exactly according to Josephus, and must have been taken from him in the place forecited, and that particularly because it is peculiar to him, so far as I know, in all antiquity. The rest thought the cities were in the very same place where now the lake is, but Josephus and Tacitus say, they were only in its neighbourhood.

Cap. VIII. "In that city (Jerusalem) there was a temple of immense wealth: in the first parts that were fortified is the city itself, next it the royal palace. The temple is inclosed in its most inward accesses. A Jew can come no farther than the gates; all but the priesthood are excluded from the threshold." All this is in Josephus. See his three descriptions of the temple of Jerusalem; Antiq. Books 8th and 15th.

Cap. X. On the death of Cestius Gallus, whether it comes by fate, or that he was weary of life, is uncertain, &c. Josephus says nothing of the death of Cestius: so Tacitus seems to have known nothing in particular about it. "When Vespasian was a very young man, it was promised him that he should arrive at the highest pitch of fame. But what first of all seemed to confirm the omen, was his triumphs and consulships, and the glory of his victory over the Jews. When he had once obtained these, he believed it was portended that he should come to the empire." Josephus takes notice in general of these omens of Vespasian's advancement to the empire, and distinctly adds his own remarkable prediction of it also. Book III. and IV. of the Wars.

Citation from Josephus.

Book V. Chap. I. "At the beginning of the same year, Titus Cæsar was pitched upon by his father to finish the conquest of Judæa; and while he and his father were private persons, Titus was celebrated for his martial conduct, and acted now with greater vigour and hopes of reputation: the kind inclinations both of the provinces and the armies striving one with another who should most encourage him." The character of Titus in this section agrees exactly with the history of Josephus upon all occasions, as a variety of passages in the Roman do with the Jewish historian also.

Whether Suetonius ever read the works of Josephus or Tacitus.

As there are in Suetonius several passages in common with Josephus and Tacitus, since he lived at the same city of Rome with them; was about twelve or thirteen years younger than Tacitus, and by consequence little more than thirty years younger than Josephus; it may be worth our while to examine whether he gives us any indications that he had read the works of Josephus or Tacitus? Now we may take notice, that Suetonius never names Tacitus at all, but that he names Josephus once, as having foretold Vespasian's coming to the empire, and touches both upon the Jews and Christians. He informs us, that "The Jews raised a tumult at Rome, under Chrestus in the days of Claudius, and were thence banished by him." He says farther, that "Nero inflicted punishments on the Christians, as a superstitious and pernicious sect of men then lately arisen." He says moreover, that "Josephus, one of the captive nobility amongst the Jews, did affirm most constantly, when he was put into bonds, that he should be loosed by Vespasian, but not till he was emperor." He also fully attests to the antiquity and uninterrupted duration of that opinion, that "some who should arise out of Judæa at this time, should obtain the empire over the world," and supposes with both Josephus and Tacitus, that "such prediction was fulfilled in a Roman emperor" (Vespasian). From all these passages it is natural to suppose that Suetonius had seen Tacitus at least, if not Josephus himself, when he wrote his twelve Cæsars. Yet because he supposes Chrestus to be alive, and at the head of a Jewish tumult at Rome in the days of Claudius, which was impossible, one would think, in any one that had read either Josephus or Tacitus, who both attest that he was put to death in Judæa under Tiberius; and because he says not one word of that remarkable history, concerning the statue of Caius, which Petronius was commanded to set up in the temple at Jerusalem, which is so express in Tacitus, and so largely set forth in Josephus, and of which we have another account in the treatise called Philo's Legation to Caius; I rather think he never read these authors, or at least did not think fit to follow either of them. Nor does the reason appear to me why Suetonius should in one place write the name of our Saviour *Christ* with the other ancients in the west, and yet with Josephus and Tacitus, write the name of his followers, with the other Jews, and the heathens in the east, *Christians*.

Dion Cassius.

With respect to that judicious historian Dion Cassius, though he lived at Rome, and had many testimonies of Josephus, yet did he not write till the reign of Alexander Severus, and gives us so few indications that he had ever read Josephus, that I have no occasion to treat here particularly about him.

Strabo.

Strabo, that excellent geographer and historian, lived about half a century earlier than Josephus, and is several times cited by him, and therefore could not himself see the writings of Josephus. It may be worth our notice here, that Strabo's geography, which has errors concerning Judea, and is still extant, is but once cited by Josephus, but that his histories, which are ten times cited, are lost, and so cannot be compared with the quotations. When Trogus Pompeius, who was epitomized by Justin, lived, is not exactly known, but most probably a considerable time before Josephus, so that he could not cite him either. However, it appears manifestly, that when Josephus wrote his Antiquities, his own Life, and his books against Apion, he understood the geography and history of his own country much better than either Strabo, Tacitus, Suetonius, Dion Cassius, or any other foreign writers.

Scaliger.

Several later and lesser critics, who have preferred the Greek and Roman profane historians and writers to the Jewish, and particularly to Josephus, should have learned more candour and modesty from their great father Joseph Scaliger, when

when, after all his inquiries, he ſolemnly pronounced that "Joſephus was the moſt diligent and greateſt lover of truth of all writers," and is not afraid to affirm, that "it is more ſafe to believe him, not only as to the affairs of the Jews, but alſo as to thoſe that are foreign to them, than all the Greek and Latin writers, and that becauſe his fidelity and compaſs of learning are every where conſpicuous." To this aſſertion of Scaliger we are obliged to aſſent, as the proper reſult of our remarks on this ſubject.

The Jews and

After all that has been advanced, let the guilty Jews, ſince the days of Joſephus, and the guilty heretics that followed Simon Magus, bear their own burden of forgery, corruption, and interpolation of antient hiſtories and antient records; for they too plainly and undeniably deſerve it. But let not Joſephus, or the innocent Chriſtians, before antichriſtianiſm and popery, bear any ſuch burthen; for ſo far as we can judge, and we ſpeak it upon full examination, they have the leaſt reaſon to bear it of any part of mankind whatever, from the beginning of the world to the preſent time.

Papiſts chargeable with forgery, &c.

THE HISTORY OF THE JEWS: CONTINUED

From the Time of JOSEPHUS to the Preſent, including a Space of many Centuries.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

Remarks on the diſperſion of the Jews.

THERE is no circumſtance more remarkable amongſt all the events of this tranſitory ſtate, than the diſperſion of the Jews over the face of the whole earth; and their continuing a diſtinct and ſeparate body amidſt the various nations, people, and languages, whither they have been driven. The hiſtory of nations does not furniſh us with any thing ſimilar; and we are obliged to look to the fulfilment of the prophecy relative to this peculiar people, and there to find the cauſe of their wonderful ſituation, which is exhibited as a conſtant and living miracle before our eyes. Chriſtians of the preſent day have this additional proof of the divinity and excellence of their religion: not only Moſes, and the prophets; not only Chriſt, and his apoſtles; but every ſon and daughter of Abraham whom they meet in the ſtreets, corroborates the teſtimony, that the *Bible is true*. Notwithſtanding their poverty and diſtreſs, and the various calamities to which the modern Jews are ſubject, they remain ſeparate and detached, waiting the fulfilment of the reſidue of prophecy in their behalf; waiting for the accompliſhment of thoſe purpoſes of mercy reſerved for them as the deſcendents of the choſen and elect of God.

Their wonderful preſervation.

Whilſt other religions depend upon the policy and temporal proſperity of princes and ſtates; whilſt they triumph under the protection of conquerors, and decay with monarchies that were their defence; the Jews, though perſecuted for ſuch an aſtoniſhing length of time, ſtill ſubſiſt, and their numbers do not apparently decreaſe. They ſubſiſt, though perſecuted by the ſeverity of royal edicts, and though numberleſs corporeal puniſhments have been invented for their deſtruction. In addition to this, multitudes of people of different nations have been excited to oppoſe them, whoſe cruelties have exceeded even thoſe of princes and of ſtates. Kings and their armies, princes and their ſubjects, have united in their deſign of extirpating this people from the face of the earth: but they have failed in their attempts; and the more they have been perſecuted, the firmer has their eſtabliſhment been, till in the preſent day, in which they ſeem to enjoy a perfect tranquillity, and are protected by thoſe princes, and under thoſe governments, which were formerly their bittereſt foes; and theſe poor, deſpiſed, perſecuted outcaſts, ſurvive the very monarchies which once oppoſed and oppreſſed them, but now exiſt only in name.

Some of them to be met with in all countries.

The diſperſion of the Jews is general, and hardly any part of the globe is deſtitute of ſome of the deſcendents of Abraham. They abound in the eaſt; and particularly in the empire of China, where they are thought to be the deſcendents of the ten tribes who

were led into captivity. They are at this time diſperſed over moſt of the nations in the eaſt, over Europe, over Africa, and many of them now inhabit the various parts of America: ſome opulent families reſide in the Weſt Indies; and the laws lately made in their favour on the Continent, may perhaps in time intitle them to a voice in the National Aſſembly of France. The Jews are ſo diſſeminated through all the commercial parts of the world, that they are become a channel of communication between them, and form a conſiderable part of that great maſs of mankind which are knit together in one general correſpondence. It is even imagined that they are now as numerous as when they proſpered in the land of Canaan; and if this hypotheſis be true, it is a ſtriking confirmation of the magnitude of the miracle above alluded to, eſpecially when we conſider the dreadful ſlaughter made of them under ſome of the Roman emperors; the many hundreds of thouſands which have periſhed in war, and the innumerable maſſacres made of them by the Turks and the Chriſtians: I mean thoſe of the latter only in name; ſince it is contrary to the genius of the pacific religion of Jeſus ever to oppreſs, and much more ſo to put to death, any one on account of his faith, for which he is ſolely accountable to his Maker.

Their exiſtence as a ſeparate people an argument in favour of Chriſtianity.

Their numbers, their diſperſion, their adherence to the law of Moſes, are certainly among the ſtrongeſt arguments in ſupport of the Chriſtian faith; becauſe they themſelves are the repoſitories of thoſe writings which tend to their own confuſion, and they altogether ſupply a cloud of witneſſes in atteſtation of the truth of holy writ: their diſperſion ſpreads theſe witneſſes into every part of the globe, and their adherence to their religion renders their teſtimony unqueſtionable. Had the whole people of Iſrael been converted to Chriſtianity, we ſhould have concluded that the prophecies which relate to Chriſt were cunningly deviſed fables, and have eſteemed them as fallacious as the writings of the Sybils, or the pretended myſteries of the Druids. But as theſe are general obſervations, we therefore proceed to give a conciſe and complete review of their hiſtory, from the taking of Jeruſalem to the preſent æra.

Further Account of the JEWS, from the taking of JERUSALEM by TITUS.

Their hiſtory from the taking of Jeruſalem by the Romans.

AFTER the capture of their principal city, there remained no ſhadow of authority to this wretched people. Domitian, who was covetous to exceſs, did all in his power to oppreſs them with the moſt grievous and weighty taxes; Judæa was made tributary to the Romans by Pompey, though ſome exceptions were made in favour of the Jews by Julius Cæſar.

The modern Jews, in order to raiſe the departed glory of their nation, pretend that many learned men ſurvived the ruin of the temple; and certainly ſome ornaments to their country are to be found amidſt the general devaſtation that enſued.

Their violent and fruitleſs attempts to emancipate themſelves.

Under the emperor Trajan, the Jews made ſeveral unwarrantable, as well as ill-timed attempts, to rebel againſt his government. Exaſperated at their preceding misfortunes, they carried in their turn cruelty and barbarity to a dreadful pitch: they began at Cyrene, a city of Lybia, where they had been ſettled a conſiderable time. They gained ſome advantages over the Egyptians; but the fugitives, eſcaping to Alexandria, carried with them a thirſt of revenge, and put to death all the Jews that were there. Thoſe of Cyrene, enraged with a repriſal they had ſo juſtly deſerved, fell into the greateſt fury, and, being headed by Andrea, ravaged the plain country, and made a dreadful havock of the inhabitants of Lybia. This city was ſo depopulated by the maſſacre which the Jews made in the beginning of the war, that the emperor was under the neceſſity of ſending a colony to replace the ſlaughtered inhabitants.

In Meſopotamia.

Theſe diſorders did not intirely ſtop here, news having arrived of freſh diſturbances in Meſopotamia. The fate of Egypt threw the inhabitants of this government into a conſternation, as they dreaded the ſame calamity; but, in order to diſpel their fears, Trajan ſent Lucius Quietus with an army, which quelled the ſedition, by putting to death a vaſt number of the Jews, which intimidated the reſt.

An horrid maſſacre by the Jews in Cyprus.

In the iſland of Cyprus, a new ſtorm aroſe. The Jews in this iſland began with the maſſacre of two hundred and forty thouſand inhabitants. Their own hiſtorians do not diſſemble this action, but ſwell the number of the dead inſtead of abating it; for they tell you, that the noiſe of the inſurrections elſewhere arriving at Gophri, that is to ſay Cyprus, the Jews, who were very numerous in this country, fell upon all the heathens, and made ſuch a general maſſacre, that not one of them remained. "Which obliged Trajan to ſend Adrian, the general of his forces, againſt them, who ſubdued them; and afterwards the Romans publiſhed an edict, abſolutely prohibiting the Jews acceſs to this iſland."

The wretched ſtate of the Jews under Adrian.

The above-mentioned calamities might be ſaid to be only the beginning of the ſorrows of the Jews, which were at length completed by Adrian, who reduced them to ſuch an abject ſtate of wretchedneſs, that to obtain the ordinary means of ſubſiſtence, they were under a neceſſity of having recourſe to the fraud of magic and interpretation of dreams.

No other evidence need be adduced than that of the emperor Adrian himſelf, who ſays, he ſaw not one Jew in Egypt, but what was a mathematician; which name, though at preſent ſo honourable for uſeful diſcoveries by thoſe who apply to this ſtudy, was at that time odious, becauſe the mathematicians were generally deemed wizards.

Various cauſes of the rebellion.

Authors differ in their accounts of the cauſe of the rebellion againſt Adrian. They ſay, it was the cuſtom in Judæa to plant a

cedar

cedar at the door of the houſes where a ſon was born, and to ſet a pine-tree upon the birth of a daughter. Theſe trees grew till the time of marriage, and then they cut them down to make a bed for the married couple. The princeſs, Adrian's daughter, travelling in Judæa, her chariot broke, and her officers had the inſolence to cut down one of theſe trees planted before a houſe, wherewith they mended the chariot. But the relations and neighbours, provoked by this action, mutinied, and maſſacred the princeſs's retinue, who, being enraged, obliged the emperor to take arms, and ſubdue ſo fierce a nation.

Chryſoſtom's relation.

Chryſoſtom aſſerts, that the Jews, who always, from their prejudices, preſerved their own maxims, have three times attempted to rebuild the temple, and that their firſt effort to reſtore their republic was under Adrian; that they rebelled againſt him, without reflecting on the conſequences, whom, with all their efforts, it was impoſſible to conquer: that this prince having ſubdued them, placed his ſtatue where Jeruſalem was, and knowing that this monument of victory would not laſt for ever, ordered that the city ſhould bear his name, which was ſtill obſerved, ſince in his time it was called Ælia. Chryſoſtom has treated this event with no other degree of preciſion; for if he believed that the Jews deſigned to reſtore their temple under Adrian, he is deceived, ſince they made no motion towards it; and the firſt attempt aſcribed to them is evidently falſe. The ſame muſt be ſaid of the ſecond, if he thought the Jews went to re-eſtabliſh their republic. It is not even true, that they attempted to rebuild Jeruſalem. Moreover, Ælia had been built before the rebellion. Nor did Jeruſalem ſtill go by the name of Adrian; for it was ſo called at the council of Nice; but Conſtantine having built temples in this city, and chriſtianity being grown triumphant there, it reſumed its antient name of Jeruſalem. Euſebius, who had called it Ælia in his hiſtory, always ſtyles it Jeruſalem in the life of Conſtantine, when he ſpeaks of the edifices that this prince had raiſed there.

Two real cauſes of the inſurrection.

Two cauſes are aſſigned for the great rebellion under Adrian. 1. This prince had forbidden them, like Domitian and Nerva, to be circumciſed. Spartan ſays it, and I know not how the expreſs teſtimony of an author can be conteſted, who lived under Diocleſian. Modeſtinus obſerves alſo, that the Jews, addreſſing themſelves to Antoninus, he permitted them to circumciſe only their own children, and forbad doing it to any perſon of another religion under heavy penalties. Secondly, There is a law forbidding all the Roman citizens to be circumciſed like the Jews, or to cauſe their ſlaves to be circumciſed, upon pain of baniſhment, and awarding death to the phyſicians that ſhould do it. It alſo baniſhes and condemns ſometimes to death the Jews that cut the children of another religion. Did the Jews attempt to circumciſe ſtrangers, in order to increaſe their numbers, whereby to go on afterwards more effectually in the reſtoration of their commonwealth, as St. Chryſoſtom has ſaid? Some great men have ſaid it after him. But it is not probable they believed, that the converted Roman citizens, or their ſlaves, could make up a conſiderable army to reſtore their ſtate. The Roman proſelytes were never ſo numerous as to poſſeſs them with this conceit. Theſe edicts were given only to prevent any changes of religion, which now-and-then happened at Rome, and ſcandalized the heathens. Beſides, Antoninus licenſed them to circumciſe themſelves, after his war with them. This prince being weary of their rebellion, and ſeeing, that denying them this cuſtom exaſperated them, yielded ſomething to pacify them: but they were not then in a condition to proſelyte ſufficient numbers to form armies, and reſtore their commonwealth. Adrian, who had forbidden them circumciſion, offended the Jews in one of the principal acts of their religion. It was robbing them of the ſeal of the covenant, the mark that diſtinguiſhed them from the heathens, and the grace of God, which they thought annexed to this cuſtom. And therefore, it is no ſurpriſing thing that they ſhould mutiny, when they found themſelves deprived of this ceremony, to which they were ſo ſtrongly attached.

A colony ſent to Jeruſalem before the war.

Adrian alſo had ſent a colony to Jeruſalem, and built a city upon its ruins, to which he gave his own name, and conſecrated it to Jupiter Capitolinus. The ſecond cauſe of the war is as much diſputed as the firſt, ſince Euſebius ſays, that the colony was not ſent to Jeruſalem till after the taking of Bither. But Dion ſays, this colony was the cauſe of their rebellion, becauſe they could not bear to have ſtrangers come and live in their city, and worſhip ſtrange gods there, ſo that we cannot doubt of the truth of the fact. To reconcile Euſebius and Dion, it appears that the emperor's firſt deſign was croſſed by the Jews' rebellion before it was fully executed, becauſe the Jews had expelled the new inhabitants; though the emperor accompliſhed it when he had ſubdued them. So that he had ſent the colony before the war, as Dion affirms; and he completed his project, when the rebellion was quelled, as Euſebius relates. The ambition of Barchochebas, who knew how to make his advantage of the diſturbance which theſe two circumſtances created in the minds of the people, fully determined the nation to proſecute the war.-- But to ſpeak of the falſe Meſſiahs that have deceived their nation. The time was come, in which impoſtors appeared with full aſſurance. Gamaliel had ſeen two of them periſh, and was ſo moved with the ill ſucceſs of their enterprize, that he would not have the progreſs of Chriſtianity oppoſed, being perſuaded that Providence would bring the deſign to nought if it was not from heaven: "Theudas, ſaid he, before theſe days roſe up, who was ſlain, and all, as many as obeyed him, were brought to nought. After this man roſe up Judas of Galilee, in the days of the taxing, and he alſo periſhed: and now I ſay unto you, if this counſel be of men it will come to nought." The Chriſtians, from an high ſenſe of his great moderation and piety, afterwards canonized him. St. Luke, in the 5th chapter of the Acts of the Apoſtles, particularly ſpeaks

Impoſtors that preceded Barchochebas.

Some mentioned by St.

of

Luke in Acts 5.

of the impoſtors Theudas and Judas of Galilee, whom Gamaliel mentions to the people, as having practiſed their arts heretofore to deceive; from which (though his deſign was to invalidate the apoſtle's doctrine) it is evident ſuch deluſions had been practiſed. But the

Defeat of Judas.

Romans ſent ſome forces againſt Judas, and he miſerably periſhed. Alexander, Fadus's ſucceſſor, perſecuted his children, and cauſed them to be murdered. His followers maintained their maſter's doctrine with an unſhaken confidence, in the midſt of the moſt cruel tortures. They ſubſiſted, notwithſtanding the violence that was offered them after the taking of Jeruſalem, in a very ancient caſtle, where they were ſhut up; and the fugitives carried this doctrine into Egypt, where it occaſioned new maſſacres.

Barchochebas the arch impoſtor.

Afterwards, other impoſtors ſtarted up, and, with the ſame fallacious pretenſions, endeavoured to delude the credulous multitude; but the moſt impious, daring, and injurious, was Coziba, or Barchochebas. He was a robber, like the reſt, who hoped to inrich himſelf with plunder, and acquire ſome authority in his nation by his outrages againſt the Romans. It is pretended that there were two impoſtors of this name, the grandfather and grandſon; and their hiſtory is thus related by the Jews. "Coziba I. was elected king by the Jews two years after the ruin of the firſt temple, and died at Bither, a city in the neighbourhood of Jeruſalem, which was the capital of his empire. His ſon the Red ſucceeded him; and afterwards reigned his grandſon Romulus, who was called Coziba. The Jews aſſembled about him, and acknowledged him for the Meſſiah. The emperor Adrian, having notice of it, came with a numerous army, took Bither, and deſtroyed a multitude of Jews in the ſeventy-third year after the ruin of the temple." Hence it is concluded, that the reign of the two Coziba's laſted one and twenty years. Some extend it much farther, and make the firſt Coziba's reign under Domitian. The ancient chronicle of the Jews. on the contrary, aſſigns but two years and a half to Coziba's reign.

There has been only one Coziba or Barchocheba.

Some have abſurdly ſuppoſed that there have been two impoſtors of the name of Coziba or Barchocheba. Moſt of the Jews acknowledge but one, and they are right. For he that induced the Jews to rebellion towards the end of Trajan's reign, was not called Barchochebas, but Andrea. Neither did he call himſelf the Meſſiah, and this rebellion was in Egypt; whereas that of Barchochebas happened in Judæa. They were unacquainted with Trajan's genealogy, ſince they ſay, that he ſent Adrian, his ſiſter's ſon, againſt the Jews in Egypt; for Ulpia, Adrian's grandmother, was Trajan's aunt, and theſe two princes were only couſins. They err in making the war with Coziba laſt ſo long, and give him and his heirs and ſucceſſors, a reign of one and twenty years; for his race ended with him, and the war terminated in a little time, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel. They make him periſh in the ſeventy-third year of the ruin of the temple. Adrian was already dead, in the year 141, and the city Bither, by which the war was concluded, had been taken in the eighteenth of Adrian. This chronological error ſuffices to ſhew the miſrepreſentations of the reſt. The author of the chronicle of the Jews is more exact than his commentators; for he makes Coziba to reign but two years and a half, and ſpeaks but of one impoſtor. We muſt, therefore, acknowledge but one Coziba, who took the title of Barchochebas, lived in Adrian's reign, and was the ſource of infinite miſchiefs to this nation. This impoſtor, to facilitate the ſucceſs of his enterpriſe, changed his name, and took that of the Son of the Star, or Barchochebas, in order to have it believed that he was the Star that "Balaam had ſeen afar off." He maintained, that he was one of the ſtars of heaven, ſent to ſuccour the people, and retrieve them from the oppreſſion under which they groaned.

His impoſitions on the people.

Barchochebas alſo made choice of a fore-runner, of the ſame character with himſelf, who was very aſſiſtant to him in theſe deſigns. This was Akiba, whom they ſay deſcended from Sifera, general of the army of Jabin, king of Tyre, and from a Jewiſh mother. He had ſpent forty years upon the plains, in looking to the flocks of a rich citizen at Jeruſalem, called Calba Chuva. His maſter's daughter being in love with him, and unwilling to marry a ſhepherd, adviſed him to apply himſelf to ſtudy. They made a clandeſtine marriage, after which Akiba went and ſpent twelve years in the academy, and brought back with him twelve thouſand ſcholars. His wife adviſed him to return again. He continued ſtill twelve years more, and brought with him twenty thouſand diſciples. His wife came to meet him with her clothes rent, becauſe her father, provoked with her marriage, had diſinherited her; but no ſooner had he ſeen Akiba, than he fell at his feet, revoked his oath, and gave him a great part of his eſtate. He continued teaching and writing books, one whereof is cabaliſtical, and is called Jetſirah; but it muſt be diſtinguiſhed from that which is aſcribed to the Patriarch Abraham, and bears the ſame name. He was ſo learned, as to give an account of the leaſt letter of the law. We find in the Miſnah and the Talmud, a thouſand ſentences aſcribed to him, and which are looked upon as ſo many judicious deciſions. Theſe are the commendations they gave this doctor, who cauſed the deſolation of his country, and ſupported the fraud of an impoſtor. No great weight, therefore, can be laid upon what the Jews relate concerning the birth and death of Akiba, ſince they are ſo perfectly ignorant of the time.

Account of Akiba.

When Akiba's fame was at the height, and he was head of the Sanhedrim, Barchochebas exclaimed, "Behold the Star

Akiba, the fore-runner of Barchochebas, is

that was to come out of Jacob," and make himself his fore-runner. These two impostors, availing themselves of the prejudice of the people, who were for a conquering Messiah, that should deliver them from the Roman yoke, which the last war and Adrian's persecution daily made more insupportable; Barchochebas, who found people disposed to follow him, mustered up an army of 200,000 men, and Bither was chosen for his residence and capital of his kingdom. The Jews called it Bethtar, or the House of Spies, because, after the ruin of Jerusalem, centinels were placed there to spy those that went to Jerusalem, who were accused of courting the Romans' favour, and desiring offices, or of selling their estates, of which they stripped them, by virtue of these calumnies. They even sometimes impeached them to the Romans, under other pretences. Eusebius places this city in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem; but there were two cities of this name, one twelve, and the other fifty-two miles distant from the holy city. Jerom called these two cities Bethoron, and maintains they were built by Solomon, and ruined by the war. Bethoron was given by Pharaoh for a portion to his daughter, when she married Solomon, who restored it to the Levites, in whose partition it lay. But, if we believe the Jews, this is not the true Bither, since one signifies a House of Spies, and the other a House of Liberty. Barchochebas chose this place to receive the royal unction, and afterwards caused money to be coined, declaring himself at the same time the Messiah, and Jewish prince of the nation. He waited to declare war, when the emperor Adrian had left Egypt; but it burst out in the year 134, in the seventeenth of Adrian's reign.

President of the Sanhedrim.

Dion asserts, that Adrian, having sent a colony to Jerusalem, and placed a statue of Jupiter where the temple of God stood, this foreign worship extremely affected the Jews. "However, Adrian's presence, who was then in Egypt, and who went from thence to Syria, stopped them for some time. They contented themselves, during this time, with making imperfect arms, and selling them to the Romans, that they might not employ them against themselves; but they revolted when the emperor was gone."

Opinion of Dion.

Adrian's secretary, Phlegon, has preserved a letter of his master, addressed to Servian the consul. He gives him an account of what he had seen in Egypt, and of the turbulent inclination of its inhabitants, and makes him a present of some vessels, which he had designed for him and his sister. It is easier to know the time of the Jewish war from this letter, than from the medals of the cities of Syria; for it must have been written when the emperor left Egypt or Syria. Servian, to whom this letter was written, was his brother-in-law, since he made him a present in common with his sister and himself. This Servian is called consul, which dignity he had not under Adrian till 134. We must conclude, then, that the emperor left not Egypt and Syria till the beginning of that year, and that his absence the same year instigated the Jews to rebellion. Another heathen historian, quoted by Eusebius, asserts, that the war was in its whole vigour: that Bither, which the rebels had fortified, was taken the tenth of August, in the eighteenth year of Adrian. The war, therefore, began the preceding year, since it was in its vigour, and near its conclusion. The emperor gave his name to the city he had built about the ruins of Jerusalem in the year 136, in which he celebrated his Vicenalia. So that the war began in the year 134, and ended two years after. Buonarotti produces a medal struck by this prince in the eighteenth year of his reign, for having obtained a great victory over the rebels, and driven the Jews from Jerusalem. To this nothing can be objected, but the authority of the Jews quoted by Jerom, who say the war lasted three years and an half.

More genuine proofs of the rise of this war.

At first the Romans seem to have neglected this revolt; as they imagined the Jews had been so effectually humbled by Trajan's wars, that they could hardly be so soon in a condition to oppose them. But when they saw the numbers of the seditious increase, and that they fought with a valour that seemed raised upon despair, that all the robbers of the neighbouring provinces joined them, in hopes of plunder, and that not only Judæa, but all the world was in motion, they were obliged to change their measures. Some think that the emperor marched in person against the rebels, because they observe, that this prince, writing to the senate, had not ventured to preface his letters with the ordinary form, because of the great losses he had sustained in this war; but, on due inquiry, it appears that he carried it on by his generals. Barchochebas, who was superior in troops, at first committed great ravages. Justin Martyr complained, that he only attacked and massacred the Christians, because they would not abjure their religion. His hatred against these professors of religion, and despair of making the Christians embark in his violent measures, who had the same interest as himself to declare against the Romans, might redouble his cruelty. But can it be imagined that the heathens against whom he declared war, and the colony which Adrian had begun to send to Jerusalem, were more humanely treated by this usurper than the Christians? This impostor only favoured his own nation, and treated with the utmost barbarity all others that fell into his hands.

The impostor gains ground at first.

Great ravages committed by Barchochebas.

Eusebius and Syncellus write, that the general, who commanded the army in Judæa against Barchochebas, was called Tinnius Rufus. Adrian, who was not acquainted with the importance of the war, sent him at first a great reinforcement; but this commander being often defeated, he sent for Julius Severus, one of the greatest generals of his age, from Britain. This able commander, deeming it imprudent to engage so powerful an army, he attacked them in parties, straitened them in their camp,

Tinnius Rufus is sent against the rebellious Jews.

cut off their provisions, and, by that means, growing superior, laid siege to Bither, which they made their retreat.

Description of Bither, the impostor's retreat.

The rabbins say, that there were in that city four hundred colleges, in each college four hundred professors, and that each professor of these colleges had four hundred scholars, who, being mustered up, made a great army. They sustained the first efforts of the siege, though they were very badly armed, and unacquainted with discipline. Barchochebas encouraged all his subjects, and executed Tryphon, a famous rabbin, who talked of surrendering. Nevertheless, the city was taken, and Barchochebas was killed. Adrian, to whom they brought his head, was desirous to see his body; but when they attempted to carry it, they found a serpent about his neck, which frightened the bearers, and the prince acknowledged that God alone could kill that man. However, they have since owned the imposture of this man, whom they afterwards called Bachozab, or the son of a lye. The scholars, who had so well defended the place, were bound, with their books, and thrown into the fire. They add, that the slaughter was so great, that more people died in this war than came out of Egypt. Upon one single stone were found the skulls of three hundred children. The inhabitants of these places did not dung their ground for seven years together, being sufficiently fattened by the carcases; therefore they have inserted in their liturgy a hymn appointed for the fast celebrated the eighteenth of the month of Ab, which answers to the months of July and August, in which they call Adrian a second Nebuchadnezzar, and pray God to remember this cruel prince, who destroyed 480 synagogues. As for Akiba, after a very severe imprisonment, he was condemned to a cruel death, and with him, the Jews tell us, died the glory of the Jewish laws.

It is taken, and Barchochebas slain.

This war is attended with horrid massacre and bloodshed.

It is true, Dion represents this war as one of the cruellest that ever was. The Romans were frequently beaten, and lost abundance of good troops. The Jews, who had at that time a profound veneration for Solomon's tomb, saw it fall, and at once the wild beasts entered Jerusalem, which was an omen of the following slaughter. The presage was not insignificant; for five hundred and eighty thousand persons were killed in the battles, and the numbers that perished by famine, misery, or fire, cannot be reckoned. After the taking of Bither, the Jews had still fifty fortified castles, and troops to defend them. It seems also, from a medal that the emperor struck the year following, that he had obtained a victory over them that year; but in reality the resistance was not long, and the leaders being taken off, the rest more easily submitted to the victors.

Some account of the new city of Jerusalem built by Adrian.

The building of Ælia (Jerusalem) was finished by Adrian, and the Jews of St. Jerom's time ridiculously ascribe this work to Ælius Titus, their destroyer. Epiphanius says, that he gave Aquila his brother-in-law the care of these buildings. But this proselyte, who turned Jew, after he had embraced Christianity, had no consanguinity with this prince; nor do we find that he was intrusted with the inspection of these buildings. The circumference of the new city was somewhat different from the old; several places being included in it, that were formerly without the gates: but in the main, they made use of the foundations of the first city. Valesius denies it, and for a reason alledges, that Adrian would be far from rebuilding a city so inimical to the Romans; and favouring the Jews, who had brought upon him such a wretched war. But this prince did not do it in favour to the Jews, he gave it to other inhabitants. And therefore historians observe, that they began to settle a bishop there, who came of heathen race: the design was, to mortify the old inhabitants, by excluding them for ever from their primitive habitation.

Adrian renders Jerusalem odious to the Jews, whom he reduces to great straits.

Adrian had, it seems, prohibited their return for ever; and, to make the city odious, if it were possible, he changed the use of the remaining monuments of old Jerusalem; for he employed the stones that had been used in the building of the temple to make a theatre, and he erected statues of false gods, in the places where the temple formerly stood. And lastly, St. Jerom says, that he caused the image of a hog to be placed over the gate that led to Bethlehem, to shew that the Jews were subject to the power of the Romans: but he is mistaken; the swine was not placed there to indicate the Jews' slavery, but to make them abhor entering into Jerusalem, because they hated this animal, the use of which was forbidden by the law, and they thought the gate was defiled and profaned by this figure.

He causes numbers of Jews to be sold at the public mart.

The more effectually to evacuate the city of its old inhabitants, Adrian caused a great part of them to be sold at the fair of Terebinth. Hegesippus says, that the Terebinth was a tree, that had continued from the creation of the world, under which they met to traffic: but it was the place where Abraham had pitched his tent, and received the angels, which made it venerable. The Jews were exposed to sale there at the price of horses; and those that could not be sold were carried to another fair, which was kept at Gaza. In Jerom's time, they applied to this misery these words: "A cry was heard in Ramah, Rachel weeping for her children;" because their misery and affliction were excessive. This father also applied to the miseries that happened under Adrian this prophecy of Zechariah: "I will feed the flock of slaughter;" because that he had learnt from the tradition and ancient history of the Jews, that this prince had put a great number to death, punished others with the most rigorous severity, and sold them at Terebinth, or carried them

them into Egypt. This father acquaints us with three things: 1. That he had read the traditions and hiſtory of the Jews concerning their calamities, and therefore there muſt have been ſuch at that time. 2. That Terebinth fair ſtill continued; but that the Jews were aſhamed to be preſent at it, becauſe they remembered the uſage of their fathers. He adds, in another place, that the Jews aſſembled, and came in his time to buy of the ſoldiers the liberty of ſeeing Jeruſalem. They could not weep without paying for it. The old men and women were ſeen with tears in their eyes, to repair to the Mount of Olives, and bewail the deſtruction of the temple. The ſoldiers made great advantage of the Jews' veneration for the remains of the holy city, and of Adrian's ſeverity of forbidding their entrance for ever; for they ſold to them, at a dear rate, the ſight of this place, and the liberty of ſtrewing perfumes upon a ſtone there. Jerom aſſures us, that Adrian conveyed part of theſe priſoners to Egypt, where their number was conſiderably augmented.

Adrian ſtamps medals, on concluding the war.

Having thus ſucceſsfully concluded the war in Judæa, Adrian ſtamped medals, on which was ſeen a woman holding two naked children, and ſacrificing upon an altar, with theſe words:

ADVENTUS AUG. JUDÆÆ.

The Arrival of the Emperor in JUDÆA.

Triſtan thought, that the woman who ſacrifices repreſents this ſubdued province, which conſents to become heathen, and to ſacrifice to the falſe gods; and that ſhe brings to the altar two naked children, to ſhew that ſhe renounced circumciſion. The emperor meant rather to ſignify, by the altar and the ſacrifice, that the old religion was aboliſhed in this province, which he had colonied with new inhabitants. We ſee another medal of this ſame prince, where JUDÆA is repreſented as a woman on her knees, giving her hand to the emperor, and three children imploring mercy. One of theſe children is naked. Will it be ſaid, that the deſign of it was to ſhew his not being circumciſed? The medaliſt's intention was to impreſs a monument, repreſenting the ſubmiſſion and deſperate miſery of Judæa, after Barchocheba's defeat.

Their humbled ſtate and condition.

More lenity ſhewn to the Jews of the eaſt.

The Jews in the eaſt were much more fortunate. Trajan had carried the war againſt them as far as Meſopotamia. But Adrian, upon his acceſſion to the throne, having preferred an inglorious peace to a doubtful war, conſented that the Euphrates ſhould be made the boundary of the Roman empire. So that the Jews of this country had no ſhare in this prince's war againſt their nation.

A confederacy of the Jews.

A confederacy had, indeed, been formed of three ſorts of Jews. Some inhabitants of the neighbouring provinces, animated with the hopes of plunder, and the firſt advantageous ſucceſſes, joined their ancient enemies, to fight the Romans. Many Jews of other provinces of the empire, who ſtill breathed after their liberty, and ſought an opportunity of recovering it, laid hold on this. Perhaps, too, ſome came from the remoteſt parts, and from beyond Euphrates, to the ſuccour of their brethren, and, therefore, the number of the dead amounted to above ſix hundred thouſand, which number could not have been found in Judæa alone, after what it had ſuffered under Trajan. Nevertheleſs, it cannot be ſaid that Adrian himſelf carried the war into the eaſt, and paſſed the Euphrates; for he went into his retreat of Tivoly, where he rendered himſelf completely odious, by the exerciſe of the various cruelties he committed.

Hard impoſts laid on the Jews.

This prince alſo added a new degree of miſery to the Jews, by impoſing on them a tribute for the liberty of reading the Bible in Hebrew, and that this tribute was ſtill paid in Tertullian's time; for he ſays, in his apology, that the Jews every ſabbath purchaſed the liberty of reading publickly by a tax they paid. They ſay, that the Jews, that had highly eſteemed the Septuagint verſion, began to abhor it, when they perceived it was more favourable to the Chriſtians than the Hebrews. But Adrian commanded them only to uſe this verſion; ſo that they were forced to pay money to read the Hebrew in the ſynagogues on the ſabbath day.

Antoninus Pius firſt favours the Jews, and afterwards makes war upon them.

The Jews were equally unfortunate in their pretended friends, as in their avowed enemies. Antoninus Pius, who was adopted by Adrian, and raiſed to the higheſt dignities, is repreſented as a valuable friend and patron of the Iſraelites, having himſelf ſubmitted to the rite of circumciſion. However, he always diſſembled his real principles, and was, in reality, devoted to the worſhip of idols. Notwithſtanding this, he openly favoured the Jews, ſtrenuouſly applied himſelf to the ſtudy of their law, and was one of the compoſers of the Miſhnah, which is ſo called from its being a repetition of the Jewiſh laws, rites, and ceremonies. Antoninus was, however, ſoon under the neceſſity of making war upon the Jews, as they rebelled againſt his government. The prohibition of circumciſion, by the emperor Adrian, remained in force; and the Jews were obliged to ſubmit, on account of the immenſe power which he had in his hands. As it may be ſuppoſed, they took every opportunity of breaking through the obligation which militated ſo powerfully againſt their initiatory rites, in proceſs of time they gained ſtrength enough to oppoſe by open arms, and were reſolved to oblige Antoninus to give them this liberty. The Jews were defeated by Antoninus; but he afterwards reſtored to them the privilege of circumciſion, though under certain reſtrictions.

Conference of Juſtin with

At that time, Juſtin Martyr had a conference with Tryphon. The Jews ſpeak

of

the Rabbin Tryphon.

of a famous Rabbin, who was preceptor or colleague with Akiba, called Tryphon; and Dr. Lightfoot thinks it was he that Juſtin Martyr diſputed with. He was not only rich, but charitable; for we are told that Akiba, being employed to take care of the poor, he gave him 4000 gold crowns, which he diſtributed in one day. Though he was a diſciple of Schammy's ſchool, yet he has been eſteemed, and many ſentences of his are preſerved and inſerted in the maxims of the fathers. He ſolicits men to haſten their ſanctification, becauſe of the brevity of human life. God demands it, and the recompence will be conſiderable. Nevertheleſs, he teaches, "That man is not obliged to the performance of the whole law; and provided he does his endeavour to know but one part of it, yet he ſhall receive a great reward."

The ſame perſon teaches, that the name of twelve letters ceaſed to be pronounced at that time. The name of Jehovah is ineffable, becauſe it expreſſes the eſſence of God without ambiguity, whereas the others only make him known by his attributes. There was, moreover, a diſpute among the doctors about the manner of pronouncing it. The prophane, who increaſed their numbers after the death of Simeon the Juſt, abuſed it; and, therefore, they left off pronouncing it. Inſtead of this ineffable name, was ſubſtituted one of twelve letters, which the prieſt uttered in giving the bleſſing to the people. But Tarphon affirms, that one day coming near the prieſt to hear him pronounce his benediction, he perceived that he did not articulate the twelve letters; but that he only muttered, whilſt the brethren ſang; and the reaſon of this change proceeded from the number of the prophane, which was increaſed. They highly commend the wiſdom of this Tarphon, and his knowledge in the law.

Marcus Aurelius's war with the Jews

Marcus Aurelius was naturally of a mild temper, yet this exempted not the Jews from great miſeries during his reign. This prince had ſuch an opinion of them, that as he once paſſed through Judæa in his way to Egypt, he cried out, that he had found people as wicked as the Marcomans and Sarmatians, thoſe barbarous nations, that made continual war, and ravaged a great part of his empire in his reign. Beſides, there were two circumſtances very prejudicial to them. Vologeſus king of Parthia was making warlike preparations at the time that Antoninus died; and he commenced the war a little after his death, by violent incurſions. Severian, the governor of Cappadocia, attempting to oppoſe him, periſhed, with his whole army. Marching afterwards into Syria, the Parthians made terrible deſtruction. The eaſtern Jews, who were ſubject to the Parthians, and enemies to the Romans, joined them, and increaſed the number of their troops. Marcus Aurelius ſent Lucius Verus, his colleague, with the beſt officers of the empire; but he ſtopped at Antioch to relax, and left the war to the management of his generals.

Caſſius, who commanded, beat Vologeſus, and purſued him to his capital Cteſiphon, which he took, and demoliſhed the palace of the kings. Babylon, which ſtill made ſome figure, Meſopotamia, and the lands of the Medes, where there were a great number of Jews, were laid waſte. Seleucia, upon the banks of the Tigris, voluntarily ſurrendered: but the Romans, violating the capitulation, killed four or five hundred thouſand perſons. By a treaty of peace, concluded four years after the beginning of the war, Meſopotamia and Oſrene, however, remained ſubject to the Romans. Thus the Jews of this country were reduced once more under their obedience. Caſſius, who left the eaſt to vanquiſh the Sarmatians, flushed with ſo many exploits and victories, which raiſed him to the rank of heroes, encouraged, as is ſaid, by Fauſtina, Marcus Aurelius's wife, who was for making him an emperor, that ſhe might marry him after her huſband's death, aſſumed the title of emperor in Syria, where he was governor, having firſt ſpread a report, that the throne was vacant by Marcus Aurelius's death. His reign was but a dream, for it laſted but three months and ſix days. However, the Jews, who only waited for an opportunity to riſe, ſeeing the fire kindled in the neighbourhood, added fuel to the flames, by joining with the rebels. Marcus Aurelius pardoned the children of Caſſius, whoſe head had been brought to him, and ſpared the blood of the ſenators, who had engaged in the conſpiracy. He even cauſed his letters to be burnt, that they might not be known. But he could not bear the inſult which the Jews had offered him, and, to puniſh them, he renewed Adrian's laws againſt them. Whether theſe laws were ill executed, particularly in Aſia, where the Jews were numerous, and very remote from the capital; or that they purchaſed the liberty of annoying the Chriſtians, they ſignaliſed themſelves in this country by their hatred. Juſtin Martyr had before charged them with the conſequences of this paſſion, which frequently broke out. But they manifeſted it at Smyrna in Polycarp's martyrdom; for they not only joined their voices with the heathens, in crying, in the theatre, "He is an Atheiſt," but were alſo the moſt vehement round his pile. They perſecuted this great man after his death, by ſoliciting the judge to deny his body to the Chriſtians; but at laſt, the captain of the guards ſeeing the bitter rage of the Jews againſt the dead body, cauſed it to be reduced to aſhes.

Their confederacy with Caſſius puniſhed.

Though theſe commotions might be made by a mutinous rabble, and tolerated by reaſon of the hatred to the Chriſtians; yet it is certain, that the Jews enjoyed great liberty of conſcience at Smyrna; ſince they were preſent at the theatre, and diſtinguiſhed themſelves from the heathens. Moreover, we find ſome foot-

The Jews enjoy liberty at Smyrna.

footſteps of their authority in Phrygia, by the anſwers that an orthodox perſon made to the Montaniſts, who accuſed them of being murderers of the prophets: "Is there one of them that from the origin of their ſect has been perſecuted by the Jews, or killed by the impious? Is there any woman who has been whipped in the ſynagogues or ſtoned?" This author attributes to the Jews the perſecution of the Chriſtians, and the breaches that divided Chriſtianity. He adds the power of ſcourging. The uncontrouled and numerous rabble in Aſia, in Marcus Aurelius's time, purſued the Chriſtians in the ſtreets with ſtones, and ſometimes crucified them. It is even very probable, that Thraſeas, biſhop of Eumenia, or of Emalhiſar in Phrygia Pacatiana, was martyred in this manner. The circumciſed muſt have been numerous in this part of the world, ſince Montanus endeavoured to allure them, by giving the name of Jeruſalem to two little cities of Phrygia, which he looked upon as the principal ſeats of his ſect.

A Jew proſelyte baptiſed with ſand.

About this time, there happened the converſion and unuſual baptiſm of a Jew. A man of this nation travelling in the reign of Marcus Aurelius with Chriſtians in a deſert, was taken with ſuch a violent thirſt, that it was thought he was going to expire. He demanded baptiſm with impatience, which made the Chriſtians uneaſy, as being utterly deſtitute of water. One of them ſupplied the defect, by taking ſand, which he threw upon the Catechumen's body, pronouncing the baptiſmal form. The Jew recovered by this new baptiſm, and marched on to the city of Alexandria. Dionyſius, who was then biſhop there, being informed of the fact, ordered the Jew to be re-baptiſed with water. Nicephorus adds, that ſuch another inſtance happened under Athanaſius, and he has annexed a third example, that fell out in his time at Conſtantinople.

Hegeſippus converted.

But the converſion of Hegeſippus, who lived at that time, ſeems dubious to many. It is agreed that he was a Jew, and that he embraced Chriſtianity; but ſome ſectariſts repreſent him as a kind of half Chriſtian, in not being brought to give up certain tenets he had imbibed from his infancy. Though the truth would not be weakened by the loſs of its defenders, and by the judgment we form at this day of his doctrine, yet we cannot forbear ſaying, that the arguments produced againſt him are very weak: for Euſebius only ſays, that he had publiſhed ſeveral things drawn from the Hebrew and Syriac goſpel, and the unwritten traditions of the Jews. It ſhould, therefore, be concluded, that he continued a Jew, becauſe he uſed the unwritten traditions of the ſynagogue; as it is concluded he was an Ebionite, becauſe he has ſometimes quoted the Hebrew goſpel. Nevertheleſs, nobody denies that he embraced Chriſtianity. Hegeſippus ſays, that he went to Corinth, where the church continued conſtant in the purity of the faith, and that Primus, who was then biſhop of it, gave him great comfort by the diſcourſes they had concerning the truth. From thence he went to Rome, and maintained conſtant communion with the biſhops who held that ſee. The church of Corinth was neither Arian nor Ebionite. Hegeſippus attributes to it the profeſſion of a true faith. He united with this biſhop, and converſed with him about this pure faith: it is, therefore, indiſputable that Hegeſippus was of the ſame religion with the biſhop and the church, whoſe purity of faith he commends, and that he held the doctrine received at Corinth and Rome.

His doctrine unjuſtly calumniated.

We are told by Hegeſippus, that there were traditions among the Jews, and that they were not written in his time. We have reaſon, therefore, to think, that Judah the Saint did not compoſe the Miſnah till Commodus's reign, towards the end of the ſecond century, ſince they were not yet publiſhed in Hegeſippus's time, who lived under Marcus Antoninus. Euſebius had firſt placed him under Adrian; but it ſeems that he diſcovered his error, and corrected it.

Different ſects among the Jews.

Hegeſippus, likewiſe, ſpeaks of four famous ſects among the Jews; the Samaritans, the Phariſees, the Sadducees, and the Eſſenes; to which he adds the Galileans. Theſe were the followers of that famous Judas, who roſe in the days of the taxing made by Auguſtus, and who would not have the emperors acknowledged for their lords, nor tribute paid to them. This ſpirit of ſedition was ſtill in being, and theſe ſectaries were thoſe who had cauſed the terrible rebellions which completed the ruin of the nation. The Hemero-baptiſts are charged by Epiphanius with having incorporated all the errors of the Phariſees and Sadducees; but I do not ſee what reaſon there is for this accuſation; for their name only denotes their care to waſh themſelves every day, or many times in a day. It was a branch of the Phariſees, that Chriſt taxed with fondneſs for waſhings, and who afterwards ſeparated from the body of the ſect to make a particular one, and, perhaps, a more rigid one, in point of waſhings.

The Maſbothæans are ranked by Hegeſippus amongſt the Jewiſh ſects. This ſect aroſe after our Saviour; for they are not known from the goſpel, nor by any more ancient author. We diſcover their true opinion in the apoſtolical conſtitutions: they denied a Providence, and believed that every thing happened by chance: they alſo rejected the doctrine of the immortality of the ſoul. So that the Maſbothæans were a branch of the Sadducees; as the Hemero-baptiſts proceeded from the Phariſees. I know not wherefore it has been thought that their name was borrowed from the ſabbath, which they obſerved more religiouſly than others; for there is no analogy betwixt the terms Maſbothæans and Sabbatarians. It was the character of the heretics of that time to confound languages, and to coin unknown words from them. There were other Maſbothæans, diſciples to Simon Magus, which Theodoret has diſtinguiſhed from the

Jewiſh ſectaries, and with reaſon; for they derived that pedigree from one Maſbothæus, their founder, and may be ranked among Chriſtian heretics.

Other ſects of the Jews noted by Juſtin Martyr.

A very different account was given by Juſtin Martyr, to Tryphon, of the ſects that divided the Jews of his age, though he was cotemporary with Hegeſippus. He paſſes over the Eſſenes in ſilence, as if they were vaniſhed; and I could eaſily believe that Hegeſippus only mentioned them, becauſe they had formerly made a conſiderable ſchiſm in the nation. Juſtin Martyr maintains three ſects, the Geniſts, the Meriſts, and the Helleniſts. It is ſaid, the Geniſts derived their glory, from being the deſcendents of Abraham the Father of the faithful. The Meriſts divided the ſcripture, and did not receive all the prophets, becauſe they were animated by different ſpirits. Theſe Meriſts might be thoſe mentioned by Benjamin of Tudela. He found a ſchiſm at Cairo, becauſe the Jews of Babylon and of the Irack divided the ſcripture differently from thoſe of Syria. The former ſo partitioned it, as to read it all in one year, the others multiplying the ſections read it but in three years. Scaliger imagined that the ſchiſm was between the Greeks and Babylonians, becauſe he had read in Benjamin the word Igrikim, which he tranſlated "the Greeks." But Conſtantine the emperor, who publiſhed and tranſlated his travels, read it *irræakin*. The Jews of the Irack were, perhaps, Hegeſippus's Meriſts, who began to ſeparate about the manner of reading and dividing the ſcripture.

Sect of the Helleniſts.

The Helleniſts began alſo to ſet up a new ſect, of which it will not be amiſs to trace the original. After the conqueſts of Alexander the Great, a diſtinction was made of the Helleniſt Jews, which is expreſſed in great characters in the goſpel. This name was given them, becauſe they were mingled with the Greeks, ſpoke their language, and read the holy ſcriptures in it, after they were tranſlated. We obſerve this only difference between them and the other Jews, with whom otherwiſe they partook in the ſame religion, ſacrifices, and ceremonies.

According to Scaliger, the jealouſy and hatred were of very long ſtanding betwixt theſe two parts of the nation, and that they had always made a kind of ſchiſm. They reproached the Helleniſts with reading the ſcripture in the Egyptian way, from the left to the right, and this was a kind of an affront. From reproaches they came to blows; and whilſt the ſecond temple ſtood, Eleazar the ſon of Tſadoc, entering the ſynagogue of the Alexandrians at Jeruſalem, ſaid the moſt provoking things his rage could ſuggeſt. Scaliger found traces of this ſchiſm as low as the twelfth century. If Scaliger was right, the ſect of the Helleniſts would be much more ancient than we make it. But though there was ſome jealouſy betwixt the Helleniſts and the Jews of Paleſtine; yet it proceeded not to ſeparation or ſchiſm. The Helleniſts were even permitted to build many ſynagogues at Jeruſalem for their uſe, where they performed their devotions, whilſt Joſephus has related no diſpute upon this matter, nor Philo complained, that his countrymen were ill uſed. The learned are divided, and run into extremes, as to the riſe, cauſe, and time, of the diviſion. Some, as Salmaſius, think they have proved, that the Bible was never read in Greek, becauſe it is not read in Arabic, which is more common, and better known by the Jews than the Greek could be. Another joins together both Helleniſts and Jews into one ſynagogue at Jeruſalem; and fancies that he finds a proof of it in the hiſtory of the Acts, where the Jews and Greeks were divided about the creation of the deaconeſſes; which could not have happened, had they not been both in the ſame ſynagogue, as if the queſtion there was not about the converted Greeks and Jews, who made but one body in the church, where they could not continue long without dividing. Others, prepoſſeſſed in favour of the Septuagint verſion, find it every where, and exalt it far above the original.

The ſafeſt way is to embrace a due medium. Neceſſity required that the Helleniſts, who underſtood not Hebrew, ſhould read the law in Greek in their ſynagogues. Though it were true, that Philo, and ſome other of the learned, underſtood the Syriac, there would be ſtill the ſame neceſſity of the Greek verſion for that great number of Helleniſts that were in Egypt, and in all the great cities of Aſia under the Roman juriſdiction. The Jews of Jeruſalem could not condemn this practice, ſince they had ſuch another in uſing the Chaldee paraphraſes; and when there were no written paraphraſes, they filled up this defect by an application of each verſe, which cuſtom being as ancient as Ezra, authoriſed that of the Greek verſions in all the places where the Chaldee was not the language of the country. Simeon the ſon of Gamaliel, who lived at the time of Titus's war, determined that the law might be read and written in Greek. We ſhall ſee hereafter why the Gemara has limited this deciſion to the five books of Moſes. We may add, that R. Levi, coming to Ceſaræa, where there were many Greeks, was ſurpriſed to hear the Hebrew words, "*Hear, O Iſrael*," pronounced in Greek. But R. Joſes aſked him, whether thoſe that underſtood not Hebrew never read the law; and added, without waiting for an anſwer, "That whoever reads in a language he knows or underſtands, does his duty."

The law read in Greek by the Helleniſtic Jews.

Lightfoot, who could not deny but that there were Greek copies in the ſynagogues, imagined that they were placed there by way of precaution, that when the heathens came in to explode their religion, they might be convinced by their own eyes, that it was not bad. To own that there were Greek copies in the ſynagogues, is to confeſs that the law was read in this language, and the Hebrews hindered not a cuſtom that was univerſally received in the regions of the Roman empire. Nevertheleſs, they both of them conſidered the original as ſacred, and preferable as well to the verſions as to Chal-

Opinion of Lightfoot.

Chaldee paraphraſes, becauſe it was God that had made choice of this tongue.

Septuagint, why cried down.

The progreſs of Chriſtianity diſturbed this harmony of the Jews. The Chriſtians diſputing with them always uſed the verſion of the LXX. which not only was better known, but more advantageous to them. Juſtin Martyr produces proofs out of it; for he taxes the Hebrews with having lately ſtruck out theſe words of Jeremy, "I am like a lamb that is led to the ſlaughter," which were found in the Septuagint verſion. He carried his proofs farther, in quoting a paſſage of Eſdras, which is no where to be found, and which he is accuſed of having put into Greek, though it be more than probable, that this fraud was more ancient than he that made uſe of it. Theſe reproaches, well or ill grounded, began to diſguſt the Jews with the Greek verſion, and to give them leſs eſteem for thoſe who were obliged to uſe it. The originals were cried up above the verſion, which was rejected, and found pernicious; they flew into an extreme, and this diſpute produced the following effects:

1. The name of Helleniſt became odious, and thoſe that bore it, finding themſelves abuſed with bitter reproaches, ſet up the ſect mentioned by Juſtin Martyr. Here, then, you have the origin of the ſect. 2. They attempted new verſions, of which we ſhall give an account. 3. The Gemariſts not being able to prohibit the reading of the Greek books, confined it to the Pentateuch; becauſe theſe five books contained leſs diſputed prophecies than thoſe of the other prophets. 4. As the hatred to the Helleniſts continually increaſed, thoſe fabulous prodigies were invented, ſaid to be wrought at the time that the Septuagint verſion was compoſed, and they talked of a faſt that was celebrated on the account of this verſion, of which no mention is made in the Talmud.

Thus it is we diſentangle the hiſtory of the Helleniſts, and not only extricate it with probability, but our opinions are founded upon many irrefragable teſtimonies. Theſe new ſectaries appeared, therefore, a little before Juſtin Martyr, or, rather, the name of Helleniſts, which was hardly odious before, grew ſo then, and became the title of a ſect.

Several tranſlations of the ſcripture were made by the different parties, and this ſort of buſineſs became much in faſhion among the Jews. Whether the Helleniſts we have been ſpeaking of deſired it, or that they became more neceſſary to diſpute againſt the Chriſtians diſperſed over all the Roman empire? Aquila was the firſt that engaged in it; whoſe verſion was received with a general applauſe of the Helleniſts. Origen affirms, That all the Jews who did not underſtand the Hebrew were accuſtomed to this verſion, which they looked upon to be the beſt of all. Phileſtrius not only ſays the ſame thing, but adds, that ſome hereticks followed it. In the mean time, the Talmudiſts, full of that jealouſy that had for ſome time prevailed againſt the Helleniſts, made their efforts to diſguſt the people with it, and reduce them to the Hebrew Bible. We find in their writings ſeveral ſtrokes of cenſure againſt the Greek one. The Chriſtians complained of it, becauſe it came from a ſuſpected hand, and which had robbed them of many places of ſcripture; but, however, they ſometimes made uſe of it; and St. Jerom, who had condemned it, praiſed afterwards the exactneſs of the author. Theodotion made another of them. The Jews carried off this conqueſt from the church; for Theodotion, who was born an heathen, had embraced Chriſtianity; but, being brought over to Judaiſm, was circumciſed. He was a native of Pontus, where he had known Marcion, his countryman, and had entered into his ſect. From thence he went to Epheſus, where the Jews were numerous and conſiderable; and he liſted into the ſynagogue. It ſeems that this was an invaſion upon Antoninus's law, who forbade the Jews the making of proſelytes, and circumciſing them. But we have already obſerved, that theſe laws were ill executed in Aſia, and perhaps Marcus Aurelius had revoked them; for Theodotion made no myſtery of his circumciſion, and the Chriſtians knew it well enough. He learnt of his new maſters Hebrew enough to tranſlate the ſcripture, or, rather, to copy the Septuagint; for he followed them ſo cloſe, that Origen made uſe of his verſion to fill up the chaſms and vacuities that were found in the Septuagint. It is ſaid, that he publiſhed it the firſt year of Commodus's reign, according to the cuſtom of that time; for the learned took a pride to publiſh their works in the Decennalia, or Vicennalia, and at the birth of princes, or when they came to the throne.

Not to diſpute about this cuſtom, did a Jew make a ſufficient figure in the empire to honour Commodus's coronation by a verſion of the holy ſcriptures? As odious as his perſon muſt have been, the Chriſtians reaped ſome advantage by his work, and to read publicly his tranſlation of the prophet Daniel, becauſe that of the Septuagint was full of faults; or, rather, becauſe this verſion was by an hand that was much inferior to thoſe that had worked upon the Pentateuch. Alſo the Ebionites and Nazarenes preferred it before all others. Symmachus compoſed a third tranſlation in Severus's reign. It appeared much clearer, and more uſeful, than the preceding ones; becauſe this author had more reſpect to the ſenſe than to the ſignification of words. The Chriſtians made uſe of all theſe tranſlations, though they were only made to their prejudice, and by doctors that infinitely hated them. However, the verſion of the Septuagint ſtill raiſed its head above all theſe new-fangled pieces. In the mean time, it muſt be owned, that they were only undertaken to weaken its authority, to hinder its being uſed in the ſynagogues, as it hitherto had been, and to prevent the Chriſtians, who diſputed with the Jews, from drawing objections out of it; for, indeed, theſe laſt interpreters had robbed us of Iſaiah's oracle: "A virgin ſhall bring forth," Iſa. vii. 14.

Various tranſlations.

They ſuffer on account of the war between Niger and Severus.

Peſcennius Niger, being proclaimed emperor in Syria, endeavoured to bring the Jews into his intereſt, but found them unſhaken in their attachment to Severus. The Jews who reſided between the Tygris and the Euphrates, ſuffered very much from the war which was carried on between theſe mighty diſputants for the imperial crown; eſpecially as Severus was obliged to carry his arms into the eaſt, againſt the king of Parthia.

A jubilee celebrated.

St. Jerom ſays, that in the twelfth year of Severus a jubilee was celebrated. This term is peculiar to the Jews; but Scaliger has remarked, that whatſoever way we reckon the years, the Jewiſh jubilee could not happen in this. The Chriſtians had borrowed this word from the ſynagogue. But yet it was not a jubilee of the church; and thoſe that ſhould refer the origin of that celebrated at Rome to this, would be groſsly miſtaken; but Severus cauſing the ſecular games to be celebrated in the empire, the Chriſtians who partook in the feaſt called it a jubilee.

The Jews are favoured under Caracalla.

Caracalla followed his father's ſteps; nor can it be doubted but that he loved the Jews from his childhood, ſince one of them at court, who was his play-fellow, being whipped by the emperor's order, he was ſo afflicted, that he would not ſee his father for ſeveral days. So that, as we do not find he acted againſt the Jews, we have reaſon to believe that they took the advantage of a quiet interval, to make their collection of traditions.

Traditions peculiar to the Helenists, and others to the Jews.

There were two ſorts of traditions, ſome that were peculiar to the Helleniſts, and others received by the Hebrews of the Holy Land, deſcended from the Phariſees. The former traditions, vented by the fore-cited authors, were actually unknown and rejected by the Tiberian doctors, whoſe contempt and hatred of the Greeks increaſed daily.

Many apocryphal books written at this time.

Both the Jewiſh and Helleniſt traditions were, by this time, grown very numerous, and the teachers and writers of both not a few. In this century flouriſhed the famed Jochanan, chief of the Amaraijen, or commentators on the Miſnah, and compiler of the

Jochanan compiles the Talmud.

Jeruſalem Talmud. The moſt probable ſuppoſition is, that he was born about the latter end of the ſecond century, or Anno Dom. 184, or 185. Some writers pretend that he was choſen chief of the academy of Tiberias, in the fifteenth year of his age, which is improbable and contrary to the practice of the Jews, becauſe his maſter was ſtill alive, and Caniner, whom he appointed his ſucceſſor, is affirmed, by the Jewiſh chronologiſts, to have enjoyed the dignity about ten years more, ſo that the ſooneſt he can be ſuppoſed to have aſcended the chair is about anno 225, and about the fortieth year of his age, by which time he had opportunity ſufficient to finiſh his ſtudies under thoſe two maſters, in order to qualify himſelf for his great work, in which he was aſſiſted by two other learned rabbies, R. Samuel, and Rab or Raw, who had likewiſe been diſciples of his two maſters, Judah the Saint, and R. Chanina.

The following is a brief account of this famous production, commonly known by the name of the Hieroſolymitan or Jeruſalem Talmud.

Account of the Jeruſalem Talmud.

The word Talmud ſignifies Doctrine, and is emphatically given to this work, as being a complete ſyſtem or body of it, or of the religion and morals of the Jews. They have two of that name and import, viz. this of Jeruſalem, which is the ſhorter and more obſcure of the two; as, likewiſe, the more ancient by near one century; and that of Babylon, of which we ſhall ſpeak in its proper place. It is properly a comment upon the Miſnah of Judah Hakkadaſh.

Judah had ſcarcely finiſhed his own work before he had the mortification to ſee a collection of different traditions publiſhed, and afterwards inſerted in the Miſnah: to remedy, therefore, this evil, theſe three great men wrote this comment upon it, which being completed in Judæa, and in the Hebrew then in uſe, was ſtyled the Gemarrah, or *Perfection;* and this and the Miſnah together, made that which is called the Talmud of Jeruſalem.

This Talmud, diſtinguiſhed by the title of Hieroſolymitan, being ſtill found not only too ſuccinct, as well as too obſcure, by reaſon of the barbarous terms it had borrowed from other nations, gave birth to the Babyloniſh Talmud, compiled by Rabbi Aſe, a learned diſciple of the great Jochanan, who left the academy of Tiberias, and went to preſide at that of Sara, near Babylon, where he continued in that dignity about forty years, during which he compiled his Gemarrah, or comment upon the Miſnah of Judah the Saint; and from the place where he wrote it, it came to be ſtyled the Babylonian Talmud. Aſe did not live to finiſh it; but this was effected by his ſons and ſome of his diſciples, ſo that it became a vaſt body or collection of traditions concerning the canon laws of the Jews, and of all the queſtions relating to the Jewiſh law, wherein the Miſnah is the text, and the Gemarrah the comment upon it.

The Jews in general prefer this Babyloniſh Talmud, on account of its clearneſs and fulneſs, much above that of Jeruſalem; and though it abounds with ridiculous fables and ſtories, they will not ſuffer any one to call it in queſtion, without the cenſure of hereſy. We ſhall diſpenſe with giving a farther account of that voluminous work, and only obſerve, that the learned Maimonides hath given us an excellent abridgement of it, in which he has thrown out all that was puerile and ridiculous, and confined himſelf to a collection of the moſt material caſes and deciſions that are contained in it. This epitome, which he ſtyles, Yad Khazchah," or *Strong Hand,* is, therefore, much preferable to the Talmud itſelf, as being one of the moſt complete bodies of the Jewiſh laws that ever was written.

Hitherto

The Jews are in danger under Heliogabalus.

Hitherto the Jews had lived in peace and happineſs, but had nearly ſuffered a moſt dreadful perſecution in the reign of Heliogabalus. That whimſical prince cauſed himſelf to be circumciſed, and abſtained from ſwine's fleſh, out of devotion to his gods. He might have borrowed this from the Jews, in whoſe neighbourhood he had been brought up, and with whom his family had intimate correſpondence. But all this predilection would not have ſecured them from his violence, had not death prevented it.

We are told by Lampridius, that this prince, having built a fine temple to the honour of Heliogabalus, ordered the Palladium, the veſtal fire, the mother of the gods, and whatſoever was held moſt ſacred by the Romans, to be conveyed thither, being reſolved that Heliogabalus ſhould be the only perſon to be worſhipped. To render this union of worſhip more complete, he formed the deſign of introducing the Samaritans' and Jews' religion, who were well known to him. The lives and fortunes of the Jews depended upon the execution of this deſign, for they would never have conſented to have worſhipped the ſun in the emperor's temple, with that heap of ceremonies his religion conſiſted of; and they could expect nothing but death, and the moſt cruel tortures, from a prince whom all hiſtorians compare to the Nero's and other monſters, that have governed the empire. The unexpected death of this prince, who was aſſaſſinated by his ſoldiers, ſecured them from this impending danger. Indeed, he only ſays, it was a deſign of the emperor's, and that he talked of doing it. Beſide, though Heliogabalus had ſent the image of his god, and had ordered it to be placed in the ſenate, above victory, even before his entrance into Rome; and though the hiſtorians relate the extravagances he committed to honour this deity, yet it required time to build the temple, in which all religions were to be combined. Euſebius ſays, it was not raiſed till the year of his death, and ſo God thereby preſerved them, as well as the Chriſtians, from a ſcourge that was like to deſtroy them.

Clemency of Alexander Severus.

Alexander Severus's clemency contributed, doubtleſs, to the flouriſhing ſtate of the Jews; for, indeed, this prince openly favoured the nation. The wits of that time called him an Archi-ſynagogue of Syria; becauſe he favoured the Jews, correſponded with them, and was inſtructed in their religion, of which he had received ſome tincture from his mother Mammæa. Indeed this prince had a variety of religions in his head. He never abandoned the gods of his fathers, nor the heathen idolatry, which ſtill prevailed: but he liſted among thoſe gods, Abraham the father of the faithful, and the great patriarch of the Jews. It ſeems as if he only did it to rectify the deſign Heliogabalus had formed of ranking the Samaritan, Jew, and Chriſtian, with the heathens in the ſame temple; but he did it with candour and charity.

Alexander Severus was for having the names of the officers he ſent into the provinces proclaimed, and the people licenſed to accuſe them; becauſe, as the Jews and Chriſtians proclaimed their prieſts that they might be known, it was fit the ſame thing ſhould be done in point of governors, who were intruſted with the lives and fortunes of the people. In fine, he often repeated this maxim, which he had learnt from the Jew and Chriſtian: "Do not to others what ye would not have them do unto you."

The tranquillity enjoyed by this nation was continued by the following emperors: Philip, who was born in Arabia, where the Jews had ſo great a commerce, gave them countenance. Decius, who perſecuted the Chriſtian church, in hatred to the protection Philip had granted it, might have confounded them with it. But, beſides that the difference of theſe two religions was well known, it does not appear that they had any ſhare in the ſhort and violent perſecutions this prince brought upon the church. Nor muſt they be admitted into Valerian's perſecution, nor conſidered as the authors of it; though Dionyſius of Alexandria ſays, this prince was compelled to it by an Archi-ſynagogue of Egypt. We may, moreover, obſerve, that they place the doctor Sceſciath at the end of the third century. He was blind, but, nevertheleſs, became very learned. He had alſo a diſpute with the Chriſtians. Two works are aſcribed to him; one upon the Cabbala, which was an explication of the Splendors, the manuſcript of which was in the Heidelberg library; the other was a Targum, or a Chaldee paraphraſe upon the ſcripture.

State of the JEWS in the Eaſt.

The eaſtern Jews are favoured by Artaxerxes, &c.

THE eaſtern Jews were very much favoured by Artaxerxes, the famed reſtorer of the Perſian monarchy; his ſon and ſucceſſor, Sapor, was, likewiſe, a great friend to theſe perſecuted people. Several learned men amongſt the Jews were ſettled in the eaſt, and particularly Samuel the aſtronomer, who left Judæa, and reſided under this government ſo favourable to his own people. His glory was eclipſed by Ada, who was born in Babylon, and had made a more exact calculation of the courſe of the ſun than his predeceſſors. There were at this time ſo many perſons famous for their natural abilities, and their learned acquirements, that an academy was eſtabliſhed by their means, and it was ſupported with conſiderable reputation to its profeſſors.

Perſecuted by Sapor.

Theſe magi did not ſo long enjoy uninterrupted proſperity and protection under Sapor, as under Artaxerxes. Sapor correſponded with the rabbins, and diſputed with them; and, from a diſputant, he became a perſecutor. Inſtigated by the Arabians, he impriſoned three of the principal Jews, and, by ſevere ſcourging, endeavoured to make them renounce their religion;

ligion; but they endured all with conſtancy and reſolution. Thus mortified by want of ſucceſs, he impriſoned all their great men, and tortured them in the extreme: but their cauſe was avenged by an unſeen hand. The Perſians were not ſo happy as before; the Arabians made war upon them, and bound their princes in fetters; the king of the Arabs, alſo, ſent meſſages to the Jews, ſaying, that if they would retire to thoſe territories, they ſhould meet with friendſhip, protection, and full liberty of conſcience. The Perſians, hereupon, perceiving the loſs they were likely to ſuſtain, mitigated the ſeverity of the perſecution, and became friendly, from motives of ſelf-intereſt; which is a prevailing principle amongſt all people, tongues, and languages.

Zenobia is favourable to the Jews.

Through means of Zenobia, who might be ſtyled the queen of the eaſt, the ſplendor of the Jews revived. This princeſs, who became ſo famous, had married Odenatus, king of Palmyra, and commander of the Saracens of that country, which was but a day's march from the Euphrates. Odenatus, ſeeing every thing ſtoop before Sapor, ſent him preſents, and wrote to him in teſtimony of his ſubmiſſion. The conqueror, who had penetrated already into Cappadocia, and taken Caſarea, tore Odenatus's letter, and ordered his preſents to be thrown into the river. Being exaſperated of himſelf, and by Zenobia, a moſt haughty princeſs, he made an alliance with the Romans, declared war with Sapor, gave him many battles which he always won; and obliged this victor of ſo many provinces to give up all the treaſures he had amaſſed in Syria, in the garriſon of Edeſſa, to purchaſe his retreat. Odenatus purſued him, ravaged Meſopotamia, routed the nobility of the kingdom ſeveral times, who were aſſembled upon buſineſs of ſtate; and twice beſieged his enemy in Cteſiphon. But, after divers conqueſts, and being declared Auguſtus, Zenobia his wife, who would reign alone, cauſed him to be ſlain, with a ſon he had by a former wife.

Sapor is vanquiſhed by Odenatus.

Zenobia a Jeweſs.

This princeſs had been brought up in the Jewiſh religion, and was a zealous profeſſor of it. She is recorded to have built a great number of ſtately ſynagogues, and to have raiſed the Jews to the higheſt dignities. It cannot be doubted that the Jews made great uſe of her protection, and became very potent in the eaſt, under Odenatus, her huſband, who carried every thing before him. When ſhe came to the throne, ſhe added Egypt to her conqueſts; extended her arms into Aſia Minor, as far as Tyana and Ancyra, and paſſed into Bythinia, where ſhe took Chalcedon.

Aurelian, at this juncture, however, began to reſtore the affairs of the empire, which Zenobia had ruined. He entered into Bythinia, which acknowledged its former maſter without reſiſtance. From thence he went on to Cappadocia, and the gates of Tyana being ſhut againſt him, he vowed vengeance on all the inhabitants. Zenobia was at Antioch, from whence ſhe advanced with her troops as far as Immes, which was not far from it. The battle was fought near the river Orontes. Aurelian's troops retreated, that they might put the queen's horſemen, who were heavily armed, out of breath: falling afterwards upon them, they put them to flight. Zabdas, who commanded for the princeſs, foreſeeing that Antioch would ſhut her gates againſt him, if they had notice there of his defeat, dreſſed up a man, and, calling him Aurelian, gave out that he carried the emperor priſoner. The ſtratagem was quickly diſcovered. He ſtaid no longer at Antioch than to take Zenobia along with him, and make a precipitate retreat.

Zenobia is vanquiſhed by Aurelian.

A ſecond battle was fought, in which Aurelian's cavalry were broken: but whilſt the Palmyrenians purſued it, they fell upon the infantry, which was cut in pieces. Zenobia had no other reſource than to ſhut herſelf up in Palmyra, whoſe ſituation was advantageous. The Perſians, Saracens, and eaſtern nations, ſtill devoted to this princeſs, notwithſtanding her misfortunes, in vain attempted to ſuccour her. The Perſians were beaten, and the Saracens obliged to liſt in Aurelian's army. Zenobia ſecretly departed out of the city, to ſeek for ſuccour among the Perſians. But as ſhe was going to paſs the Euphrates, Aurelian's couriers, who purſued her, took her priſoner. Palmyra ſurrendered. Zenobia was led in triumph with her ſon. She was adorned with jewels, and mounted upon a ſtately chariot, on which ſhe had hoped to make a triumphant entry into Rome, whereas ſhe entered like a ſlave. The chariot of her huſband Odenatus was alſo one of the ornaments of Aurelian's triumph, who expoſed to view whatever was moſt rich and precious in the eaſt, which, by his preſent victories, he had reunited to the empire. Zenobia went to Rome, or rather to Tivoli, where ſhe had a ſmall villa, and lived in retirement; and thus vaniſhed this glimpſe of proſperity and authority of the Jewiſh nation, unleſs it may be ſaid, that Vaballat her ſon, to whom Aurelian gave ſome ſovereignty in Armenia, had embraced his mother's religion, and favoured the Jews as ſhe had done; which is very uncertain.

Her reverſe of fortune.

Moſt of the Jews retired into the cities of Perſia, where their doctors continued in ſome repute. They boaſted highly, at that time, of one Chija, the ſon of Aſce, who, not being able to conquer the force of concupiſcence, threw himſelf into a ſmoaking bakehouſe.

Doctors that flouriſhed in the eaſt.

At that time, there was a famous diſputant, who not only puzzled the Babylonian doctors, but, to ſhame them the more, made his wife diſpute with them. He was called Jeremy, and was maſter of caſuiſtry. Other doctors there flocked to Sora, becauſe the academy of Nahardea was fallen with the city, which was taken and plundered. Zira, ſurnamed Kattina, was ſtill there. He at firſt left

Famous diſputant among the Jews.

Jeremy.

left his country, to go and ſtudy at Tiberias, where he had alſo received the impoſition of hands; but the authority and friendſhip of Huna had recalled him to his academy, where he lived till the year 300, when, deſiring to lay his bones in Judæa, he choſe rather to carry his living body thither himſelf, than have it conveyed after his death. So that, though the Jews of Babylon had a great eſteem for their own country, yet that hindered not their going to ſtudy in Judæa, whence they commonly returned before they died. But the moſt famed among them was Manes. He could by no means be reconciled to the religion of the Jews, nor to what was recorded of their nation deſtroying and exterminating ſuch numbers of people and kingdoms. He preferred the doctrine of the Chriſtians, which recommended nothing ſo much as love and benignity. Nevertheleſs, he held great conference with the Jews of Perſia, where he had much correſpondence; whether he deſigned to be fully inſtructed in the law, or rather deſired to recover them from what he called their infatuation. The modern Jews are not agreed about their anceſtors' conference with Manes, and in their kalendar they fix the origin of his ſect towards the end of Conſtantine's reign.

Manes.

Diocleſian's perſecution againſt the Chriſtians did not much affect the Jewiſh nation, either in the eaſt or weſt; though thoſe of the former pretend that he deſigned to have made them feel the ſevereſt marks of his reſentment, for ſome ſcandalous reflections which the diſciples of Judah the Saint had caſt upon him, but that they found means to appeaſe his wrath.

State of the JEWS under the Chriſtian Emperors, &c.

They are perſecuted by the Chriſtians, and become obſtinate and refractory.

THE nation of the Jews did not enjoy much greater tranquillity when the emperor became Chriſtian, than under the government of profeſſed idolators; though their fate varied with the diſpoſition of the reigning prince. The Chriſtians were ſo accuſtomed to perſecution themſelves, that when they came into power, they made an improper uſe of it; and, inſtead of motives of pity, thoſe of hatred and revenge occupied their breaſts; which mode of acting cannot at all be reconciled with the genius of their religion, nor with the laws of its divine Author.

Zonaras the hiſtorian ſays, they had a conference at Rome with Helena this emperor's mother, who was yet unconverted. They repreſented to this princeſs, that though her ſon had reaſon to aboliſh heatheniſm and its idols, yet he had made no great progreſs towards his own ſalvation, ſince, inſtead of the heroes of ancient heatheniſm, he worſhipped a man who had been crucified but a few ages before. Helena, who was devout, and anxious for her ſon's ſalvation, called the doctors to a conference with Pope Sylveſter, who quickly triumphed over the enemies of the Chriſtian religion. It is likewiſe ſaid, that Conſtantine perſecuted the circumciſed; for St. Chryſoſtom affirms, that upon their aſſembling once to rebuild Jeruſalem, this prince, diſguſted with the raſh attempt, ſurpriſing them, cauſed their ears to be cut off, and afterwards diſperſed them into all the territories of his empire, as ſo many fugitive ſlaves. Eutychius adds, that Conſtantine obliged them all to be baptiſed, and to eat ſwine's fleſh on a paſſover day. Perſecution cannot be carried farther; but I queſtion the truth of theſe particulars.

Conſtantine uſes great ſeverity towards the Jews.

Though Chryſoſtom has great authority in the church, he is liable to error; for the Jews ſay themſelves, that it was the emperor Adrian who cauſed their ears to be cut off, like the ſlaves which he ſold at the fairs of the empire. Beſides, Jeruſalem had been rebuilt under Conſtantine's empire; its biſhop had aſſiſted at the council of Nice, and the emperor had raiſed ſuch ſtately edifices in it, that Euſebius told him it was the New Jeruſalem. We may add, that though the Theodoſian code contains many laws againſt the Jews, under Conſtantine's name, yet there is not one condemning them "to the loſs of their ears, to be baptiſed, or to eat ſwine's fleſh."

Vindication of Conſtantine.

However, this emperor publiſhed ſeveral edicts, which acquaint us with the condition and reſtleſs humour of the Jews under his reign. The firſt is one of the moſt important: it was iſſued upon occaſion of Joſeph, who had abandoned the ſynagogue to embrace Chriſtianity. The Jews, incenſed by his converſion, went to inſult him in his houſe, and finding that he read the goſpel, forced his book from him, loaded him with abuſes and blows, and dragged him to the ſynagogue, where they unmercifully ſcourged him. But, not content with this firſt outrage, they puſhed him into the river Cydnus, whoſe current carried him far enough to give them the joyful hopes that he was drowned. But God preſerved him. He received baptiſm, made himſelf known at court, and obtained the emperor's leave to build temples in ſeveral places where none had been erected before. The Jews were ſettled at Diocæſarea, Tiberias, Nazareth, and Capernaum, and had ſo appropriated theſe cities to themſelves, as not to admit any ſtrangers, not excepting the Samaritans, who profeſſed the ſame religion. Joſeph undertook to introduce the Chriſtian religion into all theſe cities, and to that effect built churches in them. The Jews were nevertheleſs powerful in Judæa, under Conſtantine's empire, ſince they alone poſſeſſed four cities, one of which was Nazareth. Their numbers rendered them inſolent, and they abuſed thoſe that were turned Chriſtians, and publicly oppoſed the execution of the prince's orders for the building of temples.

Edicts iſſued againſt the Jews, in conſequence of the converſion of Joſeph, &c.

On account of this diſorderly conduct, Conſtantine was, doubtleſs, obliged to publiſh the edict before-mentioned. "He taxed them with ſtoning or burning whoever had

Outrages of the Jews reſtrained.

had a mind to renounce their religion;" and he condemned them to the ſame puniſhment, with all their accomplices. Herein we ſtill ſee the footſteps of that furious zeal, which they thought authoriſed them to kill thoſe who were taken in a notorious crime. They imagined theſe were the precepts of the oral law; and ſaid, that Phineas had executed the verbal order of Moſes. They produced another example under the Maccabees, when Mattathias killed a Jew, who was practiſing heathen ceremonies. The doctors authoriſed this practice; for Philo doubted not but God had eſtabliſhed it. The Eſſenes, thoſe auſtere votaries, ordered, that if any man had blaſphemed againſt Moſes, he ſhould be killed. Joſephus ſays, that they "puniſhed him with death." The interpreter has improperly tranſlated it, they "condemned him to death." For as this ſect had no power of life and death, it puniſhed blaſphemers by a motion of zeal.

Notwithſtanding the terrible diſorders, and the torrents of blood that the Zealots had cauſed to flow at Jeruſalem, yet this dangerous maxim was ſtill preſerved; and the Miſnah teaches, that if any one "renounces the foundation," that is, the articles of faith, he ought to be killed, and, purſuant to this principle, they ſtoned, burnt, and drowned thoſe that deſerted them in Conſtantine's reign. This obliged him to repreſs that violence, and, as they did not obey the firſt law, he was forced to make a ſecond. He alſo forbad the Chriſtians to turn Jews, upon pain of an arbitrary puniſhment. There was more danger in point of ſlaves, who might be brought over by their maſters: and, therefore, this prince publiſhed a law ſix months before his death, prohibiting the Jews to circumciſe thoſe in their ſervice; and giving liberty to all who accuſed their maſters of having circumciſed them, or that embraced Chriſtianity.

Several laws are enacted by the ſame emperor.

The emperor farther ordered that the Jews might be made decurions, becauſe it was fit that they ſhould have their ſhare in the public burthens; but he exempted the patriarchs and prieſts, and thoſe that had conſiderable employments in the ſynagogues, becauſe, being taken up by their functions, they could not attend to the duties of thoſe offices. For, indeed, the poſt of decurion was not an honour, but a ſervitude. Every one endeavoured to be diſcharged from it, by taking other employments in the army and government. They endeavoured to exempt themſelves by ſome privilege which they begged of the emperor. Conſtantine granted ſo many of them, that there was nobody left to fill theſe poſts in Julian's time, which obliged him to revoke them all, without exception; and this raiſed murmurs againſt him, even after his death, whilſt others commended him for it. No wonder, then, that Conſtantine, who did not love the Jews, made decurions of them.

Edicts and decrees of the the council of Elvira.

During his reign is placed the council of Elvira, which made two decrees againſt the Jews of Spain, in which country they had great correſpondence with the Chriſtians. They ate and lived ſociably together; but the council forbad this table ſociety, upon pain of excommunication to thoſe that ate with a Jew. The puniſhment was grievous and abſurdly inflicted, ſince eating together is an action purely civil, and excommunication ought not to be iſſued, except for eccleſiaſtical crimes. The learned commentator of the council of Elvira, pretends, that the council of Nice ordered the ſame thing in one of its decrees, which had been dictated by Oſius, who was preſident of it, and who was for having the diſcipline received in the Spaniſh churches, and admitted into all others. Mendoza is miſtaken; for the canon he quotes was never made by the council of Nice. He took it from the Arabians, who have falſely imputed to this council many canons it never made. Nor do we know what the Arabians mean by quoting the apoſtles in their decree; for St. Paul was ſo far from condemning the commerce of civil ſociety, that he made himſelf "all things to all men, a Jew to the Jews, and a Greek to the Greeks." If we have recourſe to the canons that bear the names of theſe holy men, we ſhall only find, that they condemned uſury, without forbidding eating and ſociety with the Jews. Recardoe, who renewed the decree of the Elviran council, and ſupported it with his authority grounded alſo upon the authority of St. Paul, who ſays, that "All things are impure to the defiled and unbelieving." From whence he concluded, that the Jews being impure, their meats muſt be ſo too: but this is a weak and inconcluſive argument. The ſame council, by another decree, forbad "the poſſeſſors of lands to ſuffer their fruits to be bleſſed by the Jews, becauſe their benediction fruſtrated that of the Chriſtians, and it threatened abſolutely to caſt out of the church ſuch as ſhould not obey it." This cuſtom of bleſſing the fruits of the earth at certain ſeaſons was common to Pagans and Jews, as well as Chriſtians. But who would have imagined that the latter ſhould have made uſe of either of the former, if this decree had not informed us of it? However, this, and the other decree, plainly ſhew that the Jews had lived very peaceably in Spain, and in good harmony with the Chriſtians, till that time, whatever they may have done ſince.

Their quiet ſtate in the eaſt, and famous rabbies there.

In the eaſt, the Jews enjoyed a no leſs benign ſun-ſhine, and their academies went on in a flouriſhing manner; if we except the perſecution raiſed againſt one of their greateſt doctors. This was the famous Ravena, or Rabba Nachmanides, head of the academy of Sora. They mention two famous men of that name, one ancient and the other modern. The latter lived in the year 474; but the other died before the council of Nice, in 322. He was ſo eſteemed, that they reckon twelve thouſand diſciples in his academy. He was commonly called the

the Remover of Mountains. Not that he had the power to work miracles, and convey mountains into the midſt of the ſea, but ſo profound was his knowledge, as to ſolve the greateſt difficulties. He wrote a book, that was in great eſteem whilſt he lived, and after his death. It was a commentary upon the firſt book of Moſes, containing the hiſtory of the Holy Land, with the literal and myſtical ſenſe. The title of it was Bereſchit Rabba. It muſt not be confounded with another work of the ſame name, which is a commentary upon the Miſnah of Judah the Saint, compoſed by one of his diſciples.

Ravena accuſed of crimes by the king of Perſia, but eſcapes.

Being long educated in the academies of Babylon, Ravena was accuſed of divers crimes by the king of Perſia. The fear of being taken and condemned to death obliged him to fly, and conceal himſelf, and he died in his retreat. It is ſaid he was committed priſoner, and that Sapor was about to condemn him, but that the empreſs, his mother, ſent to tell him, that "he ſhould have nothing to do with that Jew, becauſe ſhe had ſuffered much on his account." However, this perſecution was not general; for the academies flouriſhed at Babylon, and in the neighbouring parts. Ravena left a nephew, whom he ſtiled Avii, for two reaſons; one was, that he meant to ſignify, that he had been an orphan, and that he had entertained him out of charity; the other was, that he would not have him go by the name of his grandfather Nachman, leſt afterwards the nephew ſhould be confounded with the uncle, and the diſciple with the maſter. He made ſuch proficiency by Ravena's lectures, as to become head of the academy of Pundebita, in the year 325, which he governed till 339. At the latter end of his life he married a widow, by whom he had a ſon, who is known by the name of Rau bibi, in the writings of this period.

Joſeph the Blind, his works.

In the academy of Sora there was alſo a profeſſor, called Joſeph of Great Light, or Saghi Nahor. He was blind; nevertheleſs he was a man of great knowledge. He was alſo ſirnamed Sinai, becauſe he knew to perfection all the traditions that had been given Moſes upon Sinai. He is ſuppoſed to be the author of the Chaldee paraphraſes upon ſome of the holy penmen, the Pſalms, the Proverbs, Eccleſiaſtes, Ruth and Eſther. This paraphraſe is highly eſteemed, if we judge of it by the number of its particular editions.

State of the JEWS in the Eaſt.

They raiſe a perſecution againſt the Chriſtians in the Eaſt.

WHILE the Jews were put under various cruel reſtrictions by Conſtantine, they flouriſhed in the Eaſt, and their learned ſeminaries increaſed in reputation. At the cloſe of Conſtantine's reign they made intereſt with the Perſian court to revenge themſelves for what they had ſuffered in the Roman empire, by raiſing a cruel perſecution againſt the Chriſtians of the Eaſt.

The religion of Jeſus had ſome time before made progreſs in Armenia. We are told that one of its kings, called Tiridates, had embraced chriſtianity. From thence it paſſed on to the Perſians, who had great correſpondence with the Armenians. They began to build churches, and to conſecrate prieſts. There was alſo a biſhop for the two cities of Seleucia and Cteſiphon, which were the moſt conſiderable of the country. The Jews were numerous there, becauſe, as Jerom obſerves, they lived quiet and undiſturbed, and were perſecuted by none of the Perſian kings. Being jealous of the progreſs of chriſtianity, they murmured: but when they ſaw Uſtazades one of Sapor's principal eunuchs turned Chriſtian, they no longer obſerved any bounds, and made a league with the Magi.

The Jews raiſe a perſecution againſt the Chriſtians in Perſia.

Simeon, biſhop of Cteſiphon, was accuſed of criminal correſpondence with Conſtantine, which was enough to deſtroy him. This biſhop refuſed to worſhip the ſun and the king, when he was brought to the foot of his throne. "I bent my knee formerly (ſaid he) before your majeſty, becauſe I did it voluntarily, and it was a civil homage; but I cannot do it when you make it an act of religion, and would make me renounce my God." The king, being enraged, cauſed him to be chained in a dungeon. The Jews and the Magi taking advantage of this opportunity, pulled down all the Chriſtian churches. The perſecution was long and bloody: Uſtazades, an old eunuch of Sapor, and eminent for his ſervices, was alſo one of the firſt martyrs who ſuffered under it.

Edicts of Conſtans againſt the Jews.

Conſtans being incenſed againſt the Jews, and being withal zealous for the Chriſtian religion, made ſome laws againſt them. There is, ſays St. Hilary, who lived at that time, an edict of the emperor, which hinders them at preſent from entering into Jeruſalem. He makes them perambulate the walls of that great city, without entering it. They complained to Julian, when he came to the throne, of this hard uſage, in being excluded the gates of a city, which had been the reſidence of their anceſtors for many ages. All this is an argument, that Conſtans had renewed Adrian's edicts, or had made new ones upon the ſame ſubject. This prince alſo made it death for a Jew to marry a Chriſtian, or to circumciſe a ſlave. He alſo prohibited their having Chriſtians in their ſervice; and eſpecially forbad, under great puniſhments, the embracing their religion: ſo that if they had liberty of conſcience for themſelves and poſterity, they were not permitted to receive proſelytes, when they offered themſelves. He loaded them likewiſe with taxes, and had projected new pecuniary edicts againſt them when he died. Under this reign Epiphanius was converted from Judaiſm to Chriſtianity, not (as related) without the interpoſition of ſome extraordinary circumſtances, with which we ſhall not trouble our readers, ſince they were not powerful enough to keep him from running into the wild notion of the ſect of Gnoſtics, whom he met with in Egypt.

Converſion of Epiphanius.

The Jews were afterwards relieved by Julian, called the apoſtate, who protected

Julian grants the

them,

Jews his protection.

them, not out of any regard he had for their religion, ſince they worſhipped but one God, and abominated the heathen idolatry; but he was glad to augment the numbers of the enemies of chriſtianity, which he thought moſt formidable, and to ſet all religions at war, that paganiſm might triumph in the midſt of theſe conflicts. He diſcharged the circumciſed from the taxes wherewith Conſtans had loaded them. He wrote to them, and in his letter honoured their patriarch with the ſtyle of brother; which is a proof they were then conſiderable in the empire. He gave them liberty to ſacrifice, and rebuild the temple at Jeruſalem, becauſe they repreſented to him that they could not offer ſacrifice out of the Holy Land. They availed themſelves of the emperor's protection to inſult the Chriſtians, for they aſſembled in many cities of Judæa and Syria, pulled down their temples at Gaza, Aſcalon and Berytus, and demoliſhed two at Damaſcus. Thoſe of Egypt did the ſame thing, and the moſt magnificent of all the temples of Alexandria was deſtroyed. They fell to rebuilding the temple of Jeruſalem, but this event which hiſtorians relate, with many attendant circumſtances, deſerves to be particularly noticed.

In conſequence of a traditionary prophecy, they ſet about rebuilding the temple; but the work is fruſtrated by earthquakes, &c.

This prince not only authoriſed the building of the temple of Jeruſalem, but alſo furniſhed them with materials and money. Jerom, ſpeaking of the Jews of his time, ſays, they imagined that four hundred and thirty years after their diſperſion, they were to become maſters of the Romans, ſell them to the Sabeans, rebuild Jeruſalem, and reſtore it to its primitive glory; that the boroughs and neighbouring cities, not excepting Sodom itſelf, ſhould be rebuilt. This they grounded upon ſeveral oracles, promiſing that God would revenge his people of their enemies, and rebuild Sion. When they ſaw Julian ſolicitous for their labouring upon this ſtructure, they fancied the promiſes accompliſhed. They inſultingly aſked the Chriſtians, whether they would cauſe gold and ſilver tools to be made, to work upon this new edifice. The women and children lent a helping hand, and the heathens themſelves aſſiſted them in the reſtoration of the temple. But at length, an effectual ſtop was put to it by ſuch a ſeries of prodigies, as quite deterred them from purſuing it, and made them ſenſible of the infallibility of Chriſt's predictions againſt that place. Dreadful earthquakes and eruptions of fire from the ground interrupted the workmen when digging for the foundation of the new temple, together with a variety of other contingencies, as are ſet forth at large in Biſhop Warburton's celebrated performances.

Account of a city inhabited by the ten tribes in the eaſt.

The emperor Julian, who had permitted the rebuilding of the temple, before he departed for Perſia, carried his conqueſts very far. He found there a part of the ten tribes, which poſſeſſed an entire city. Hiſtorians obſerve, that this prince, being arrived at Meſene, which is an iſland made by the Tigris, where Apamea bore a conſiderable rank, marched towards a palace, where the Euphrates divides itſelf into many channels, and found a city called Bithra, which was inhabited by the Jews, who had abandoned it, becauſe the walls were not ſtrong nor high enough to ſuſtain a ſiege.

This city had been conſiderable in the Perſian empire, ſince the emperor's palace, and houſes to lodge a garriſon, were ſtill ſeen in it. Julian's army ſeeing it deſerted, ſet fire to it and reduced it to aſhes. It cannot be doubted, but there were Jews of the ten tribes diſperſed in the eaſt, ſince they were ſituated between the chanels of the Euphrates. They were numerous and potent there, as they poſſeſſed an intire city. They were alſo faithful to their prince, for they rather choſe to forſake all, than to wait and receive the Romans, who would have profited by their continuance in that place.

Jovian's conduct reſpecting Julian.

In this war, Julian being killed, Jovian his ſucceſſor was obliged to check the inſolence this prince's countenance had infuſed both into the heathens and Jews of the Roman empire. This he did, but his reign was ſo ſhort, that they looked upon it only as a fleeting cloud; and the rather becauſe Valens reſtored intire liberty of conſcience to all the enemies of the Chriſtian religion, heathens, Jews, and heretics. He did ſomething more; for Valentinian and he maintained the Jews and their patriarchs, in the poſſeſſion of all their privileges. The law of thoſe two princes is loſt; but ſince Arcadius ſupports himſelf with their example in confirming all theſe privileges, it cannot be doubted but they made it. However, Valens aboliſhed one of their greateſt advantages, ſince he ſubjected them to public offices, and revoked the preceding decrees that had exempted them. This prince's words are remarkable, becauſe they ſhew that the clergy was not ſo far privileged as is at preſent imagined. "The edict upon which the Jews flatter themſelves that they are exempted from the offices of court is voided by theſe preſents; for even the clergy are not allowed to conſecrate themſelves to the ſervice of God without having firſt paid what is due to their country; and he that will truly give himſelf to God ought to furniſh a man to fill up his place in public offices." Though Theodoſius had not revoked this law of Valens, which was executed in the reign of Arcadius, yet the Jews continued happy enough at that time.

Maximus favours the Jews.

Maximus, rebelling in the eaſt, and obliging Valentinian to implore the protection of Theodoſius, who was then in Illyricum, thought it moſt expedient to gain the Jews, and bring them over to his intereſts. He not only favoured them, but underſtanding that the people had burnt one of their ſynagogues at Rome, he ordered it to be rebuilt. Indeed Maximus's reign was ſhort. Theodoſius having often beaten his troops, cauſed his head to be cut off at Aquileia, and came afterwards to Milan, where Valentinian and he revoked all they had decreed. But as the rebuilding of the ſynagogue at Rome was a particular ordinance, and Theodoſius was perſuaded the Jews ought not to be deprived of their religious places, it is doubted whether he annulled that relating to the Jews.

Though St. Ambroſe was indeed very

Conduct of

inveterate

St. Ambroſe vindicated.

inveterate againſt the Jews, and ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the rebuilding another ſynagogue in lieu of that which the Chriſtians had ſet on fire at Callinicum, and which Theodoſius had ordered to be rebuilt at their charge; yet what Zonaras a Greek monk, and ſome other writers of later date ſay of his preaching before him, taking him to taſk, and reproaching him for ſuffering the Jews to enjoy the privilege of their ſynagogues in his capital, is all intirely falſe and abſurd. He did not preach but write to him, and his letter is ſtill preſerved, importing that they were ſo far from thinking themſelves obliged to obſerve the Roman laws, that they thought it a crime to ſubmit to them. The contrary however appears by all that we have hitherto ſaid of the edicts made for and againſt them, and much more by the new law which that prince publiſhed in the laſt year of his life againſt the untimely zeal of ſome Chriſtians, who under pretence of religion, plundered and demoliſhed their ſynagogues, contrary to the laws which allowed them liberty of conſcience, and for puniſhing ſuch offenders for the future. He even granted them a particular juriſdiction on account of the frequent lawſuits which they had either among themſelves, or with the Chriſtians, by which they were not only free from the trouble and charge of ſeeking for juſtice from ſtrange tribunals, but were likely more eaſily to obtain it from judges that were maintained by themſelves; all which privileges would hardly have been granted them, if, as is pretended to have been alleged by St. Ambroſe, they had looked upon the ſubmitting to the laws of the empire as criminal.

It appears that St. Jerom had not the ſame prejudice againſt the doctors of this nation, as St. Ambroſe; for, on the contrary, he paid them a penſion, and made uſe of their inſtruction for underſtanding the Hebrew tongue, and the Holy Scriptures. This father, who thought that he had taken too much pleaſure in reading Cicero and Virgil (you are not a Chriſtian, but a Ciceronian, ſaid a judge to him) changed his opinion for the Hebrews, learned their language with difficulty, conſulted their doctors, ſtudied under them, and made uſe of them to compoſe a Latin verſion of the Scripture. He acquaints us, that to reſtrain the ſallies of his youth, he put himſelf under the diſcipline of a young Hebrew, that was turned Chriſtian, and underwent very uncommon labour to learn a ſtrange language. He was not content with the inſtruction of this converted Jew; but took another, who ſo paſſionately loved him, that he fetched the books from the ſynagogue, under pretence of reading them, and brought them to his diſciple. This maſter was an ingenious man, and St. Jerom has quoted ſome of his explications. He ſent for a third from Tiberias, whom he employed to reviſe, by the Hebrew, his verſion of the Chronicles, which he had made from the Septuagint. He ſays, that this new maſter was admired by the ſynagogue. He ſent for a fourth from Lydda, whom he paid very dear, becauſe he was a learned man, and interpreted the traditions in the ſynagogue. It was this rabbin that helped him to tranſlate the book of Job. He had occaſion for new aſſiſtance to underſtand Daniel and Tobias, becauſe of the Chaldee expreſſions that are ſcattered in theſe books. But as he laboured with great aſſiduity, he employed but one day in the tranſlation of Tobias; which was dictated to him by a rabbin, who was equally ſkilled in the Chaldee and Hebrew languages.

St. Jerom's eſteem for the Jews.

Takes great pains to learn Hebrew.

The piety and moderation of Theodoſius was very manifeſt: he made ſeveral decrees of the moſt equitable nature; and regulated the conduct of the Chriſtians, as well as that of the Jews: he particularly condemned the oppreſſion of them by the Chriſtians, and would not ſuffer the edifices belonging to them to be burnt, on condition that on their part they would not violate the reſpect that was due to the prevailing church. But yet the inhabitants of Inmeſtar, three years after, fell into an exceſs. Debauchery prevailed over the reſpect that was due to the prince's laws; for they faſtened a young Chriſtian to a gibbet, and ſcourged him ſo cruelly, that he died. The Chriſtians of that country, enraged at ſuch a barbarous outrage, ran to arms. The battle was violent, becauſe the Jews were numerous. The governor of the province giving Theodoſius information of it, he ſent orders to chaſtiſe the guilty, and the tumult was appeaſed by their puniſhment.

Moderate and equitable conduct of Theodoſius, who grants them his protection.

This emperor, who ſpent the winter at Conſtantinople (in the year 425), made many edicts there, one of which forbad the celebrating games and ſpectacles on Eaſter Sunday, and during the principal feaſts of the year. The Jews and heathens might have alledged that this decree did not relate to them, but the emperor declared, that they were ſubject to the law, and told them, there was a time for devotion, and another for pleaſure. They thought to excite the prince's jealouſy, by complaining that this miſtaken devotion hindered the people from crowning and ſaluting the emperor's ſtatues: but Theodoſius put himſelf above that, and declared, it was honouring of him to do ſervice to God. However, we ſee that this relic of heatheniſm was ſtill retained in this prince's reign, of ſaluting the emperor's ſtatues, and inſerting the ſtyle of Numen in the laws of the ſtate.

His pious and liberal diſpoſition.

The Chriſtians reſiding in Theodoſius's empire, pulled down the ſynagogues, without any other reaſon than their hatred to this religion. If a private perſon thought himſelf affronted by a Jew, immediately he engaged the populace in his intereſt: the next thing was, to run in ſhoals to the ſynagogue, and ſet it on fire. This was often done in Macedonia; and the emperor was obliged to repreſent to his ſubjects, that it was not lawful for private perſons to do themſelves juſtice; that there were tribunals appointed to hear their grievances, and to judge of their complaints; and that he had commanded the judges of that country to take cognizance of them. The eccleſiaſtics, accuſtomed to religious broils, joined with the

Synagogues deſtroyed.

the people: thoſe of Antioch, where the Jews were numerous and rich, plundered the ſynagogue, and thought to ſanctify the theft by conſecrating the booty to the church. Complaints were made of ſo ſcandalous a conduct, which were ſo reaſonable, that they were backed by the prefect of the Prætorium, who gave informations of the diſorder, and the occaſions that had produced it: Theodoſius condemned the clergy to reſtore what they had taken, or the value; and ordered a place to be aſſigned the Jews to build a temple.

The decree was equitable, ſince the Jews lived in the empire upon the public faith of the edicts. But it did not ſeem ſo to Simeon Stilites, who was then alive, and violently eſpouſed the intereſts of the clergy, and the mutineers of Antioch: he wrote ſo preſſingly in their favour to Theodoſius, that he not only revoked the orders he had given, but caſhiered the prefect, who had adviſed him to puniſh the robbers. The favour which Theodoſius granted upon his requeſt, not only encouraged the Chriſtians of Antioch, but thoſe of the cities and neighbouring provinces, to make new aſſaults upon the ſynagogues. They were obliged to have recourſe to Theodoſius, to obtain ſome ſecurity againſt theſe frequent inſults. This prince, who was an enemy to violence, forbad them doing any. The Chriſtians were diſguſted at it: they reſumed the charge againſt the Jews, and complained, that the emperor's protection had rendered them inſolent. In explication of the preceding decrees, it was ſaid, that in anſwering the ſad and doleful complaints of the Jews, it was deſigned to ſcreen them from the perſecution that ſome turbulent ſpirits exerciſed on them, under pretence of religion, and to prohibit the burning of their churches; but at the ſame time it was declared, that if they had nothing to fear for the temples they were in poſſeſſion of, it was not lawful for them to build new ones; and that death ſhould be inflicted on all thoſe that undertook the circumciſing of a Chriſtian. There were ſtill Chriſtians at that time who embraced Judaiſm; for laws are only made againſt reigning abuſes, and it was difficult for the Jews to enforce circumciſion on a Chriſtian, if he was not diſpoſed to ſubmit to it.

The loſſes ſuſtained by the church were repaired, by an incident that happened in the year 434, in the iſland of Candia, where there were a great many rich Jews, moſt whereof were converted, after they had been groſsly deceived by an impoſtor. His name was Moſes, and he pretended to be the ancient law-giver of the people, who deſcended from heaven, to procure them a glorious deliverance, by leading them through the ſea, to return to the Land of Promiſe, as they had done when they left Egypt. We cannot conceive how a man could be ſo frantic as to attempt ſuch a deception, or to perſuade himſelf that he was able to effect it. But yet Socrates affirms, that he not only had this imagination, but alſo, that he had in one year ran over all the cities and villages of the iſland, and perſuaded the inhabitants into a belief of it. The infatuation was ſo great, that, in expectation of the day appointed to throw themſelves into the ſea, the ploughman neglected the tillage of his fields, and the proprietors abandoned the poſſeſſion of their lands and houſes to the firſt comer; every one contenting himſelf with what he could carry away.

An impoſtor in the iſland of Candia.

This pſeudo Moſes, having muſtered up his flock upon the top of a rock, the firſt at hand threw themſelves into the water, without any wavering of faith: the women and children plunged themſelves in with equal ardour. But it was quickly perceived that their abettor was an impoſtor: ſome were drowned, others were ſaved by the Chriſtian fiſhermen, who happened to be there with their barks, and went to acquaint their brethren how near their credulity had been to coſt them their lives. They attempted to ſeize the impoſtor, but he had diſappeared. In conſequence of this, many Jews embraced Chriſtianity, moſt of them grew wiſe, and all were aſhamed of putting ſo much confidence in an impoſtor of ſo infamous a character.

The Jews commit great outrages at Alexandria.

The number of Jews in the city of Alexandria, amounting to upwards of 100,000, they grew very mutinous and ſeditious; and the hatred they cheriſhed againſt the Chriſtian religion tended to ſharpen and exaſperate their turbulent diſpoſition. So that commotions frequently happened in this great city, and ſeldom ended without bloodſhed. Sabbaths were noted as ſo many days of battle, becauſe the Jews, who devoted this day to idleneſs and debauchery, inſtead of going to the ſynagogue, ſought occaſion to ſignaliſe themſelves; and the Chriſtians and heathens commonly inſulted them, when they went to the ſynagogue. There were alſo public ſhews upon that day; and the Jews choſe rather to be there than at their devotions, whereupon the people that flocked thither often engaged in quarrels with them. They uſed to come to blows, and the governors had ſeldom ſufficient authority to reſtrain theſe riots.

One day, Oreſtes, the governor of Alexandria, was in the theatre, intending to make ſome political regulations in the entertainments. He deſigned, perhaps, by good laws, to prevent the diſorders which had been attended with ſuch fatal conſequences to the public peace and good of the city. But he was miſtaken; for, as he was attempting it, it was perceived that he was ſurrounded by the party of Cyril, biſhop of the place. It was ſuſpected, that they came there only to incenſe the governor, and dictate to him ſome ordinance againſt the Jews. The preſence of Hierax, who was only an uſher of the lower claſſes, but one of Cyril's hired flatterers, who uſed to applaud this biſhop as he preached, ſerved to provoke them; inſomuch, that they cried aloud, that the man whom they looked upon as their enemy was come only to inſult them, and to raiſe ſedition. He

muſt have given occaſion for theſe complaints, ſince the governor cauſed him to be ſeized by his officers and ſcourged upon the ſtage, without any form of trial. Cyril was not a man that would bear ſuch an inſult from the prefect, whom he mortally hated. Inſtead of complaining to him of his injuſtice, if it was true that he had been guilty of any, he ſent for ſome Jews to his palace, and threatened them. They deſpiſed the threatenings of an eccleſiaſtic, whom the governor openly oppoſed; and even reſolved to maſſacre the Chriſtians.

In order to accompliſh this deſign, a body of the conſpirators ran along the ſtreets in the night, crying that the principal church of the Chriſtians at Alexandria was on fire. The croud burſt forth, without arms, to extinguiſh it. The Jews, who had a mark to diſtinguiſh themſelves, killed them as faſt as they came. Cyril, having notice of it, came out with a multitude of people, entered into all the ſynagogues, appropriated them to the church, gave up the houſes to be plundered, and drove the Jews quite naked out of the city. The governor was highly enraged, becauſe the biſhop incroached upon the juriſdiction of the officers of the empire, and becauſe he ſaw this great city almoſt unpeopled by ſuch a general expulſion of the Jews. He informed the court of it, whilſt Cyril alſo ſent his complaints againſt the Jews. The people ſided with the governor againſt their patriarch, and obliged him to go and ſue for peace with Oreſtes, who refuſed to be reconciled to him

As Cyril had brought religion into the affair, he went to the governor with the goſpel in his hand, to oblige him, upon ſight of that book, to a reconciliation; but Oreſtes being inflexible in his reſentment, Cyril, who had a troop of ſoldiers in the habit of monks, ordered them all down from the mountains of Nitris. Theſe anchorets were never ſeen to deſcend, but they put the people into conſternation. They marched down that day to the number of fifteen hundred; and, obſerving the governor, as he went into his chariot, began to load him with abuſe, and accuſed him of being an heathen, that they might have a pretence to get rid of him, under a ſhew of juſtice. It was in vain for him to cry out, that he had been baptiſed at Conſtantinople. Inſtead of hearing him, they fell upon him with ſhowers of ſtones, wounded him on the head, and covered him with blood. His guards deſerted him, being oppreſſed by numbers; and the governor would have been left to periſh, if the people had not run in to his aſſiſtance. Ammonius, one of the rioters, was arreſted and condemned to puniſhment. Oreſtes wrote to the court. Cyril, on his part, juſtified the proceedings of the monks, by declaring Ammonius a martyr, and making his panegyric in the pulpit on the man who died for ſo glorious an action. The tumult began again ſome time after, and Cyril was loaded with all the odium of the event, in which the celebrated Hypatia, an heathen virgin, of great ſenſe, learning, and virtue, loſt her life, having been aſſaſſinated by means of this biſhop, who was jealous of his reputation.

Riot and murder the effects of party zeal.

In this century, the Jewiſh nation received a more ſevere blow by the total ſuppreſſion of their patriarchs; for their way of living raiſed murmurs and complaints againſt them, and the taxes they levied upon the nation occaſioned their fall. We have already ſpoken of their privileges, and have only to add, that Theodoſius and Valentinian deprived them of that income, and appropriated an impoſt made upon their ſubjects to the imperial treaſury. By this means, the patriarchal dignity was more effectually ſuppreſſed than if it had been annulled by any edict; ſo that, for want of competent ſupport, it dwindled away. Photius pretends that the primates who ſucceeded the patriarchs were charged with this collection, anſwerable for it, and obliged to ſee it conveyed into the treaſury. Thus, in the year 429, the patriarchal dignity was abſolved.

The patriarchs aboliſhed.

Betwixt Africa and Spain is the iſland of Minorca, in which were two conſiderable cities; one, where the biſhop reſided, was inacceſſible to the Jews; there were neither wolves nor wild beaſts there; and the ſerpents, which were very numerous, loſt their venom. On the contrary, in the other city, called at preſent Port Mahon, the Jews were ſo conſiderable that, though it was ſubject to the emperor Honorius, yet they arrived to titles, and exerciſed all civil dignities; for Theodoſius, who was doctor of the law, and head of the ſynagogue, bore the firſt rank among the Chriſtians, becauſe he had paſſed through all the offices.

Situation of the Jews in Minorca.

Severus, being appointed biſhop of this iſland, was eaſily perſuaded by Oroſius, who had lately returned from Jeruſalem, loaded with ſingular relics, to undertake the converſion of the Jews. They began with private conferences, and proceeded to public diſputes, the laſt of which was held in their ſynagogue, where, finding ſome Jewiſh women had armed themſelves with ſtones, to throw at them, they provided for their own defence. The conſequence was, that the ſynagogue was pulled down, and nothing ſaved out of it but the books and plate: but the biſhop, through the power of oratory, brought their greateſt men to relent, and, in about eight days, the greater part of them were converted, and the ſynagogue turned into a church. Many, however, that remained obdurate, went and hid themſelves in caverns, till hunger forced them out; and others, leaving all they had behind them, went and ſought an aſylum in foreign countries; all which circumſtances ſhew that there was ſome violence uſed againſt them by the biſhop and his clergy. Baronius ſeems to own as much; and adds, that this example would have been followed in many other places, had not this method of converſion been put a ſtop to by the reigning prince.

Determination of Severus to convert the Jews.

Method of compiling the Babyloniſh Talmud.

Aſce, the compiler of the Babyloniſh Talmud, having taught in this manner ſixty years, publiſhed a collection of his deciſions, which he divided into four different parts. The firſt contained the maxims and rules of the Miſnah, with the doubts that might be propoſed, and their ſolutions. In the ſecond, he handled divers queſtions, and related the opinion of the Tanneans and Gemariſts about them. The third part conſiſted of the ſentences and maxims that had been publiſhed ſince Judah the Saint: and in the laſt were all the explications the ſcripture affords for the determination of differences, with the commentaries of the principal doctors. This was the firſt diviſion of the Babyloniſh Talmud. But, as R. Aſce could not finiſh his undertaking, thoſe that came into it after him changed the method, and made additions, which have rendered it much more confuſed. This great doctor died in the year 427.

Some make Marimar his ſucceſſor; but others ſay, that the feet of R. Hovan haſtened; that is, that this maſter was made preſident of the academy of Sora, in Aſce's place. His ſon Thobiomi (according to the pompous Jewiſh ſtyle) aſcended the throne of his father in the year 455, and reigned thirteen years, during which the nation enjoyed ſuch profound tranquillity, that they called this doctor their Daily Proſperity. He muſt needs have contributed to their felicity, ſince they gave him the name of it. We muſt not be ſurpriſed to hear them uſe the phraſes of ſucceſſion to the throne, and thirteen years reign, though the queſtions are only about the office of a doctor, or the pedagogue of a ſchool.

It is the rabbinical ſtyle to give great ideas of their maſters, and to careſs them with flattering titles. Thoſe that are unaccuſtomed to this ſtyle are eaſily dazzled by it; not imagining that a pedant is placed upon the throne, and that they ſhould expreſsly ſay, he reigned thirteen years, when his empire extended no farther than over ſome ſcholars, to whom he taught traditions. They alſo called plain ſtudents princes of crowns, becauſe they were the uppermoſt of a claſs. Seeing ſuch a glorious title is given to the ſcholars, we need not wonder that the prince of the captivity wore it likewiſe. They entertain lofty notions of theſe princes; whereas their power was not ſo conſiderable as is commonly ſuppoſed. The whole nation did not depend on them, as is ſaid, ſince, as far as the year 429, the patriarchs of Judæa extended their juriſdiction over many provinces; and ſince that time, the Jews diſperſed in the Roman empire could not acknowledge a prince reſiding in the territories of the Perſian or Arabian kings, with whom there were continual wars. Would the Grecian emperors, ſo extremely jealous of their authority, have ſuffered a foreign Jew to raiſe taxes upon his ſubjects, and correſpond with them in time of war? This prince's

View of revenues and power of the prince of the captivity.

revenues were but ſmall. The doctors ſay, he obtained of the Perſians the privilege of ſetting up but one judge for the determination of differences betwixt man and man, without being obliged to repair the damage, when the ſentence was given wrong; whereas, by the common laws, they were to be judged by three perſons. This obſervation is futile: for it was the Talmudiſts that fixed the number of theſe judges to three; and it was impertinent to deſire of the king of Perſia diſpenſation from a law which they had voluntarily impoſed on themſelves. However, the prince eſtabliſhed three judges at Nerea, a town half a day's journey from Babylon; and here they paid the Didrachm, when they came to be twenty years old. He alſo puniſhed the violations of the law by fines, which were reſerved for the prince.

There was ſuch another tribunal at Chaloan, five days journey from Babylon. There was a third at Kéfar; and the laſt at Babylon, where the prince reſided: and in all theſe courts they collected but ſeven hundred gold crowns, which compoſed the prince's revenue: and ſuppoſing his dignity proportioned to his income, it could not be conſiderable. By this we diſcover the reaſon of the ſilence of all the hiſtorians concerning theſe heads of the captivity. They ſay, that all theſe princes were of the houſe of David. They aſſign them a great empire, by which they ſay the ſceptre was preſerved in the tribe of Judah. However, theſe hiſtorians who preſerve the ſucceſſion, the names and ſome actions of the doctors who taught in the ſchools of Sora, Pundebita, and elſewhere, hardly ever mention the heads of the captivity; and if we diſcover ſome names of them, it is not without great uncertainty. R. Aſce is highly celebrated: they enumerate his ſucceſſors in the academy: but in all the fifth century we are examining, we find but one name of a prince of the captivity. It is impoſſible they ſhould have been ſo entirely forgotten, if they had performed any important actions in the fifth century, or had been princes, as they are ſtyled.

But to return to the Babylonian Talmud, which the head of the academy compoſed. This work was interrupted by the death of Aſce, though he left able diſciples that might have finiſhed it. But this interruption was cauſed by a perſecution that laſted ſeventy-three years: it was violent; for the obſervation of the ſabbath was ſuppreſſed; the ſynagogues were ſhut up; and the holy houſes given to the Magi. The principal doctors of the nation were made priſoners. Animar, Mor, Aſce's diſciples, and Huna his ſon, who was prince of the captivity, were condemned to death, and ſuffered it courageouſly; but the Jewiſh youth, more addicted to the pleaſures of life, deſerted their religion; ſo that the Jews were ſeverely afflicted towards the end of the fifth century. However, they reſumed courage ſome time after, and in the year 500 the Talmud was accompliſhed.

About the end of the ſame century, there aroſe a new ſect, called Sebureans or Sceptics, at the head of which was R. Joſi. Theſe doctors pretended to doubt

Account of the ſect of the Sebureans or Sceptics.

of

of every thing, and ſeem to have ſtarted up to oppoſe the infallibility which the Talmudiſts attributed to the Talmud; but whether by openly queſtioning its authority, or the ſenſe of its deciſions, we cannot affirm. However, this kind of uſurped preeminence became ſo odious to the reſt of the Jews, that it did not laſt long. It began to appear only about the cloſe of the fifth century, and was driven out of the world before the middle of the next, by the Gaonim, or Gaons, a new ſet of doctors, who took that pompous title upon them, which ſignifies ſublime or excellent, and who became the idols of the academies, and of the people, in the next century.

Perſecution of the JEWS in PERSIA under CAVADES and CHOSROES.

Jews perſecuted in Perſia.

THE ſixth century commenced with the perſecutions which the ten tribes ſuffered in the eaſt. Cavades, a haughty and impious monarch, cauſed many Chriſtians to be ſeverely tortured, and endeavoured to oblige them to embrace the religion of the Ionians; he likewiſe tormented the Jews by a variety of inhuman methods.

Inſurrection of the Jews againſt the king of Perſia.

In the time of Zeutra, a prince of the captivity, aroſe the famous Meir, a learned rabbi, and great doctor of law, who, having declared war againſt the Perſian king, with only four hundred men, was very ſucceſsful againſt him during ſeven years, after which his men having polluted themſelves with ſtrange food and female intercourſe, he was defeated, taken, and put to death by the Perſians. They went thence into the city where Zeutra reſided, and plundered it: they then took that prince and the preſident of the council, and hanged them upon a bridge. His family were forced to betake themſelves to flight, and his ſon and heir Zeutra II. retired into Judæa, where he became preſident of the ſenate or Sanhedrim. This the Jewiſh hiſtorians tell us was the ſource of that ſeries of misfortunes which attended them in Perſia, inſomuch that their great maſter Hahonai never dared ſhew his face during the ſpace of thirty years, that is, during the whole time of the reign of Cavades.

The Jews perſecuted under Choſroes.

However, Choſroes the Great was not more favourable to them than his father. They had endeavoured to purchaſe his favour by betraying the emperor Juſtinian. This prince had ſent ambaſſadors to the eaſt to negotiate a peace, and had loaded them with preſents; which were received with ſuch acknowledgments, that there was reaſon to hope for a ſpeedy iſſue of the treaty, when the Jews, who had their ſpies and deputies at this court, inſinuated to Choſroes, that if he was willing to continue the war, they would furniſh him with fifty thouſand men in Judæa; by which means he might take Jeruſalem, one of the richeſt cities in the world. Choſroes accepted the propoſal, broke off the negociation with the emperor, and was preparing to ſecond the endeavours of the traitors; when news was brought that the deputies, who were departed to execute the deſign. had been ſeized upon their return, and ſentenced to death, having firſt confeſſed their crime. This deſire to oblige the Perſian prince did not engage him in their intereſts; and they not only had their ſhare in the general miſeries of the empire, when Choſroes, who often took arms againſt the Romans, pillaged Syria, and advanced to Judæa, to make himſelf maſter of Jeruſalem; but this prince alſo ſhut up all the academies of the eaſt; which obſtructed the progreſs of the ſciences. We do not ſo much as find that there was then a prince of the captivity, ſince Zeutra II. had been obliged to retire to Judæa, where he long exerciſed an office infinitely beneath that he would have poſſeſſed at Babylon, if he had been ſuffered to remain in that country.

Reſtored by Hormiſdas, and perſecuted by Choſroes II. and ſlaughtered at Antioch.

Hormiſdas III. reſtored to the Jews their liberty; for the academy of Pundebita was opened. R. Chanon Meliſchka began to teach; but this unhappy prince reigned not long: his rebellious ſubjects took him priſoner; and his own ſon Choſroes II. deprived him of his life. But this young prince did not peaceably enjoy the fruits of his parricide; for Varanes, who had been his father's enemy, declaring himſelf alſo his, and pretending to aſcend the throne, expelled him from Perſia, having firſt beat his army. He was obliged to engage in many battles, before he could get the maſtery of Varanes, who had made a conſiderable party in the ſtate, and defended himſelf with great bravery. The Jews were in his intereſt. This faithleſs, reſtleſs, imperious, jealous, envious, implacable nation (ſays the Greek hiſtorian) was then ſo powerful in Perſia, as to raiſe the people againſt their prince, and to fortify the rebels; becauſe it was extremely multiplied, and had amaſſed prodigious wealth. Choſroes getting the maſtery, expiated this treachery with their blood. Thoſe of Antioch fell firſt into the hands of Mebodus the Roman general. This was not the Syrian city; but another, which Choſroes I. had built in Perſia, and had given it that name, becauſe he had formed it by the other's model, and had tranſplanted its inhabitants. It is ſaid, they were amazed, when they entered it, to find their country again; a ſecond Antioch; the ſame ſtreets and houſes they had left. Mebodus having taken this place, put numbers of Jews to the ſword, deſtroyed others by different puniſhments, and reduced the reſt to a miſerable ſlavery.

Choſroes, being at length reſettled, was reconciled to them, and uſefully employed them in his deſigns. Indeed, this prince, who delighted in war, gave out, that he armed, to revenge the death of Mauritius, his benefactor, upon Phocas, who had killed him, and made himſelf maſter of the empire. Choſroes broke into Syria and Judæa, where he did terrible execution. He returned again in Heraclius's time, took Jeruſalem, and carried with him a croſs which a Jew had found. It is moſt probable this nation had correſpondence with

Ninety thouſand Chriſ-

Choſroes;

tians butchered by the Jews.

Chosroes; since, upon his being master of Jerusalem, he returned them all the Christian prisoners, which they only bought to satiate their implacable malice, for ninety thousand persons were unmercifully butchered.

Abdalla the Mohammedan persecutes both Christians and Jews.

The Jews were likewise involved in the desolations of Syria, as well as Jerusalem. Abdalla the son of Aly traversing Judæa, commanded the Christians to shave their beards and wear long caps. And at Jerusalem he ordered the Jews as well as the Christians to be marked in the hand, to distinguish them from Mussulmans. Many of the Christians, unwilling to bear this disgrace, retired into the Roman territories; but the Jews continued under the government of Abdalla, and they fared much better under his immediate successors.

Isdigerdes persecutes the Jews.

The Persian historians assert, that their king Isdigerdes persecuted them some time before the war of the Arabians against him. Their synagogues were given to the Magi; their academies shut up, and the persecution caused the fall of many persons. No wonder then that they rejoiced upon the change of their master. It is an inclination rooted in the heart of the oppressed to desire and rejoice at the humbling of their persecutor. They imagine that God, a just protector of the innocent, punishes the oppressor, and makes him sensible of his iniquity. The Jews passed this judgment upon Isdigerdes, and the Persians, who had given them such hard treatment. They are accused not only of rejoicing at the conquests of the Mussulmans, who destroyed abundance of churches, and did great mischief to the Christians; but of associating with them, of taking their mark, and encouraging them to carry their arms into the empire. But their joy must have often been interrupted by their own misfortunes: for the havock which the conquerors made in Persia and Syria must have given them disturbance. Besides, it was not necessary that they should provoke the Saracens to war, who were sufficiently inclined to it: and from the moment they had tasted the pleasure of wealth, by plundering some provinces, they forgot their antient poverty, and thought of nothing but enriching themselves with the spoils of their neighbours. We ought therefore to found the motives of the war, and of the invasion of so many kingdoms, on the avarice of the Arabians, and the ambition of their leaders, which was never satisfied.

Liberality and candour of the Arabians.

However, the Jews highly extol the humanity of the Arabians, who condemn the violence offered to conscience, and restored them to the free profession of their religion. They lived peaceably under the first caliphs, and their academies were open. Chana taught at Pundebita, under Omar. Mar. Rabba succeeded him; whilst Chenina Sursæus, the son of Calipta, reigned at Sora.

Omar's equity.

For some time Omar favoured the Jews; and we are told, that a Mussulman having gained his cause by Mahomet's decision, and the process being brought before him to be revised, he took his sabre and cut off the obstinate Mussulman's head, to avenge the Jew of his adversary's cavils. After he was caliph, a Jew complaining to him of a governor of a province, to whom he had delivered some goods which he did not pay for; Omar called for ink, and there being none in the place, he took a brick from the wall of Medina, which he was building, and drew upon it these words: "Put an end to the complaints that are brought against you, or leave your government." The Jew carrying the brick, was presently paid the money. This shews what access this nation had to the caliph, and this prince's love of justice. But yet, if he had equity for private persons, he was very injurious to the nation: for that part which continued in Arabia after Mahomet's conquests, he totally expelled.

Instead of suffering under Jesid and his first successors, the Jews residing in these parts enjoyed a full and absolute peace. Its prince of the captivity reigned with almost as great an authority as if he had been king. The academies had been almost abandoned during the revolution. So great was the desertion of scholars and masters, that they were forced at Sora to make a weaver professor, because he had studied the law. But then they began to relish the sciences again. The profession of physic, which is always profitable, resumed its former lustre. A priest of Alexandria, named Aaron, was at once physician and teacher: he had published a book, intitled "The Pandects; or, the Treasure of Remedies." The Jew, Massergieuf, who was at the caliph's court, then translated it into the Arabic language.

Affairs of the JEWS in the West, under several Princes: at CONSTANTINOPLE, AFRICA, ITALY, SPAIN, and FRANCE.

Justinian's edicts against the Jews.

THE first cause of complaint which the emperor Justinian gave them, was his edict, which forbad them to celebrate their passover, according to their own calculation, and enjoined them to keep it at the same time with the Christians. This was no more than what we are told he did to the latter, whom he obliged to follow his new calculation, which caused no less confusion amongst them, but the Jews, ever tenacious of their old customs, resented it at a higher rate. They were soon after exposed to a more severe edict, by which that emperor deprived them of several privileges; particularly of making wills, and bequeathing legacies. He likewise deprived those of Africa of the public exercise of their religion, at the request of the council of Carthage, and sent orders to the prefect of the prætorium, to turn all their synagogues into churches, and to restrain them from performing any religious duties in caverns. This law was executed chiefly at Borium a city of Africa, situate at the foot of the mountains which bounded Pentapolis on the western side.

The synagogues of Africa changed into churches.

The

Forium in Africa peopled by the Jews.

The ſituation of this city was ſtrong, becauſe a chain of mountains ſhut up its entrance, and left but a very narrow paſſage to come at it. The Jews had made it a retreat in Juſtinian's time: here they lived the more peaceably, becauſe the emperor demanded no taxes of them, and no imperial collector was ever ſeen there. They had a ſtately temple, the foundation whereof they referred to Solomon's time. We are to conclude from this, that they had been a long time ſettled in this place, and that they were rich, notwithſtanding the neighbourhood of the Moors. Juſtinian undertook the converſion of the inhabitants of this city, as well as of that of Aigula, where heathenism ſtill remained, and where they ſacrificed to idols, in temples conſecrated to Alexander the Great, and Jupiter Ammon. He ſucceeded in his deſign; for the Jews as well as heathens embraced chriſtianity. The ſynagogue, or temple of Solomon, became a church; and Juſtinian cauſed the city to be walled in, to render it more tenable.

The Jews, conſidering theſe edicts as a kind of perſecution, failed not as uſual to produce a more than ordinary diſcontent, which by degrees ripened into a revolt, as ſoon as a proper opportunity offered.

Inſurrections of the Jews againſt Juſtinian.

The firſt was cauſed by an impoſtor named Julian. He appeared in Paleſtine, and deluded the people of that country. As he took the title of Conqueror, the better to ſurpriſe his nation, he cauſed all his credulous followers to arm themſelves. The ſeditious falling unexpectedly upon the Chriſtians, who fancied they had nothing to fear from a nation ſo often humbled, made great ſlaughter of them; but Juſtinian's troops ran to the relief of the oppreſſed, who ſoon found they were led by a miſguided zeal. Their leader was taken, and puniſhed with death, which terminated the revolt.

Revolt at Ceſarea.

There was a ſecond diſturbance, 25 years after, at Ceſarea. The Samaritans and Jews, though mortal enemies to each other, united againſt the Chriſtians of this city. They demoliſhed the churches, murdered many people, and aſſaſſinated the governor in his palace. His wife eſcaping the danger, carried her complaints to Juſtinian, who ſent ſpeedy orders to Adamantius to bring the cauſe before him. Informations being laid, and the Jews charged with all the odium and cruelty of this violence, Adamantius confiſcated the eſtates of the rich, put to flight great numbers of the mutineers who had a ſhare in the action, and took off the heads of others. The execution was performed with ſuch ſeverity, that it made all the Jews of that country tremble, and prevented for a time their taking up arms againſt the Chriſtians in thoſe parts.

The Jews in Italy declared loudeſt againſt Juſtinian

Exploits of Beliſarius the Roman general.

and Beliſarius, who beſieged Naples. This famous general had recovered Africa to the emperor's obedience, vanquiſhed the Vandals; and in the triumph decreed him for it at Conſtantinople, brought out the ſacred veſſels of the temple of Jeruſalem, which Titus had brought to Rome, and Gizeric had carried away, when he plundered that great city. This ſpectacle, which revived the remembrance of the taking of Jeruſalem, and the ruin of its temple, muſt have diſturbed the Jews of Conſtantinople. Upon this ſight, one of them exclaimed, that theſe precious veſſels ought not to be brought to Conſtantinople, nor placed in the emperor's palace. They cannot (ſaid he) be preſerved in any other place, than that where Solomon conſecrated them; and this is the reaſon that Gizeric has taken Rome, and the Romans have conquered him.

The Jews aſſiſt the Goths.

Two factions now prevailed in the city of Naples, one for the emperor, and the other for the Goths, whom the Jews, who were numerous and conſiderable there, favoured. The Imperialiſts, to free themſelves from the inconveniencies of a ſiege, had repreſented to Beliſarius, that it was more advantageous to lay ſiege to Rome; becauſe if he took that capital, Naples, which continued in ſubjection to the barbarians but by force, would naturally return to its obedience: but he rejected the propoſition, and only made them great promiſes, if they would capitulate. Articles of capitulation were already drawn up, and accepted by Beliſarius, who granted all their demands, when the friends of the Goths pathetically addreſſed the inhabitants, and ſupported their arguments by the preſence of the Jewiſh merchants, who were there, to aſſure the people, that they ſhould neither want proviſions nor ammunition during the ſiege: the citizens, encouraged by this aſſurance, took heart, and defended the place for twenty days with the greateſt vigour. Beliſarius loſt many good officers and ſoldiers in the different aſſaults, in which he was repulſed. The Jews defended that part towards the ſea; and as they were perſuaded they ſhould have no quarter, ſince they were the principal cauſe of the reſiſtance that was made, they fought like deſperate men. The city was already taken on another ſide, whilſt they ſtill ſuſtained the enemy's aſſault in their entrenchments: but at day-light they were forced in them. Beliſarius exhorted his army to clemency; but whether he ſpoke but faintly, or that the ſoldiers, bent on murder and plunder, were deaf to the general's advice, they reſpected neither age, ſex, or religion, and, without diſtinction of perſons, made a great ſlaughter. This dreadful ſeverity quelled them for a time, and we hear of neither revolt or perſecution during the two ſubſequent reigns.

Naples beſieged and taken.

The Jews quiet under Mauritius.

Notwithſtanding the reign of Mauritius was diſturbed with the wars of the Avari, who came from the Danube, and made frequent incurſions into Thracia, yet the Jews remained quiet there. This prince's avarice, perhaps, contributed to it; for it was eaſy to purchaſe their liberty and peace of him. Beſides, the Avari were ſo remote from Judæa and Syria, that they could not flatter themſelves with drawing any hopes of aſſiſtance from thence; and perhaps their motions were but little known. But Phocas aſcending the throne, by aſſaſſinating his maſter and his children, it was apprehended this revolution might cauſe many alterations in the ſtate of affairs.

Horrid cruelties of the Jews at Antioch.

The Jews of Syria, finding themſelves powerful at Antioch, laid hold of the opportunity, and armed againſt the Chriſtians. The ſedition was general, and they fought reſolutely on both ſides; but the Jews being the ſtrongeſt killed many, and burnt others in their houſes, which they had ſet on fire. The biſhop Anaſtus was treated in a barbarous manner, for they dragged him along the ſtreets, and after expoſing him in the moſt ignominious manner, threw him into the fire, and burnt him. They were at length with great difficulty ſuppreſſed by Count Bonoſus, whom Phocas ſent with a ſufficient force againſt them. Thoſe that came off eaſieſt were baniſhed, and ſent away mangled and maimed. They were, however, very numerous and formidable in the iſle of Cyprus, where they had found means to eſtabliſh themſelves, notwithſtanding the reſolution that had been taken in Adrian's reign, of not ſuffering ſo much as travellers of that religion there. It was about four years after the maſſacre of Antioch, that the good Cyprian biſhop Leontius, fearing perhaps the ſame fate from them, reſolved, if poſſible, to convert them to Chriſtianity, and ſucceeded ſo well it it, if we may depend upon his apology as genuine, that the far greater part of them were baptized.

They are powerful in Cyprus.

Gregory the Great favours the Jews.

At that time lived Gregory the Great, who was perſuaded that the Jews ought to be protected, inſtead of hated, becauſe they were, one day, to be recalled. Their general converſion was the vehement object of his deſires; he proſecuted the means, and wrote to his receiver in Sicily, to abate his farmers, who turned Chriſtians, the third of the revenues they were indebted to him. "They muſt (ſaid he) be called to the unity of the faith, by mild perſuaſion, and charitable advice. Violence is likely to diſguſt thoſe, whom gentleneſs and charity may allure. Menaces and terror ſtop thoſe, whom the idea of God's juſtice, often repeated, had ſhaken. The true method to convert them is not to make them fear us, by carrying ſeverity to exceſs; but to oblige people to come and hear the word of God." He likewiſe imagined it lawful to employ money, without believing theſe preſents could iufuſe faith; "for," ſaid he, "if we convert not the fathers, we may win the children."

The Jews have praiſed this pontiff, in their annals, for his lenity and indulgence to them; and they had reaſon; for the abbeſs of St. Stephen de Gergenti in Sicily, deſiring to ſignalize her zeal to the pope, gave him notice, that a great number of Sicilian Jews deſired to be converted. But he would not be dazzled with a notion of increaſing the church. He ordered the abbeſs not to be too haſty, but to wait till thoſe catechumens were well inſtructed, before ſhe ſuffered them to receive baptiſm.

Imprudent zeal of a Jewiſh convert.

This pontiff had the equity to condemn the extravagant zeal of a new convert of Cagliari. A Jew, who had received baptiſm the day before, thinking to diſtinguiſh himſelf in his new religion, put himſelf at the head of a company of young people, and went to the ſynagogue on Eaſter-day, and ſet up a croſs there. The chief officers, military and civil, inſtead of approving this violence, remonſtrated againſt the Jew. The biſhop himſelf, whom he had conſulted, denied his conſent, and condemned the action. Gregory the Great, deſiring to coincide with this prelate in his equitable notions, praiſed him for not confounding the evil with the good, and adviſed him to paſs cenſure upon the new convert, without hearkening to the excuſes he might make, by laying the fault upon his zeal, and love for religion. He required that the croſs ſhould be removed, and the ſynagogue left to the Jews; ſince, though the law forbids them to build new ones, it appoints, that they ſhould be left the enjoyment of thoſe they had already. With the ſame ſpirit he condemned the biſhop of Terracina, who had taken away a ſynagogue in his dioceſe, which the laws had eſtabliſhed, and had driven the Jews from another place, where they were retired for their devotion. Gregory not only revived the old edicts iſſued againſt their having Chriſtian ſlaves, which had been long ſince ſhamefully neglected, but ordained that all the Jewiſh domeſtics, who ſhould take refuge in the churches, and be baptized, ſhould become free.

The Jewiſh affairs under Heraclius ſuffer a change for the worſe.

The Jews found their condition altered much for the worſe as ſoon as the emperor Heraclius had concluded a peace with Perſia, by which ſome relics formerly taken by them had been reſtored to him, and ſent to Jeruſalem. It plainly appears, from his own words, that he hated the Jewiſh nation becauſe they were enemies to the Chriſtian religion; but what gave him the firſt handle againſt them was, his meeting with one at Tiberias named Benjamin, a man ſo wealthy as to have alone furniſhed his army and court with proviſions, and ſo elated on that account that he harraſſed the Chriſtians with troubleſome law-ſuits and malicious proſecutions. Benjamin, fearing his reſentment, found no better expedient to avoid it than turning Chriſtian; but this circumſtance did not leſſen the emperor's averſion to the nation, whom he ſoon after cauſed to be baniſhed out of Jeruſalem, with a ſevere prohibition againſt thoſe who ſhould, from that time, approach within three miles of the place. The prediction of ſome ſoothſayers he had conſulted gave him ſtill greater provocation againſt the Jews. This reſtleſs prince queſtioned them about the fate of the empire, which was in violent convulſions: and they anſwered him, "It ſhould be ruined by a circumciſed nation." As he ſaw the Jews numerous, he gave credit to the ſoothſayers, and perſecuted the Jews, by obliging them to abjure their religion. Not content with this, the emperor carried his zeal againſt them into the neighbouring kingdoms, and particularly to Siſibut king of Spain, who made great numbers priſoners, and many abandoned their religion, in order to avoid the cruel torments wherewith they were threatened.

They are baniſhed from Jeruſalem.

The council of Toledo, which aſſembled by order of

of Siſimund, who had dethroned Squintilla, the ſon of Siſibut, and, perceiving the people's minds divided, becauſe his competitor was ſtill alive, made uſe of religious means to unite them. He convened the prelates of the kingdom to Toledo, proſtrated himſelf before them, and in profound humiliation deſired a reformation of diſcipline. The council furthered the deſigns of the new king, by giving inſtructions to the Goths to unite under the ſame prince, for the defence of the nation, and pronouncing anathemas on thoſe who ſhould violate the oath of fidelity they had taken to the uſurper. The council declared that neither Squintilla, who had abdicated the crown, nor his wife, nor children, nor Gelanus his brother, who had pretended to take Siſimund's part, and had deceived him, ſhould ever be admitted to the benefit of the church. They went alſo upon the correction of ſeveral abuſes, and made regulations about the ſtate of the Jews. It condemned the violence that had been done them by Siſibut's order, declaring, that nobody ought to be forced to believe; that we can only ſave thoſe that deſire it; that as the firſt man ruined himſelf wilfully, by crediting fallacious promiſes, man cannot be ſaved but by a free converſion of his mind, and that he ought to be perſuaded, and not driven to the faith.

Decrees of the council of Toledo.

Chintila, the ſucceſſor of Siſimund, and who was, perhaps, his brother, thought alſo he ought to bring the churchmen into his intereſt. To this effect, he called the fifth council of Toledo, which made many decrees in his favour. But, to render his laws more authentic, he cauſed them to be confirmed by another council aſſembled the ſame year, in the ſame place. This council did three things againſt the Jews. 1. It recommended its king, who was inflamed with a perſecuting zeal. 2. It ſolemnly ratified the law that this prince had made, to baniſh all the Jews out of his kingdom. Laſtly, it decreed, that no king, for the future, ſhould aſcend the throne till he had taken an oath never to violate this law; and anathematiſed him if he broke it. It is probable, this variation of the two councils was cauſed by the death of Iſidore of Seville. This prudent and moderate man, whoſe ſentiments were known, preſided in the fourth council of Toledo: he died before the ſixth. Hence aroſe the inconſtancy of the prelates; who, having loſt their truly Chriſtian preſident, ſwerved from moderation to violence.

A new council.

New decrees againſt the Jews.

Several councils were alſo called by Receſuinthus at Toledo, where he offered them a plan of what ought to be the ſubject of their deliberations. He propoſed, that they ſhould debate about the election of kings, in which the clergy had great ſhare given them. The Jews were not forgotten; who, after the converſion in former reigns, continued to judaize. The king was weary of this diſſimulation, and would have it remedied. However, it ſeems that this motion of the king, and the decrees of the council, produced a ſalutary effect: for the principals of the nation met, and wrote to the king, in the name of thoſe of Toledo, and of all Spain, who were in the ſame circumſtances; proteſting to him, that though they had hitherto diſſembled, being neither perfect Chriſtians, nor perfect Jews, they were reſolved to change their conduct, and ſincerely embrace the Chriſtian religion.

Their artful conduct.

They aſſured this prince, that they would no longer have any commerce with thoſe of their nation who were unbaptiſed; that they would not intermarry with them, nor obſerve the ſabbath or circumciſion. They promiſed to ſtone or burn him that ſhould violate this engagement; and if the king would graciouſly grant them their lives, they would conſent to be his ſlaves, and that their goods ſhould be confiſcated. But their practices ſoon appeared totally oppoſite to their profeſſions; for they not only eſpouſed the cauſe of Judaiſm, but publicly attacked Chriſtianity, inſomuch that Ervigius was obliged to order Julian, then archbiſhop of Toledo, to write againſt them; which he accordingly did, with great force and ſucceſs, in a learned treatiſe which he publiſhed a little before the cloſe of the ſeventh century.

Julian's book againſt them.

Egica complained of a conſpiracy the Jews and their diſperſed brethren in Africa had made againſt his government. This prince repreſented to the council aſſembled at Toledo, that the miſchief was ſpread into all the provinces of the kingdom: that it had not paſſed the Alps, nor come into France; but that it was, nevertheleſs, worthy of conſideration; and that it could not be diſſembled or tolerated; and, therefore, demanded not only the council's advice, but aſſiſtance. Upon deliberation, it was reſolved, that all the Jews ſhould be degraded of their privileges, declared ſlaves for ever, that their eſtates ſhould be confiſcated, and their children educated by Chriſtians.

Reſolutions of the council of Toledo againſt them.

They were ſtill more favoured under Lewis, ſurnamed the Debonnair, whoſe chief phyſician was a Jew, whom ſome hiſtorians have repreſented as one of the greateſt magicians in the world. He was in ſuch high credit with that prince, that all the courtiers were glad to gain his and his countrymen's friendſhip with the moſt ſumptuous preſents. The emperor gave them liberty to build new ſynagogues, and granted them very advantageous edicts. So powerful a protection bred jealouſy and great diſorders in the dioceſe of Lyons. Agobard, who was biſhop of it, had forbidden his flock to ſell Chriſtian ſlaves to the Jews to be carried into Spain, and to keep the ſabbath. It cannot be doubted, but this prelate had a power to make ſuch laws as theſe for the government of the people committed to his care, and then did what is uſual with able men, when inveſted with authority. He forbad the Chriſtians to buy wine of the Jews, and to eat with them during Lent. The Jews complained

Jews flouriſh under Lewis the Debonnair.

Diſturbed by the biſhop of Lyons.

plained of these laws to Lewis, who, being provoked against Agobard, and the citizens of Lyons, sent three commissaries to take information.

The bishop was much surprised to see them arrive at his house. Some inhabitants, who probably were guilty of more capital oppressions, betook themselves to flight. The bishop, having more authority, waited the consequences of the inquest, which was not to his advantage, since the Jews were restored to the possession of their privileges, and the market on Saturday was changed to another day of the week, that the necessity of trading on that day might not oblige them to violate the sabbath. The emperor had in his turn the power of making regulations relating to the police.

In the mean time, Agobard was much disgusted; he questioned whether these were the true orders of the emperor; though he could not doubt it, since his seal was put to them. He accused his ministers of corruption: he charged the Jews with stealing frequently Christian children, in order to sell them, and of doing the basest actions; and related this upon the declaration of a fugitive of Corduba, who said, that they had sold him in his youth. These accusations were not believed at court, and his remonstrances had no effect.

Evrard, the emperor's commissary, continued to protect the Jews, and to mortify the archbishop of Lyons, who omitted nothing in support of what he had done. He wrote a second time to the emperor, and sent him a treatise of the Jewish superstitions, signed by two bishops he had joined with him, to give greater weight and authority to his book. He endeavoured to prove in this piece, that we ought to have no commerce with hereticks; and particularly with the Jews, because there is no sectary but what has some article of faith in common with the church.

Agobard's untimely zeal suppressed.

On failure of these efforts, Agobard made a journey to court, to solicit more effectually against the Jews, whom he looked upon as personal enemies. He had audience of the emperor, but it was only an audience of leave; being permitted to return to his diocese without giving him any satisfaction. The disappointment of this journey redoubled his grief. He was afraid of provoking the court, by baptising of heathens, who were in the service of the Jews, and sometimes took refuge in the churches, to turn Christians. Therefore, as he durst not venture upon this last stage without the emperor's leave, he sent to beg his permission. What answer he had we cannot learn, but we have reason to conclude, from a most uncharitable and splenetic epistle he wrote to the great and learned Nebutius, bishop of Narbonne, that it was not acceptable.

The Jews having met with such protection, especially at Lewis's court, against one of the most learned bishops of his age, made them flourish in France. It was said openly at court, that the posterity of Abraham and the patriarchs ought to be respected. Even some Christians began to conform to the Jewish rites in many instances that were a reproach to their profession.

Their state under Charles the Bald.

But the treatment of the Jews was not altogether so agreeable under Charles surnamed the Bald, when Remisius, a prelate of eminence, caused some of his clergy to preach in their synagogues, by which means so great a number of their children were like to have been converted, that they were forced to send them away to Vienne in Dauphine, Macon, and Arles in Provence, and other places, where they were more numerous. The bishop sent a complaint to court, and begged of that prince to send orders to the bishop of Arles, &c. to follow his method, representing that the conversion of those children was a greater act of charity than saving them out of the lion's mouth. In all probability, Charles consented to this request, for numbers of Jewish children were baptised, all by their own free choice, and the emperor was soon after poisoned by Sedecias his Jewish physician, who is supposed to have been suborned to that vile deed by those of his own nation.

The Jews accused of assisting the Normans.

The Jews in France were likewise accused of having a great hand in the troubles that happened under this reign, by the incursion of the Normans into several provinces, particularly that of Aquitaine, where they were very numerous. They were still liable to the ignominious sentence passed against them by Charlemagne, of being buffetted three times a year at the church door, which was not, indeed, executed on all the Tholousan Jews, but was in time confined to their Syndic, or head magistrate, who received that punishment in the name of the rest.

Obnoxious to particular cities.

We may add, that though their credit was very high at court, during the life of the treacherous Sedecias, yet they were liable to many insults from the populace in cities at a distance from it. Thus, for instance, those of Beziers, in Languedoc, were yearly driven about with vollies of stones from the eve of Palm Sunday to the Tuesday in Easter week, from which indignation they at length redeemed themselves by a tribute they paid to the bishop of the place. Indeed it is no wonder that the Jews, though powerful at court, should be obnoxious to the inhabitants of particular cities.

Many learned Jewish writers flourished in the tenth century.

The Jews boast that they never had such celebrated doctors as in the tenth century. A new academy was erected in the east. The Arabians applied themselves to study, and the Jews imitated their conduct. At this time, David was chose a prince of the captivity; and the weakness of the reigning calif gave him an opportunity of establishing his authority on a surer footing than it had formerly gained. At this time the Jews were so numerous, that the city of Pheruts Schibber alone contained near a million of them.

Account of

Over-and-above those learned doctors, who

Moſes, furnamed Clad with a Sack.

who were natives of Spain, Providence furniſhed the Jews with a famous one, viz. Moſes, ſurnamed *Clad with a Sack*. This man having left the eaſt, and being taken by corſairs, and carried with his ſon upon the coaſt of Spain, was ranſomed by the Jews of Corduba. This was done out of charity, without any knowledge of his merit. But putting himſelf in the corner of a ſchool, as a layman and a beggar, who had no other than a ſack, wherewith he wrapped himſelf up to cover his nakedneſs, he argued ſo profoundly upon all the queſtions that were propoſed, that the preſident of the ſchool yielded his place to him. He was created chief of the nation, with a good ſalary. But having great inclination to die in his country, he reſolved to return thither; though the calif would not ſuffer him, for reaſons of ſtate. The Talmud was then very little known in Spain, and when any controverſy aroſe, the ſynagogues ſent their deputies to Bagdad, to have them decided. Hakem, who was calif in Spain, and did not like his ſubjects paſſing frequently into the eaſt, where the Abbaſſides, the enemies of his houſe, reigned, and who had deſtroyed it, was highly gratified at Moſes teaching the Talmud to the Spaniards. He retained him, in order to ſtop the courſe of theſe deputations, which gave him, perhaps, ſome ſuſpicion. Moſes reigned a long time, and Enoch his ſon ſucceeded him.

The Talmud tranſlated into Arabic.

By the following circumſtance, it will appear that Haſchem II. king of Corduba, whom the Jews call Aſchaſez, did more than his father; for he ordered the Talmud to be tranſlated into Arabic, either from curioſity to learn what was in a book ſo cried up by the Jews, or elſe to make it more common in the nation, in order to prevent the pilgrimages to Bagdad and Jeruſalem. R. Joſeph undertook this great work, and very ſucceſsfully accompliſhed it; but he grew ſo haughty upon it, that he could no longer bear Enoch ſhould be preferred to him to be chief of the nation. He broke with him; their diviſion made a noiſe: the ſynagogues engaged in it; but Enoch had the more numerous party. Joſeph was excommunicated: he appealed to the king; but Haſchem would not meddle with this affair, either out of policy, or becauſe living in dependence upon his Hageb, or grand chamberlain, he was not at liberty to protect his favourites. Joſeph being deprived of the protection he expected from court, left Spain, and took the road to Bagdad, where he thought to find a retreat near the famous Hay; but he gave him to underſtand, that he could not receive him, becauſe he was excommunicated by the Spaniſh ſynagogues. He remained, therefore, at Damaſcus, where he died, without being able to procure a revocation of the ſentence which had been pronounced againſt him.

Revolutions in the caliſhip.

Diviſions among the Saracens increaſed more and more in Spain, during the eleventh century. There had been a long time a deſign to dethrone that branch of the Ommiades which reigned there. Their weakneſs had ſo diſguſted the people, that, after they had changed their maſter, they ſwore never to admit any man more of that family. The uſurpers were not much more ſucceſsful, for the people were quickly involved in a new ſearch of a ſovereign. One of the Ommiades, who ſurvived the ruin of his houſe, offered himſelf to them. They repreſented to him that, by attempting to aſcend the throne, he incurred a certain death. But ambition overcame love of life: "Kill me to-morrow (ſaid he), provided you make me this day a king."

R. Samuel Levi, chief of the Jews.

The Jews obtained ſome advantages from the revolutions in Spain; for R. Samuel Levi became ſecretary and miniſter of ſtate to the king of Grenada, who afterwards made him prince of his nation, and he employed his credit at court in protecting it. He even ſcattered his bounties among foreigners: for the African, Egyptian, and Babylonian doctors, were his penſioners. The Jews had the ſatisfaction to ſee his ſon ſucceed him in his poſts; and the only thing which moderated their joy was, the haughtineſs of this young man, whoſe riches had rendered him proud; whereas his father had preſerved his humility in his greateſt exaltation. But an unexpected turn of affairs diſturbed the repoſe and tranquillity they enjoyed.

Perſecuted in Grenada.

Joſeph Hallevy, one of the learned men of that age, ſet up for a converter of the muſſulmans. The tranſlation of the Talmud into Arabic, which was made ſome years before, facilitated this deſign, though it miſcarried. The king of Grenada could not bear this inſult offered the eſtabliſhed religion; ſo that the Jewiſh rabbi was put into priſon, and afterwards to death. The perſecution began by the king's order; in which fifteen hundred families in this one kingdom greatly ſuffered. This calamity was the more ſenſibly felt, becauſe proſperity had made them rich and powerful. They were apprehenſive leſt the neighbouring kings ſhould imitate ſo dreadful an example: but the violence was ſoon ſtopped, and went no farther than the kingdom of Grenada.

King Ferdinand meditates their deſtruction, which is prevented by the biſhops.

A more ſevere and deſtructive oppreſſion would have been experienced by them, under king Ferdinand, who, at the inſtigation of his bigotted wife, was going to ſanctify his war againſt the Saracens by the extirpation of the Jews, had not the biſhops, and even the pope (Alexander II.) put a ſtop to his furious zeal, by publickly oppoſing and condemning it. But what moſt probably extricated them out of all danger from that monarch and his ſucceſſor, was the revolution which the Moors occaſioned in Africa; in conſequence of which Alphonſo, diſtreſſed on every ſide, found himſelf obliged to befriend and careſs, inſtead of oppreſſing them, in order to procure their money and aſſiſtance. Accordingly, they were promoted by him to conſiderable poſts, and obtained ſuch other privileges, that Pope Gregory quite diſapproved

proved of them, though his cenſures could not prevail upon Alphonſo to retract them. Nor had his grandſon, Peter I. more regard to the exhortations of Nicolas of Valencia. The cruſade being publiſhed in Spain, at in other Chriſtian kingdoms, Peter reſolved to engage in this war againſt the infidels. Nicolas repreſented to his king, that it was in vain to go in queſt of foreign enemies ſo far, when he had ſo many at home; and added, that the Jews had ſuch an inveterate hatred to the Chriſtians, that they never met them without denouncing curſes on their heads, with many other articles as abſurd and ridiculous, to which the king, who was averſe to perſecution, only lent a deaf ear. However, the moderation of this prince did not ſave the Jews from being maſſacred by the cruſaders in ſeveral other parts of Spain. But, notwithſtanding theſe perſecutions, this country had abundance of Jewiſh doctors in the eleventh century.

Men of learning in the eleventh century

Samuel Cophni, born at Corduba, publiſhed a commentary upon the Pentateuch, the manuſcript whereof is in the Vatican library: thoſe that have read it, eſteem it as a fine piece, but confeſs it has a great many allegories. He had a diſpute with a divine of his nation, and died in the year 1034. At that time appeared alſo the five Iſaacs. One of them was called Iſaac Alpheſi, as coming out of Africa, from the kingdom of Fez, into Spain. He paſſed for one of the moſt learned men of his time, and became prince of the Exile in Spain. His epitaph, written in ſpondaic verſe, which ſhews, that at that time they obſerved quantity, after the manner of the Greeks and Latins, was a moſt noble one. The ſecond of the Iſaacs was the ſon of Baruch. He derived his genealogy from the ancient Baruch, Jeremy's ſecretary; and pretended that his family, which came into Spain in Titus's time, had ſubſiſted there till then. He underſtood Latin, Greek, and Arabick. He had ſtudied the mathematics, and was ſo eminent in this ſcience, that the king of Grenada called him the Mathematician, for his paſſionate love of it, and ſent for him to court to be inſtructed by him. He was received there with ſuch applauſe, and lived with ſuch ſatisfaction with the African Saracens, that he became unmindful of his country, and continued there to his death, which happened in the year 1004. He had a violent quarrel with the firſt of the Iſaacs, ſurnamed Alpheſi. They could not be reconciled whilſt they lived; but, at the hour of death, one of them gave an example of repentance, and the other of charity. Iſaac the ſon of Baruch died firſt; and finding himſelf ill, ſent his ſon to beg his enemy's pardon, and to throw himſelf into his arms, as into thoſe of a patron and a faithful friend. The ſon obeyed; Alpheſi received him into his houſe, treated him as a child, and continued teaching him the myſteries of the law till his death.

R. Gerſon and his diſciples.

The moſt famous rabbin in France at this time was R. Gerſon, whom ſome affirm to have been born in Germany at Mentz. However, he was a Frenchman, or at leaſt, publiſhed his book of Conſtitutions there. It is probable, he had leſs reſpect paid him in his life-time than after his death; for they heſitated a long time about the reception of his collection of laws, which began not to be in vogue till the middle of the thirteenth century. He was afterwards called the Light of the French Captivity. One of his chief diſciples was Jacob, the ſon of Jekar, a great muſician, and who deeply ſtudied caſes of conſcience. The ſucceeding doctors conſtantly quote his deciſions with approbation; and they are received as laws that cannot be tranſgreſſed without criminality. It is ſaid, he died the ſame year as his maſter. Solomon, who had ſtudied under theſe two great maſters, made ſome figure. Chronologers are not agreed, however, upon this article; for ſome make him ſtudy in the year 1140, in the middle of the twelfth century; and others make him die thirty-five years before. He had another famous diſciple, whom the lawyers call Albarcellonita. This was Judas, a Barcelona doctor, who wrote a treatiſe upon the privileges of women. He publiſhed another upon the times; wherein he hiſtorically recounted the different ways the Jews had reckoned the times. Their firſt epocha was that of their departure from Egypt. They began another at the creation of a king, becauſe the form of the government was then changed. There was a third upon Alexander the Great's entering into Jeruſalem; which was followed to the tenth century of the Chriſtian church. For Scherira, who lived at that time, obliged his nation to calculate the years from the creation of the world. Some ſermons were alſo publiſhed by him.

Jacob the ſon of Jekar.

Albarcellonita

They are ſeverely perſecuted by the Mohammedans in the Eaſt, but find ſome ſhelter in Spain.

Very ſoon afterwards a moſt violent perſecution aroſe in the Eaſt: their principal houſes were nearly extirpated, their academies ſhut up, and never were re-opened. The Prince of the Captivity and his family were deſtroyed by the houſe of the Abbaſſides, which had formerly favoured the Jews; and the perſecution was ſo bloody, that the Jews were reduced to a very inconſiderable number; many being diſperſed into the deſerts of Arabia, and the weſt afforded a ſhelter for thoſe who were thus driven out of the eaſt. In Egypt, likewiſe, the Jews underwent a freſh perſecution, under Hakem the third calif: however, they were, in ſome meaſure, compenſated for their troubles in this country by the favourable ſituation they experienced in Spain, where the diviſions and wars which troubled that country afforded the Jews great tranquillity.

Jews in Hungary.

Towards the latter end of the eleventh century, when we begin to find them flouriſhing in Hungary, Ladiſlaus, who then reigned, convened a ſynod, in which were made ſeveral regulations, importing, that if a Jew ſhould marry, or, as the act words, "*ſibi aſſociaverit,*" a Chriſtian woman, or buy a Chriſtian ſlave, they ſhould be ſet at liberty, and the price given for them

them be confiſcated to the biſhop. His ſon Coloman being come to the throne, forbad them, by a new law, to uſe the Chriſtian ſlaves, but permitted them to buy and cultivate lands, on condition they uſed no other but Pagan ſlaves, and ſettled only in ſuch places as were under the juriſdiction of a biſhop. Theſe two laws ſhew the Jews to have been numerous and powerful in Hungary.

Their ſtate in Germany and Bohemia.

In Germany, the Jewiſh nation was extremely multiplied; it had even built ſynagogues in moſt of the conſiderable cities, particularly in Triers, Cologne, and Mentz. It had penetrated even to Franconia. This people paſſed from thence into Bohemia; where, in the eleventh century, they performed ſuch conſiderable ſervices to the Chriſtians, againſt the irruptions of the barbarians, that they were allowed the privilege of a ſynagogue. They entered into Hungary. It is ſaid, they were terrified by a variety of prodigies, which happened at the beginning of the eleventh century; and fearing the end of the world was at hand, they turned Chriſtians. Theſe prodigies, however, had not converted ſuch numbers of them, but that many were diſpoſed to acts of violence and outrage.

A freſh zeal was rekindled againſt the Jews by the cruſades. They complain, that theſe votaries, paſſing through Cologne, Mentz, Worms, and Spires,

Many deſtroyed by the cruſades.

committed a maſſacre, from the month of April till July, in which were ſtabbed and drowned five thouſand perſons; and that the number of thoſe who were forced to abjure the religion of their fathers cannot be aſcertained. They do not exaggerate the matter: on the contrary, hiſtorians amplify the number, with the addition of hideous circumſtances. They aſſert, that fourteen hundred of them were burnt at Mentz; and that, from the reſiſtance and diſorder which happened on that occaſion, half the city was reduced to aſhes. Thoſe of Worms at firſt retired to the biſhop, but he would not receive them, unleſs they turned Chriſtians; the people ſuffered them not to deliberate long: ſome embraced Chriſtianity, which they abjured as ſoon as the ſtorm was over; others deſtroyed themſelves. Something like this happened at Triers. The women, ſeeing the cruſaders coming, murdered their own children, ſaying, It were better to ſend them thus into Abraham's boſom, than to abandon them to the Chriſtians. Others, laden with ſtones, threw themſelves into the river, and were drowned; ſome fled to the biſhop's caſtle: Egilbert, who reſided in it, preached them a ſermon, by which they were apparently converted; but the year following, all of them, except one, relapſed into Judaiſm. The biſhop of Spires had more humanity; for he not only protected the fugitives, but cauſed ſome of their perſecutors to be hanged. The miſchief went ſo far, that the Bavarian annaliſts reckon twelve thouſand that died in that country; and others affirm, that the number of thoſe who periſhed in Germany was almoſt incredible.

A ſecond cruſade.

About fifty years afterwards, another cruſade was publiſhed. Rodolphus, who was commiſſioned to preach it up on the banks of the Rhine, did it with great ſucceſs. As it was one of the articles of his religion and his doctrine, that the enemies of Chriſtianity were firſt to be taken off, and thoſe ſtabbed who were near at hand, before they went to ſeek them in foreign lands; the people were inflamed by his exhortations: but the maſſacre was not ſo great as deſigned, becauſe part of them took their flight betimes, and retired to Nuremberg, and other cities depending upon the emperor, under whoſe protection they found more ſecurity. We muſt do juſtice to St. Bernard, and acknowledge that Rodolph's doctrine did not pleaſe him. He wrote to the archbiſhop of Mentz, whom this hermit had inflamed by his preaching, to prove to him, that he ought to look upon the perſecution of the Jews as inhuman; and, therefore, he adviſed that he might be ſent back to his deſert. Nevertheleſs, the flame was ſpread far and near by his trumpeters, not only in Germany, but in moſt other parts of Europe, and great numbers of Jews were maſſacred, if we may credit their chronologers, while others, being driven into deſpair, by the cruelties they were likely to undergo, put an end to their own exiſtence. The eleventh century ended with theſe perſecutions.

Egypt is oue of the places where the Jews have reſided longeſt; they were numerous in the twelfth century, when Benjamin paid them a viſit. He computes thirty thouſand of them in one ſingle city upon the frontiers of Ethiopia, which he calls Chouts. He ſaw two thouſand Jews, and two ſynagogues at Miſralim, at preſent Grand Cairo. There was ſome diviſion among thoſe who inhabited it. The occaſion was frivolous, for ſome who came from Judæa, dividing each ſection of the law, finiſhed the reading of it but once in three years, whilſt the other ancient inhabitants of Egypt read it all in one; as was done in Spain and other places. Here reſided the head of all the ſynagogues of the country, who created the doctors, and ſupported the intereſt of the nation with the calif. Nor did our traveller forget the land of Goſhen, where the Iſraelites dwelt ſo long. He thought he could obſerve ſome tracts of their ancient buildings; many Jews were retired thither; two hundred were in one place, five hundred in another, and near three thouſand in the city of Goſhen; as many at Alexandria, and very few at Domiata. The reſt he repreſents as diſperſed in all the other provinces and towns of Egypt, in great numbers, though vaſtly ſhort of what they once were, when the ſingle city of Alexandria was reckoned to contain an hundred thouſand of thoſe people.

By means of St. Bernard, the Jews are indulged and tolerated by Pope Innocent II.

St. Bernard, who was a great enemy to the Albigenſes, was as remarkable for favouring the Jews: he not only ſuppreſſed, in a great meaſure, the perſecution of them, but granted them many privileges, in order, as he ſaid, to pave

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the way for their converſion. This ſaint biaſſed Pope Innocent the Second in their favour; for, as he was very ſerviceable to this pontiff, during his flight into France, he inſpired him with ſentiments of moderation and gentleneſs. The argument of St. Bernard was ſtrengthened, by pointing out to him the neceſſity which he himſelf was in of toleration and aſſiſtance. The pope was ſo intirely their friend, that the Jews joined in the proceſſion when his holineſs made his public entry into Paris; and ordered a roll of the law to be carried before them, which they afterwards preſented him with. It is ſaid, that this gave riſe to the ceremony uſed at this day, when popes are inſtalled. The Jews wait for him in the way to St. John de Lateran, and preſent him with a copy of the law; when he returns this anſwer: "I reverence the law, which you have received of God by the hands of Moſes; but I condemn your expoſition of it, becauſe you ſtill expect the Meſſiah, which the apoſtolic church believes to be Jeſus Chriſt our Lord."

Perſecuted in Spain.

In Spain, the beginning of the reign of Alphonſo VIII. was not favourable to them. He was yet a child when his father Sanchez the Deſired was killed by the Saracens: he aſcended the throne young. Moreover, as he was well diſpoſed, he was eaſily over-reached. Joſeph the Jew was his firſt miniſter of ſtate, and grew ſo potent as to have his coach of ſtate and guards to attend him. Gonzales, an officer under him, having committed ſome fault that deſerved diſgrace, reſolved to deſtroy his benefactor and his maſter. He declared to the king, he had deviſed the means of procuring him vaſt ſums; in order to which he demanded of this prince eight heads of the Jews at his own choice, which were granted him. Thus he found an expedient at once to gratify two paſſions, his avarice, and hatred of the nation. He choſe eight conſiderable perſons, whom he cauſed to be beheaded, and confiſcated their eſtates, part of which he gave to the king, and converted the reſt to his own uſe. He afterwards offered a much larger ſum for the grant of twenty more. But this offer was not accepted, becauſe the king choſe rather to reap the profit without the effuſion of blood, by obliging the richeſt of the ſynagogue to ranſom their lives.

They did not ſtop here, for it was debated in council, whether they ſhould all be expelled the kingdom, and their effects ſeized on, in order to defray the charges of the war, without burdening the people with new impoſitions. The opinions were divided in council, which gave the Jews time to deliberate among themſelves, and to offer conſiderable ſums of money. They were, however, highly rejoiced, when they ſaw Gonzales fall into diſgrace with the king, who cauſed him to be arreſted, notwithſtanding his great ſervices, ſo that his fall eſtabliſhed their tranquillity. But what farther ingratiated them with him, was his falling deeply in love with a beautiful young Jeweſs, to whom he ſacrificed his honour and intereſt, and, for her ſake, to her nation; for the Jews, taking that advantage, grew ſo powerful and inſolent, that the court and clergy became quite ſcandalized at it, and, at length, diſſolved the charm by the death of the beloved object. The Jews took advantage of this happy juncture, and grew ſo potent, that R. Eliakim, who then lived, and wrote at that time a ritual of the ceremonies obſerved in all the ſynagogues, and which is called the Cuſtom of the Univerſe, reckoned twelve thouſand perſons of his religion in the city of Toledo.

In France, by Philip.

In France, their fortune was much diverſified. They were accuſed at Paris of murdering St. William; and, for their puniſhment, ſentenced to the flames. Indeed, they deſerved death, if they were guilty of that crime; and if no innocent perſon was involved in the fate of the guilty, they had nothing to complain of but themſelves and their own cruelty.

At Beziers they were very hardly dealt with. On Palm Sunday, every year, commenced a certain paſtime which amuſed the people, who were therefore careful to renew it. The rabble flocked out at night, ſcoured the ſtreets, broke the Jews' windows, and ſtoned all thoſe that fell in their way. The biſhop having often noticed this inhuman proceeding, which was their preparation for the Eaſter ceremonies, treated with the Jews, and prevailed with them to buy off this inſult, by paying him a tribute. The treaty is very ſingular; for the biſhop engaged himſelf and his ſucceſſors to preſerve the Jews from inſults, from war, and dilapidation, by day and by night, all the time betwixt Palm Sunday and Eaſter; declaring, that he would ſhut the doors of the church againſt all that ſhould break open thoſe of the Jews; and on their part, he obliged them to pay annually to the biſhop two hundred ſols de melgeuil, which might amount, at that time, to four ſilver marks, to the church of St. Nazarus, to purchaſe ornaments. This treaty was concluded at Beziers, and rendered them pretty eaſy, till they were expelled under Philip, ſurnamed Auguſtus.

Jews in England obtain from Hen. II. new burying grounds.

The Jews in England, who had been baniſhed out of it ever ſince the year 1020, had ſince found means to ſettle again in that kingdom, and were become ſo numerous in the reign of Henry II. that, having then but one burying ground in London, they petitioned that monarch to permit them to have ſome new ones; which were accordingly granted. But they ſuffered much under Richard I. becauſe the court and people were prepoſſeſſed with a notion, that the Jews were all magicians, and might practiſe ſome witchcraft upon the king, if they were preſent at his coronation. Severe injunctions were given to all the Jews, not to appear at it. Some, who came from far and near, at great expence, to ſee the ceremony, were reſolved not to loſe their labour or money. They flattered themſelves they ſhould not be known, becauſe they were ſtrangers in the city; but they were miſtaken. The officers, having

They ſuffer under Richard I.

having discovered some of them at Westminster, fell upon them with staves. They dragged them out of the church, half dead; but the noise of this execution being spread in the city, set the people in an uproar; who broke open the houses of the Jews, and killed those they met with. Happy were they that found faithful friends to shelter them. The tumult spread from the capital to the counties, where great numbers were slain. The day after the coronation, orders were given to stop these violent proceedings; but whether they were ill executed, or that it was impossible to put such a sudden check to the fury of the people, the persecution lasted almost all the year, which was that of the jubilee.

Persecuted and massacred throughout the kingdom.

When Richard crusaded, a still greater calamity befel them. The Jews thought they had purchased this prince's favour, by the great sums they had brought into his treasury, to support his expences; but the people resolved to make a general massacre of them. This was performed at Norwich, where they began. Many of them suffered at Stamford and St. Edmund's. The massacre was more terrible at York; where 1500 had seized on the city, to defend themselves; but, being besieged, they offered to capitulate, and to ransom their lives with money. The offer being refused, one of them cried out, that it was better to fall by their own hands, than the hands of barbarous assassins. This animating the rest, they became the executioners of their own wives and children, and retiring afterwards to the king's palace, set it on fire, and expired themselves amidst surrounding flames.

Learned men in the 12th century.

It will be proper, before we close this century, to give some account of the most celebrated rabbies who flourished in that period. We begin with the learned rabbi Nathan Ben Jechiel, chief of the Jewish academy at Rome, and author of the book called HARUCK, wherein he explains all the terms of the Talmud, in so copious a manner, that he has, in some measure, exhausted that subject, insomuch that those who have come after him have rather plundered than improved him, particularly the great Buxtorf, who made frequent use of his remarks, without quoting him.

R. Nathan.

The great Aben-Ezra was the next in time, though superior in learning and merit; he was surnamed, by way of excellence, the Wise, as he really was one of the most learned men of his age and nation. He had been a great traveller, and a diligent searcher after learning, was a good astronomer, philosopher, physician, poet, and critic, in which last science he hath excelled all that went before him, and is chiefly admired by the Christians for his judicious explications of the sacred books.

Aben-Ezra.

Three famous rabbies, of the name of Levi, flourished in this century. One born at Cologne, who, after many inferences with the Christians, was baptised and taught Latin under the name of Herman. 2. Judah Levi, a good poet, and author of the dialogue, intituled Chozar. 3. Abraham Levi, a learned rabbi, said to be related to Aben-Ezra, and who was a most zealous antagonist against the Caraites, though far inferior to them in point of reasoning and judgment, so that, not being able to cope with them, he had recourse to king Alphonso VII. to whom he had rendered signal services, and obtained an order from him to have all his adversaries silenced.

Three learned Levis.

During the 13th and 14th centuries, they were strangely diminished in the east; and they were sorely persecuted by the calif at Bagdad. Nasser Ledinillah, one of the Abbassides, was then calif at Bagdad: his reign lasted forty-seven years, all which time he persecuted the Jews; he was induced by two reasons. One was, That he was very zealous for his religion; for he caused a great number of mosques and places, dedicated to the Mahometan service, to be built in his dominions. The other was an excessive avarice. It is said of him, that, seeing a cistern, which he wished to be filled with gold and silver, but which still wanted two fathoms of it, he cried out, "Shall I not live long enough to fill it?" On the contrary, his grandson Mostanger, finding it full, exclaimed, "How happy should I be could I live long enough to empty it!" Both of them lived to see their desires accomplished. Nasser, who designed to fill it, made use of the law of Escheat, before unknown, and appropriated the succession of all foreign merchants, who died in his dominions. The riches of the Jews drew upon them great extortions from a very covetous prince, and, at last, an open persecution; for Nassar, commanding them to depart all his provinces, or turn Mussulmans, part of them went into exile, and the rest chose to stay upon the terms offered them.

The Jewish nation in the east declines, being persecuted by the calif at Bagdad.

By the wars which the Saracens and Christians waged there, as well as in Syria, Judæa was much depopulated. Most of the cities frequently changed masters. Nevertheless, there were still doctors and synagogues in it. For here it was that the famous Moses Nachmanides retired, and built a synagogue. He was born at Gironne, applied himself to physic, but afterwards made great progress in the study of the law, which has given him the name of the Father of Wisdom, the Luminary and the Flower of the Crown. A sermon he preached before the king of Castile, obtained him the character of the Father of Eloquence. Ramban (which is the name he commonly goes by) at first despised the cabbalistical law; but when he had once relished it, he attained to the greatest perfection in it. We cannot conjecture why Ramban, who enjoyed so great a reputation in his own country, left it to go to Jerusalem; but it is certain he retired thither, built a synagogue, and died there. Authors do not agree about the precise time of his death. He composed a prayer upon the Ruin of the House, or Temple; Letters to induce men to piety; and par-

Moses Nachmanides his knowledge.

particularly to recommend the holy ſtate of Marriage. He entered deeply into the reigning diſputes of that time, concerning Maimonides's ſentiments; and made an apology for R. Alphes, which he intituled the Book of Wars. It would be uſeleſs to affix a catalogue of his works, which may be ſeen elſewhere. Baruch Germerſheim alſo quitted his country, to effect the reformation of the Spaniſh ſynagogues. From thence he went to Candia; and, at length, ſought a retreat in Judæa, where he died.

The barbarous nations of Mamelukes and Tartars having depopulated all the places they paſs'd through, the ſettlements which the ten tribes had in this country were deſtroyed, and the nation again diſperſed. However, they devoted themſelves to theſe new maſters of Aſia, and ſometimes found favour at their court. Akmed Khan, ſurnamed Nicoudar Oglan, after he had uſurped his nephew's monarchy, turned muſſulman, and thereby drew upon him his ſubjects' hatred, who had great inclination for Chriſtianity, and averſion for the Mahometans. Argoun Khan, who impatiently bore his uncle's uſurpation, iſſued out of Choraſan, whither he had retired, and where he was defeated and taken priſoner. This diſgrace raiſed him to the throne; for Lemir Buga, who was ordered to kill him, joined with him, and ſurpriſing his uncle's general, and the ſultan, who was diverting him at Bagdad, he cauſed him to be taken off, and aſcended his father's throne.

The Jews intereſt with Argoun Khan.

Argoun at firſt gave the government to Buga, who had done him ſo important a ſervice; but this miniſter, elated with his grandeur, and unable to bear his exaltation, rebelled, was ſlain ſoon after, and a Jewiſh phyſician, ingenious and agreeable in converſation, named Saadeddoulat, became firſt miniſter of the ſultan. They do him this juſtice, that he deprived the Chriſtians of nothing they poſſeſſed in Argoun's empire. But he employed all his addreſs to raiſe his nation, and to procure it new eſtabliſhments; thus the Jews of the Eaſt began to revive, and to enjoy the advantages they had been ſo long deprived of. The muſſulmans with indignation beheld the progreſs of the diſperſed tribes, and the rather, becauſe they were kept out of all employments, and ſhut out of their prince's camp; but they were quickly ſolaced by Argoun's ſickneſs, while the Jews prayed in all the provinces for the ſultan's health. Saadeddoulat, who foreſaw the conſequences of this ſickneſs to himſelf and brethren, ſent expreſs orders every where to redreſs the grievances which were complained of during his miniſtry, and to appeaſe the people by a ſpeedy ſatisfaction; but all to no purpoſe. Argoun died, and even before his death the miniſter of ſtate was accuſed of having poiſoned his maſter. This accuſation, invented by the Arabian hiſtorians, ſeems improbable. Nevertheleſs Saadeddoulat was taken off; and after the prince's death, which the Muſſulmans conſidered as a very fortunate event, they fell upon the Jews, and made great ſlaughter of them, to revenge the real or pretended injuſtice they had done them.

A revolution and maſſacre on the deaths of the prince and his miniſter.

In the Weſt, and particularly in Spain, their number and authority ſometimes excited the jealouſy of eccleſiaſtics, who perſecuted them. This happened at the beginning of the thirteenth century at Toledo. The biſhop of that great city, piqued to ſee his dioceſe filled with multitudes of opulent Jews, and deſiring to enrich himſelf with their ſpoils, exaſperated the people againſt them. This biſhop, who was of a warm and reſtleſs temper, interfered in all affairs of peace and war, and nothing conſiderable was tranſacted in Spain, but what he had a hand in. His merit had raiſed him to the ſee of Toledo, notwithſtanding his birth; for he was an obſcure native of Caſtile. His dioceſe became ſenſible that he was fitter to be a miniſter of ſtate, or the general of an army, than a biſhop. But the Jews ſuffered more from him than any others; for, putting himſelf at the head of a rabble which he had raiſed, he tumultuouſly entered their ſynagogue, diſperſed the aſſembly. and thence proceeded to plunder their houſes. He endeavoured to juſtify his rapacity by accuſing the Jews of having betrayed the city when the Moors beſieged it: but it is not probable the beſieged would quit the city to go in proceſſion a league from it, or that they would have given up the cuſtody of it. Beſides, the capitulation of the inhabitants is their apology; for they were permitted to quit the country, and carry off their effects. They were allowed ſeven churches, upon condition of paying the impoſts that had been paid to the Goths; and the Jews who were included in the treaty had liberty of conſcience granted them.

State of the Jews in the Weſt.

Perſecuted at Toledo.

Another diſaſter ſoon ſucceeded this; for the cruſaders, who were preparing for their expedition to the Holy Land, having their rendezvous near this great city, completed what that prelate had begun, from a notion that the deſtruction of theſe enemies to Chriſtianity would undoubtedly obtain a bleſſing on their enterprize; ſo that theſe votaries preſcribed no bounds to their cruelty. Abravanel looked upon this perſecution as one of the four ſevereſt that his nation ſuffered; for, according to his account, a greater number of Jews went out of Spain, than Moſes brought out of Egypt. The nobility of Spain withſtood the torrent of theſe cruelties, and repreſſed them by their authority and reſiſtance. But King Ferdinand, who endeavoured to win the love of his people by perſecuting the Albigenſes, and other reputed heretics, and who himſelf ſet fire to the pile on which they were burned, to ſhew the ardour of his zeal, could not be favourable to the Jews, the moſt odious of all others.

Maſſacred by the cruſaders.

According to their principles, the Jews certainly ought to blame themſelves for their calamities, and to conſider themſelves as the principal cauſes of them, for, by their own confeſſion, they were fallen into two crying ſins. There was ſome variation in their Tephilim. Their ſuperſtitious partiality for their phylacteries of the head and hand, was notori-

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ous in very early times, but it increaſed in the following ages. Even the points and ornaments of their letters were a ſubject of ſcruple and controverſy betwixt the German and Portugueſe ſynagogues, and the Spaniards differing upon this matter, raiſed commotions in the beginning of the thirteenth century, for R. Baruch made a journey from Germany to Spain, to reproach them with the novelties which they introduced into their ſynagogues. Beſides this, in Spain they were guilty of a more palpable miſdemeanour, for they no longer ſcrupled to marry ſtrange women: as marriages with Chriſtians had been ſeverely forbidden, it is probable they contracted oftener with the Saracens' daughters. Moſes de Cozzi reprobated theſe marriages. He was of an Italian family, and therefore retained the name of the town of Cozzi in the Milaneſe, whence he came; but he was born in Spain, and deemed the moſt learned rabbi in his time. He was averſe to theſe heterogeneous marriages. He preached often upon this ſubject, and at laſt had the good fortune to be heard; for many ſent away the ſtrange wives they had married. There were near 12000 Jews in the city of Toledo.

Marriages with foreign women condemned.

At this time, Raymond de Pennaforte, prior of the Dominicans, had already condemned the violence that had been too often employed to deſtroy rather than to convert the Jews, and recommended gentle inſtruction. As he had great credit with James I. king of Arragon, whoſe confeſſor he was, and often miniſter to the pope, he perſuaded this prince that he ought to repreſs the inſolence of the people, to oblige many to the ſtudy of Arabic and Hebrew, to qualify them to diſpute with Jews and Saracens, and to lead them to Chriſtianity by convincing them of their errors. They boaſt much of the ſucceſs he had with the Saracens, and affirm, that he converted above ten thouſand of them; and that the Moors of Africa had a ſincere deſire to do the ſame thing; but they do not ſo confidently ſpeak of the converſion of the Jews. It is only obſerved, that they entertained great reſpect for his perſon, as an acknowledgment of his gentle and equitable way of dealing with them. King James of Arragon, at his requeſt, publiſhed divers edicts; and though they were not ſo rigid as others had been, yet they infringed upon the liberty they had anciently enjoyed.

The prior of the Dominicans attempts their converſion by gentle means.

This Dominican's exertions produced the *Pugio Fidei*, or Poniard of Faith. This book is ſometimes aſcribed to him, as if he was the author; but he was only the promoter of it, nor did it appear till three years after his death, compoſed by Raymond Martin, a man of the ſame order. It has been ſuppoſed, that he was born a Jew, and that he turned monk after his converſion; but Nachmanides does not upbraid him with being an apoſtate from Judaiſm, though this violent and paſſionate rabbi ſpared not the groſſeſt abuſes. He had been ſelected to ſtudy the languages, to be employed in the converſion of the Jews, bore ſome part at the conference held at Barcelona, in the palace of King James, and in his preſence againſt Moſes Nachmanides, the famous caſuiſt before-mentioned. We are told, that Raymond ſo confounded his adverſary, that he was obliged to quit Spain, and retire to Jeruſalem, to avoid the ſhame and reproach that he would have incurred. About the ſame time, Alphonſo X. king of Caſtile, employed another Rabbi, Iſaac the ſon of Sid, who made the aſtronomical tables, which have ſince been called the Alphonſine, and held in great eſteem by all the learned, who have applied themſelves to the ſtudy. Moſes, the ſon of Tibbon, who then lived in the kingdom of Grenada, tranſlated all Euclid's elements, whoſe manuſcript is ſtill at Rome. It is ſaid, he taught at Montpelier when he compoſed this work.

Raymond Martin, a Dominican, compoſes a prediction, called, "The Poniard of Faith."

Alphonſo encourages the Jews.

In other caſes Alphonſo likewiſe made uſe of them; and his proving ſo generous a patron, excited the jealouſy of the zealots, and put them upon deviſing new plots and accuſations againſt them, and it was probably about this time that three villains of the city of Oriena in Andaluſia threw a dead body into the houſe of a Jew, and accuſed him of murder. This calumny being ſpread through the city, the people maſſacred all the Jews that fell into their hands. Some of them eſcaped into their friends' houſes, but it being the feaſt of unleavened bread, and there being none of it to be met with, they were very near dying with hunger, as chuſing rather to faſt than break the law. The inhabitants of Palma imitated the Orſonians in ſlaughtering the Jews, who ſolicited their brethren to ſend a deputation to the court, to put a ſtop to a maſſacre that was like to become univerſal. The perſecutors followed the three Jews that were deputed very cloſely, and arrived even before them, becauſe theſe envoys had been obliged to leave the road and abſcond in a foreſt, for fear of falling into their perſecutors' hands.

Malicious ſtratagem againſt the Jews.

Joſeph, the head of the embaſſy, pleaded with ſo much eloquence, that he was admired by all the court. The king acquitted the nation of the pretended murder; but nevertheleſs rebuked them for their exceſſive uſuries, the ſumptuouſneſs of their dreſs, and the pomp wherewith theſe fugitives walked the ſtreets, ſo as to provoke the jealouſy of his ſubjects. He aſked them, why they taught to ſing, ſince they ought to be in mourning? Why they inſtructed their children to fence, ſince they never went to war? The Jews excuſed themſelves by ſaying, that their nation had a mixture of bad and good men, like the Chriſtians, and that the king had only condemned the magnificence of habits in the Jews, without mentioning their women, which occaſioned them to think the edict did not relate to them.

Alphonſo's countenance and protection produced many learned men, beſides theſe already mentioned, and among the reſt, the famous Meir Mithridos, as he is called by Gantz, though he was the ſon of Theodorus, prince of the Levites at Burgos. He ought not to

The learned men in the time of Alphonſo.

to be confounded, as is commonly done, with another Meir of Narbonne, his cotemporary, and who had, like him, a great many diſciples. This rabbi, a native of Toledo, was a great caſuiſt. He gave his principal piece the title "Before and Behind, or Before the Faces," to ſhew that he penetrated to the bottom of the moſt ſubtle arguments, and had ſtudied all ſides of a queſtion. He wrote alſo a volume of letters againſt Nachmanides, and trained up diſciples, that maintained their nation's and their maſter's honour.

Book of devotion compoſed by the rabbies.

James I. king of Arragon reſpected their learned rabbies ſo highly as to receive moral lectures from them. He deſired of them the books of devotion and piety they had compoſed. R. Jona, who lived at that time, wrote to another Jona of Gironne for advice, how he ought to act with the king of Arragon's injunctions, who had commanded him to write a book, to inſtruct man in the duties of religion and piety. It is believed likewiſe, that it is to this Jona we ought to aſcribe the honour of a famous book concerning fear, which is attributed to the other Jona, and has been tranſlated into ſeveral languages. The rabbies, upon the whole, muſt have been in great favour with this prince, ſince he had recourſe to them to be inſtructed in the rules of true piety and devotion.

Maſſacre of the Jews in Languedoc.

In Languedoc, the groſſeſt outrages were committed on the Jews. Nothing could reſiſt the torrent which overflowed on all ſides, and made horrible havock wherever it came. They particularly attacked the Jews, to enrich themſelves with their ſpoils; yet the Chriſtians were not ſecure, becauſe the ſmalleſt pretence was a ſufficient motive for pillaging their houſes. Application was made to the pope who reſided at Avignon, but the people deſpiſed his excommunications and anathemas. The count de Toulouſe executed the laws and juſtice upon them. He ſeized ſome of them, and made them priſoners; but the people opened the priſons, and the Monks broke their chains. The count was willing to ſave ſome Jews, but the man to whom he had intruſted their cuſtody, delivered them to their enemies, and he had the mortification to ſee them come into his city to force the remainder of the nation to turn Chriſtians. They ſubmitted to it to avoid death.

The maſſacre continued at Bourdeaux, Agen, Caſtel-Saraſin, and other cities. Thoſe who were retired to Narbonne, imagining the ſtorm was over, came out of their retreat; but they found in the way a troop of ruffians, who, ſupported by the peaſants, put them to the ſword. The king of France, tired with ſo many cruelties, ordered them to be proſecuted without quarter. The nobility armed by the king's order, and obliged them to retire into Navarre and Arragon. They carried the ſame diſpoſition thither, and cauſed the ſame diſorders. The king of Arragon armed againſt them, put the prince Alphonſo at the head of his army, who cauſed the leader of the ruffians to be killed by his maſter of the horſe, and diſperſed the reſt. Part of them periſhed by the ſword, and the reſt by peſtilence, which then raged.

A freſh ſpring of miſery to the Jews aroſe from the plague, which they were ſuppoſed to be the cauſe of. Being accuſed of conſpiring with the peaſants of Meſura, to poiſon the waters of the river, and of furniſhing them with the ingredients, they were caſt into priſons, and informations were lodged againſt them. Their innocence was proved; but the king, who was unwilling to acknowledge the injuſtice he had committed, in retaining ſuch vaſt numbers of priſoners ſo long, upon a falſe pretence, declared that he had ſhut them up only to convert them; and upon their refuſal to embrace chriſtianity, fifteen thouſand of them were ſentenced to the fire and burnt.

Fifteen thouſand Jews burnt upon falſe accuſation.

Though Alphonſo XI. their friend and protector, was wholly guided by one Joſeph of Aſtigi, then intendant of his finances, nevertheleſs his mutinous ſubjects prevailed upon him to iſſue out an edict againſt them on account of an indignity pretended to have been offered by a Jewiſh boy to the apparatus of a ſacred ordinance, as it was carried through the ſtreets. A council was called that very night to deliberate whether they ſhould be maſſacred or baniſhed, when the advice for baniſhment prevailed. Happily for them the prince-royal obtained a reviſion of the proceſs, by which it was found that it was a young Chriſtian, whoſe curioſity had brought him to the window to ſee the proceſſion, and had by chance overſet a veſſel of water upon the chalice. The king upon this revoked his edict to the mortification of the zealots, who gave out that the Chriſtian had been ſuborned to make a depoſition in favour of their enemies. This however did not hinder the populace from falling upon the Jews in another city, where they maſſacred them upon the ſame pretence, and might have gone a much greater length, had not the king cauſed to be hanged ten of the mutinous ringleaders.

The Jews expoſed to new dangers.

This danger had no ſooner ſubſided, than they fell into another much more dreadful. There was a mutiny againſt them at Toledo. R. Aſcher having fled ſome time before from his native place Northembourg, retired to Toledo with his eight ſons. One of his children ſeeing the aſſaſſin breaking open his houſe in order to murder him, fell into ſuch an exceſs of rage, as to kill all his relations that were ſhut up with him. He ſtabbed his own wife, and that of his brother Jacob, a man remarkable not only for his diſintereſtedneſs, while he lived, as teaching always gratis though he was poor, but for leaving behind a famous book intituled Turim, which is a body of civil and eccleſiaſtical law. This Jew having killed all his relations, diſpatched himſelf for fear of falling into the hands of the Nazarenes. Some place this perſecution in the year 1340, but others date it nine years later, and with reaſon, not only becauſe in the year 1340 R. Jacob compoſed the book before mentioned, but Alphonſo XI. who had countenanced the nation from the beginning of his reign, was living in

Maſſacre of the Jews at Toledo.

1349. At his death he tolerated a ſedition which he could not ſuppreſs.

Peter the Cruel his ſon, who came to the throne in the year 1350, ſaw ſeveral factions formed in his kingdom, either by the inſolence of the people, or the great, who uſurped part of the authority, and cauſed moſt violent commotions. Henry de Trittemare, his natural brother, ſupported by Bertrand de Gueſclin, took Toledo, killed him, and came before Burgos, which ſtill reſiſted. The Jews fortified themſelves in their quarter, and refuſed to ſurrender to the conqueror. Peter they alledged was their lawful king, and that they would rather loſe their lives, than receive another maſter, who was not the heir of his houſe. Henry could not forbear eſteeming their fidelity for a deceaſed king, and therefore, when they engaged on his ſide, he granted them honourable conditions.

At the end of this century, the Jews were not treated more favourably than they had been at the beginning. They complained that the Monks, who were willing to make themſelves favourites at court, or with the people, from a principle of zeal, affected to appear their irreconcileable enemies. One of them obtained an order by the queen's means, to baniſh them all from Spain. But this princeſs being adviſed not to cut down, or pluck up, a vine that bore good fruit, was appeaſed by a ſum of fifty thouſand gold crowns: they ſuffered much more under the reign of Henry III. king of Caſtile, who was but fourteen years old when he came to the throne. Martin, archdeacon of Aſtigy, preaching in the ſtreets of Seville and Corduba, ſo inflamed the minds of the people againſt the Jews, as to cauſe them to maſſacre them. The flame flew to Toledo, Valencia, and Barcelona, where ſome were plundered, others killed, whilſt the more politic changed their religion, to eſcape the fury of the rabble. The ſynagogues of Seville and Corduba, which were ſo numerous, were diſperſed by the multitude of deſerters. Henry purſued them. Thoſe that retired to Andaluſia, and other places, were murdered by the inhabitants. His ſon John was as inhuman as himſelf. Thoſe who concealed themſelves in the father's reign, periſhed miſerably in the ſon's, becauſe they were denied all the neceſſaries of life, and were eaſily diſtinguiſhed by a red badge, which they were forced to wear.

Jews perſecuted by Henry III.

Oppreſſed in Arragon.

In Arragon, the ſtates having aſſembled to prevent the conſequences of a war, that ſeemed inevitable, reſolved to raiſe new taxes upon the Moors and Jews, to ſupply the exigencies of ſtate, whilſt the nobility took up arms; and theſe impoſts ſubjected them to continual vexations and proſecutions, which reduced them to the loweſt degree of miſery.

The popiſh ſovereigns moſt favourable to the Jews; but the Jeſuits cruelly inimical to them.

Out of the various ſovereigns that govern the nations of the earth, hardly any can be found, in general, ſo favourable to the Jews, as the Roman pontiffs. Whilſt theſe perſecuted the Chriſtians, who were not ſubject to their laws, with great rigour and inhumanity, the Jews were choſen as intendants of their finances, and had full liberty of conſcience granted them. This urbanity chiefly aroſe from the incapability of the Jewiſh nation to render any eſſential diſſervice to the holy ſee; whilſt the Proteſtants were ſo numerous and powerful, as to threaten its very exiſtence: but indeed one branch of the ſupreme authority exerciſed by his holineſs, and delegated to the Jeſuits in that diabolical juriſdiction called the Inquiſition, was particularly inimical to the Jews, and they were on many occaſions diſtinguiſhed by almoſt unexampled cruelties.

The Jews expelled from Brittany.

In the province of Brittany the Jews were very numerous; and, being for the moſt part uſurers, impoveriſhed the people. The merchants and nobility complained of it. John Rufus was then duke of Brittany, his father Mauclerc having laid down the government. This prince aſſembled the ſtates, by which it was enacted, at the requeſt of the biſhops, abbots, barons, and vaſſals of Brittany, that all the Jews ſhould be baniſhed out of this province for ever. The debtors of the Jews were diſcharged from the debts they had contracted with them; and thoſe that had received pledges from them were allowed to keep them. All that killed a Jew were declared innocent, and the judges were forbidden to take an information againſt them, or to bring them to trial. It was reſolved to addreſs the king of France to cauſe this ſtatute to be executed in his dominions, that is, to expel the Jews, to ſtrip them of their fortunes, and give licence to kill them. The duke of Brittany engaged for himſelf and his poſterity, for the preſent and future, "to maintain the ſaid ordinance; and in caſe of its violation, the biſhops had not only power to excommunicate him, but to confiſcate his lands in their dioceſes, without any reſpect to the privileges he had obtained, or might obtain in time to come. Laſtly, He declared, that not one of his vaſſals in Brittany ſhould be admitted to do homage, till he had taken oath before two biſhops, or two barons, to obſerve this law, and not to ſuffer any Jew upon his territories. Add to this, the great council of Lyon, in which the emperor was excommunicated, made two new decrees. By one, princes who had Jewiſh ſubjects were commanded to oblige them to return to the cruſaders all the money they had extorted from them, upon pain of excommunication to ſome, and others were deprived of the privileges of civil ſociety. By the ſecond, the Jews were prohibited from demanding their debts of the cruſaders till their return, or till they had received an authentic certificate of their death. The council of Vienna alſo, called in the ſame century, was obliged to maintain the Chriſtians againſt the oppreſſions they ſuffered by the uſury of the Jews. But the Jews ſtill found means to maintain their influence, notwithſtanding all theſe decrees and precautions, inſomuch that in ſome provinces of France, particularly in Languedoc, they had the privilege of being raiſed to the magiſtracy, and, in moſt places

Council of Vienna.

of the kingdom, to have Chriſtian ſlaves; a circumſtance which was attended with very great inconveniences, and often with enormous abuſes.

Perſecuted afreſh in Languedoc.

The Jews underwent a ſecond perſecution in the year 1320; and this misfortune was no ſooner over, than they fell into another. Hiſtorians write, that the Saracen king of Grenada, mortified to find himſelf ſo often overcome by the Chriſtians, ſought an expedient to be rid of them otherwiſe than by arms. He called the Jews of his kingdom, and aſked them, whether there was no way to poiſon all the Chriſtians? They undertook this commiſſion; but, thinking they could not execute it themſelves, as they were too much ſuſpected, they corrupted ſome lepers, and communicated their deſign to them, which was to poiſon the wells and fountains. Theſe lepers being bribed, and farther hoping to inrich themſelves with the ſpoils of the dead, aſſembled in four general councils, and formed their project all together. The waters were found poiſoned in France and Germany.

A leading man of Pernay ſent to the king the deputation of a leper, whom he had ſeen in his territories, and who confeſſed he had been corrupted by a rich Jew, that gave him a receipt, which being dried, put in a bag, and thrown into a well, immediately rendered all the water baneful. The lepers were tried; ſome were ſhut up in priſons, and others in their peſt-houſes, and prohibited to go out. The people of Languedoc, without waiting for the neceſſary formalities of law, maſſacred them in ſuch a barbarous manner as cannot be read without horror, while the pretended criminals marched to the flames and other cruel executions, with ſuch joy, as if they had been going to the celebration of a feſtival.

At Paris they had ſhewn more equity, for none but thoſe who appeared guilty were put to death. Some were baniſhed, and others kept priſoners till they had diſcovered their treaſures, which king Philip the Long ſeized, and thereby raiſed a conſiderable ſum. Some hiſtorians, however, affirm, that they were all expelled out of the kingdom.

Recalled.

At length, however, the exigencies of the ſtate obliged Charles, dauphin of Vienne, and duke of Normandy, to recall them during the diſorders cauſed by the impriſonment of his father in England, by the oppreſſion of the great men, and the mutinies of the people, who were weary of their tedious tyranny. When he came to be king, he confirmed what he had done as dauphin, obliging only the Jews of his kingdom to wear a badge of diſtinction.

The Jews ſeverely treated in the reign of Charles VI. of France.

The laſt and the moſt formidable calamity which the Jews endured in France was under the government of Charles VI. This prince being diſordered in his intellects, or, as the ſuperſtitious alledge, bewitched, the Jews were accuſed of committing ſeveral murders, and other outrages, for which ſome of them were hanged, others ſcourged, and ſeveral other ſeverities uſed, which obliged many of them openly to profeſs the Chriſtian faith. At length, the famous edict appeared, which baniſhed their whole nation from the French dominions.

In England, even ſo early as the reign of king Stephen, anno 1145, the Jews were accuſed of crucifying a young Chriſtian, in contempt of that religion, and were accordingly puniſhed for it: they were again proſecuted for the ſame atrocious act in Glouceſter, in the reign of Henry II. anno 1181; but ſome have ſuppoſed, and not without probability, that theſe accuſations were feigned in order to oppreſs and fleece the individuals of that nation.

Oppreſſion of King John.

King John reigned with ſeverity; he loaded the Jews with heavy taxes, and when they began to refuſe him money, made them priſoners, and extorted, by violent puniſhments, what he could not obtain by his edicts. Not ſatisfied with theſe extortions, he confiſcated the eſtates of all the Jews of his kingdom, and baniſhed them by a proclamation iſſued for that purpoſe.

Jews under Henry III.

A plan was formed by Henry III. to convert the Jews of his kingdom, which he thought he could not more effectually accompliſh than by founding a ſeminary for the maintenance of converts. He committed the conduct of it to an ingenious man, who carried on the deſign with great aſſiduity. All that were willing to be converted had here a ſafe retreat, where they lived in peace, without being ſubject to ſervile labour or uſury. There were many induced by idleneſs, and the temptation of being maintained without pain and labour, to come into it, ſo that the number of the converts multiplied, and the houſe continued many years.

The Jews of Norwich puniſhed.

Some time afterwards, the Jews of Norwich were accuſed of taking away a Chriſtian child, of having kept it for a year, and, after they had circumciſed him, deſigning to crucify him at the feaſt of the paſſover. But the deſign being diſcovered, the crime paſſed not unpuniſhed.

At London.

The ſame accuſation was brought againſt thoſe of London, four years after, with ſome remarkable circumſtances. The child having been ſold to them by his parents, and crucified, and the facts diſcovered by ſome marvellous circumſtances, not worth mentioning, he was canonized for a martyr, and his relicks carefully preſerved. However, the murderers could not be found out, only ſome Jews, having left London about that time, were ſhrewdly ſuſpected to have been guilty.

Cruſades dangerous. Jews purchaſe an indemnity.

The year following, all the nation was alarmed, from the perſecutions of the cruſaders in Spain, France, and Germany: fearing, therefore, that this ſtorm would fly over the ſea, and fall upon them, they prevented it, and purchaſed an edict of the king, prohibiting any harm to be done them throughout his dominions.

The

The king having, through misfortune, frequent occaſions for money, Galfrid, his prime miniſter, thought it could not be eaſier found than among the Jews. Upon their refuſal, therefore, to pay the great ſums he demanded, they were accuſed of committing a murder at London; many were impriſoned; and, after many vexatious ſufferings, obliged to pay a third of all their eſtates. Nor did this ſuffice for their intire ſecurity; for, four years after, this inſatiable prince demanded new preſents from his ſubjects. He rejected thoſe which the abbots and priors brought, when they were not deemed conſiderable enough, and demanded greater. The Jews were not ſpared in his demands. He received himſelf the gold that was preſented, and made his officers receive the ſilver. One particular Jew, called Aaron, was obliged to pay him four thouſand gold marks, and his officers four thouſand marks of ſilver. This ſame Aaron was taxed, ſeven years after, ten thouſand marks of gold, and fourteen thouſand marks of ſilver, to gratify the queen, and obtain his releaſe out of priſon. The reſt of the Jews were not more happy; they were accuſed of coining, and counterfeiting the prince's ſeal; and, under theſe pretences, they loaded them with impoſts. They had their exchequer and particular judge: it is probable they gained over this judge by preſents; at leaſt, the extortioners were accuſed of favouring them, to have the power of fleecing them in their turn.

Heavy taxes impoſed on them.

John Lunel, though an eccleſiaſtic, could not ſecure himſelf from this accuſation. He was charged with receiving great ſums from many Jews, for protecting them at the bar, and diminiſhing their taxes. The king ſuffered him to be cruelly treated, and his puniſhment would have been ſtill greater, if one of his firſt miniſters had not procured his pardon. A knight afterwards underwent the ſame fate: he was impeached of being corrupted by the Jews, whoſe commiſſary or overſeer he was, and of having forged a falſe indenture, to which he put the king's ſeal, intruſted to him for the Jewiſh affairs. Complaint was brought to the king, and he recriminated upon the Jews who had aſſiſted him. However, he could not reſcue himſelf from the hands of juſtice, without the loſs of his poſt, and a conſiderable fine levied upon him.

Jews diſpoſed to quit England.

Freſh ſums being demanded of them, which they could not pay, Elias of London ſpoke for them all, and repreſented to the council, that ſince they had reſolved to ſink them, they had better expel them the kingdom, or grant them the liberty of departing; as, perhaps, they might ſomewhere elſe find a prince who had ſome ſentiments of juſtice or humanity; that the king knew well, that though he ſhould denounce the heavieſt penalties, they could not furniſh the ſum demanded of them. However, the council denied them the liberty of departing, but the tax was moderated, and, by this means, they drew from them the little they had remaining. However, Henry renewed theſe extortions the year following. He repreſented, that notwithſtanding all the taxes he had raiſed, he ſtill continued involved in debt. He ſolemnly declared his debts amounted to two or three hundred thouſand marks: he obſerved, that he muſt defray the expences of his houſhold; and, therefore, he demanded eight thouſand marks of the Jews. They repreſented once more to the king, that they were ready to quit the kingdom, and that the pope's uſurers had completed their ruin. The king, enraged with this refuſal, ſold them to his brother Richard. It was not doubted but that Richard would treat them more harſhly than his brother, and demand double the payment of his debt; but he took pity on them, becauſe he was convinced of their poverty and diſtreſs.

They are ſold to Henry's brother.

In addition to theſe misfortunes, the Jews of Lincoln were accuſed of murdering a child. There were three particular circumſtances in this accuſation. One was, that the inhabitants of Lincoln had invited four Jews from every city in England to aſſiſt at this ſacrifice. A ſecond, that the murderer confeſſed, when his life was promiſed him, that this ſacrifice was renewed every year, though it was not always diſcovered. The third was, that the king, refuſing to ratify the promiſe of ſaving the Jews, not only put him to death, but arreſted ninety-one priſoners at London, and capitally puniſhed many others.

An accuſation preferred againſt them at Lincoln.

Henry III. according to ſome, baniſhed them out of England by an irrevocable edict. The motives of this exile are variouſly reported. A Jewiſh hiſtorian ſays, they were accuſed to the king of adulterating the coin. The king eaſily perceived the innocence of the accuſed, and that the deponents were guilty of the crime they had charged on others. But, notwithſtanding, they went on with their accuſation, and produced witneſſes. The king, ſeeing them ſo cruelly bent, was afraid that the people would exterminate that nation, and, therefore, ordered them to depart his territories. Moſt Chriſtian authors agree concerning an edict of baniſhment, made againſt the Jews at the end of the thirteenth century, in king Edward's reign; and manifeſt proofs are found of it in ſome chanceries of England. Trivet affirms, that Edward III, baniſhed the Jews out of his kingdom, gave them money for their paſſage into France, and afterwards confiſcated their eſtates. Polydore Virgil attributes this edict to a council held at London in the year 1291, which deſigning to ſeparate the ſheep from the goats, commanded, by a public edict, all the Jews to depart England in a few days, giving them liberty to carry away their effects. They obeyed the decree; "and thus this nation, which was prodigiouſly numerous in England, departed out of it for ever, ſtill wandering from one place to another, till it was intirely loſt; and its loſs will not be very affecting, provided they leave us their ſacred books, without which it would be difficult to preſerve our religion

Their expulſion by king Edward.

ligion in future." Edward, the preceding year, had paſſed ſuch another decree for all the provinces he poſſeſſed in France. The motive alledged for this ſeverity, was, that the Jews, entering into too ſtrict an intimacy with the Chriſtians, corrupted them. However that be, it is plain they never appeared in a body in this kingdom from that time, till they were recalled to it in the time of Oliver Cromwell.

They are cruelly ſlaughtered and maſſacred in Germany, particularly at Francfort, Nuremberg, and Prague, in Bohemia.

Many accuſations were made againſt the Jews in Germany, and a terrible ſlaughter of them took place in Francfort, under the reign of the emperor Frederic. The city of Nuremberg was likewiſe rendered infamous by a moſt dreadful maſſacre of this people, harraſſed and perſecuted in the extreme on every trifling accuſation. They who fled to Bohemia did not long remain undiſturbed; for there the inhabitants of Prague, diſguſted with their celebration of the paſſover, choſe that ſeaſon to burn their ſynagogues, together with all the worſhippers it contained.

Jews retreat to Portugal, where John II. favours them from ſelfiſh motives, and on hard terms.

During ſome perſecutions which this people endured in Spain, John II. king of Portugal, reſolved to afford them an aſylum in his dominions, principally that he might enrich himſelf with their ſpoils. The intereſt of his kingdom too demanded, that he ſhould afford a retreat to the Jews, from whom he had received conſiderable ſervices. He had ſent ſome of them to the coaſt of Ormus, and the Red ſea, who brought him a faithful account, and ſerved him in the diſcovery of the Eaſt-Indies; but yet he did not love them. Nevertheleſs, from motives of policy, he received them, but impoſed on them moſt rigorous conditions. Each was obliged to pay him eight gold crowns for the privilege of refuge. He moreover fixed a time beyond which it was not lawful for them to continue in his territories without entering into ſlavery. The two conditions were diſcharged by many fugitives that retired into this kingdom, and afterwards choſe rather to live in ſlavery, than expoſe themſelves to freſh misfortunes. They complained, that he ſent a vaſt number into the Iſles of Thieves, newly diſcovered, where they miſerably periſhed. But at the ſame time they comforted themſelves with a notion, that Heaven took vengeance on him; for he died young, and his ſon, who, by marrying Iſabella became heir to many kingdoms, fell from his horſe into the Tagus, from whence he was carried to a peaſant's cottage, where he died; ſo that the crown devolved to another branch.

John's ſucceſſor, Emanuel, ſeemed at firſt to compaſſionate theſe oppreſſed wretches, and reſtored them to their liberty. But the alliance he made with Iſabella and Ferdinand occaſioned him to alter his firſt purpoſe. Iſabella, that haughty and bigotted queen, plainly declared, that ſhe would not have a man to her ſon-in-law that ſuffered the enemies of their religion in his kingdom. Emanuel, therefore, ſacrificed the Jews and Moors to an alliance he thought more advantageous. He allowed both of them to depart out of his dominions. He kept his word with the latter, as fearing repriſals would be made in Africa upon the Chriſtians. But he doubly violated his faith with the Jews, by depriving them of the liberty to carry away their children above fourteen years of age, which reduced them to that deſpair, that ſome of them killed themſelves, and others, ſacrificing nature to religion, became their own executioners. Beſides, after they had aſſigned them three ports, whither they were to embark, they reduced them to one, ſo that they were obliged to alter their meaſures, make a double journey, and exhauſt their treaſures. In fine, the delays that were given to the embarkation made great numbers miſerable. Amongſt thoſe who turned Chriſtians, to avoid ſuch a train of diſaſters as they ſaw before them, many were harſhly uſed from a too juſt miſtruſt of their ſincerity, and a great number were maſſacred upon the firſt ſlight occaſion. All which outrages ſeem but too much encouraged by the cruelty and treachery with which King Emanuel had uſed that unfortunate people.

Treachery of Emanuel

king of Portugal to the Jews.

This diſaſter is charged upon the Jews by ſome hiſtorians, who affirm, that they drew it upon themſelves, becauſe ſome of them, after publicly profeſſing Chriſtianity, and being baptized, were found celebrating the feaſt of the Paſſover in ſecret; but Mariana ought to be preferred before all foreign and German authors. It is, nevertheleſs, true, that moſt of thoſe that remained in Spain and Portugal diſſembled inſtead of being converted, which is the natural effect of perſecution in matter of religion. The moſt ſurpriſing thing is, that this religion ſpreads from generation to generation, and ſtill ſubſiſts in the perſons of diſſemblers to a remote poſterity. In vain the great men of Spain make alliances, change their names, and take ancient eſcutcheons; they are ſtill known to be of a Jewiſh race, and Jews themſelves. The convents of Monks and Nuns are full of them. Moſt of the canons, inquiſitors, and biſhops proceed from this nation. Moreover, he brings proof of his aſſertion, in maintaining, that there are in the ſynagogue of Amſterdam, brothers and ſiſters and near relations to good families of Spain and Portugal; and even Franciſcan Monks, Dominicans and Jeſuits.

Diſſimulation of many Jews, and thoſe amongſt the eminent for birth and learning.

Joſeph the ſon of Joſhua, who continued his chronology till the year 1554, was a Spaniard, and the beſt hiſtorian this nation has had ſince Joſephus. Ben Virgæ was another Spaniard, who has collected ſeveral neceſſary rules for the underſtanding the Gemara, which are the more uſeful, becauſe they were forgotten by other interpreters. Iſaac Cardoſo, a deſcendant alſo from the Portugueſe diſſemblers, became one of the principal phyſicians of Caſtile; where he wrote his Spaniſh tract concerning the uſefulneſs of water and ſnow, and cold or hot drink. But at length, being tired with his diſguiſe, he quitted Spain and the Catholic religion with his name Ferdinand, which he had received at his

Learned rabbies in Spain.

his baptiſm, and retired to Verona about the middle of the laſt century. He printed his treatiſe, in which he expatiates on the particular prerogatives of the Jewiſh people, which ought to make them honoured, notwithſtanding their miſeries and diſperſions, which God only ſends for the puniſhment of their ſins. He obſerves, that this nation was choſen by God; that it alone is ſeparated from all other nations; that it received the ſabbath and circumciſion from heaven, and that the Divinity inſtructed it by inſpired men. For theſe reaſons the inquiſition is watchful over theſe new Chriſtians; and they are ſtill ſuſpected by the cruel miniſters of this tribunal, who inrich themſelves with their ſpoils. The leaſt ſuſpicion ſuffices to make them guilty. For indeed, whenever any accident happens in the kingdom, the people accuſe them of judaizing in ſecret, and bringing down the divine vengeance. An inſtance of it was ſeen at the beginning of the laſt century; when a Dominican put himſelf at the head of theſe mutineers; and they plundered, ravaged, and killed four or five thouſand of theſe proſelytes.

The affairs of the Jews were greatly affected by the rapid conqueſts of Tamerlane; for this conqueror, having fixed his capital at Samarcand, paſſed on to Choraſan, where they were numerous. He ſeized upon Bagdad, and all the Irak; paſſed into Syria, where he plundered Damaſcus: he defeated Bajazet, who reigned in Anatolia, where this nation had conſiderable ſettlements; and, as he laid waſte all places where his armies marched, it is no wonder that the Jews were ruined and diſperſed by his invaſions.

Though the body of the nation remained in Perſia and Media, yet, as their academies had been deſtroyed, and the ſciences could not flouriſh amidſt the confuſions of war, their learned men, and heads of the captivity, have for a long time diſappeared; and even the private perſons, diſperſed in the provinces and cities, made a ſad figure, becauſe they had been ruined. It is ſaid they raiſed their heads under Iſhmael Sophi, founder of the family that reigned in Perſia.

This prince, who reckoned himſelf a deſcendent from Ali, gathered all thoſe who were devoted to this ſect, and all the unfortunate that would follow him. He found but ſeven or eight thouſand men in Caramania, which is the ancient Cilicia; but, with this ſmall number, he threw himſelf into one of the provinces of Media, and ſlew Ferokhead, the king of it. This firſt victory, obtained at fourteen years of age, put him in a capacity to take Tauris, which ſome geographers confound with Ecbatana, and make himſelf maſter not only of the reſt of Media, but of Perſia alſo.

Conqueſts of Iſhmael Sophi.

The famous Shah Abbas undertook to perſecute the Jews; which gave occaſion to a general maſſacre a long time after his death. The matter is thus related: This prince's council, repreſenting to him, that Perſia was very thinly peopled, he reſolved to grant great privileges to all that would come and ſettle there. Multitudes of people arrived from all the neighbouring parts, and particularly a great number of Jews, who, by monopoliſing the trade, amaſſed great riches. They ſoon excited the jealouſy of the other inhabitants, who brought their complaints againſt them to the Sophi. There was no expedient to puniſh them, without giving umbrage to other ſtrangers, whom the violation of privileges, granted for ſome years, would oblige to retire. But it was found in the Alcoran, that this nation was to embrace the Muſſulman religion ſix hundred years after its publication, or be intirely deſtroyed. Abbas, who was naturally cruel, would have executed Mahomet's orders, and have cut off all the Jews, if the mufti had not ſtopped him. It was reſolved, however, to cite the kacams, or ſages of the nation, before the ſophi's tribunal, to anſwer his demands.

On this occaſion, the Shah queſtioned them particularly about the abolition of the ſacrifices, and the other ceremonies, the uſe of which had ceaſed for ſome time. After a variety of arguments and interrogatories, Abbas inſiſted that they ſhould fix a time for the appearance of their expected Meſſiah, promiſing that till then they ſhould be tolerated; and that if he came accordingly, he and his ſucceſſors would embrace their religion: but if, on the contrary, he did not appear, the Jews ſhould either turn Muſſulmans, or ſuffer the loſs of their lives, children, and effects. After mature deliberation, they fixed the period at ſeventy years. Abbas made them pay dear for their toleration, cauſed the agreement to be regiſtered, and ſigned on both ſides, and taxed the Jews at two millions of gold.

Contracts between the Jews and Muſſulmans.

An hundred and fifteen years elapſed ſince Abbas's reign, and yet none thought of the contract Abbas had made with the Jews. But we are told, that Abbas II. who began his reign in 1642, and was a little more at peace, turning over one day the regiſters of the palace, found in his father's journal the contract between the Jews and Shah Abbas I. This ſurpriſed him the more, as Zabathai Tzevi made a great noiſe at that time, and moſt of the Jews looked upon him as the perſon who was come to diſengage them from their obligation. He aſſembled a great council, to deliberate about ſo important an affair; and it was therein unanimouſly reſolved to deſtroy, without delay, this nation abounding with cheats and impoſtors, that laboured only to oppreſs the reſt of mankind.

Execution of the treaty.

Orders were accordingly given to all the inhabitants, both ſtrangers and natives, of the ſophi's dominions, to fall upon the Jews, and to ſpare neither age or ſex, except ſuch as ſhould turn Muſſulmans. This maſſacre began at Iſpahan, the capital of his kingdom. It was exerciſed with the ſame barbarity in the provinces of Seyra, Ghetan, Humadan, Ardan, and Tauris, where the Jews were ſettled. The execution laſted three years, without any glimpſe of humanity or

Horrid maſſacre of the Jews.

compaſſion from the Perſians; inſomuch that there remained not one ſingle Jew in all that vaſt extent of provinces, where they had heaped up immenſe riches. Some eſcaped the barbarity by fleeing into the Turkiſh territories and the Indies, and abjuring their religion.

Abbas having obſerved that moſt of theſe converſions were feigned and forced, it is not improbable that they might diſguſt him from proceeding farther, and induce him to reſtore to them the full liberty of their religion, in which it was the cuſtom of the Perſians to indulge all ſtrangers. We read accordingly, that they enjoyed it a long time, till a miniſter of ſtate, who hated them, or deſigned to inrich himſelf by the perſecution, engaged his maſter to oblige them to turn Mahometans. He employed his utmoſt efforts, ſparing neither violence nor lenity, to ſucceed in his deſign. There was alſo an order of the prince, forbidding the exerciſe of the Jewiſh religion in his dominions: but, notwithſtanding all this, he could not effect it; for, upon diligent obſervation, it was found that, whatever pretences they made to Mahometaniſm, they practiſed Judaiſm ſtill; ſo that there was a neceſſity of permitting them to turn bad Jews again, ſince they could not be made good Muſſulmans. In the mean time, all thoſe that are at Iſpahan, are poor and miſerable, and in ſmall numbers. They pay annually a ſequin per head to the king, and are obliged to wear a little ſquare piece of ſtuff of two or three fingers breadth, ſewed to their caps or robe, in the middle of their breaſt, about two inches above their girdle: it ſignifies nothing of what ſtuff this patch is made, provided the colour be different from that of the habit it is ſewed to. It is plain, moreover, from Thevenot, who travelled in this country from the year 1663 to 1665, that is, ſome years before the time of the Jewiſh maſſacre, that, upon his going thither, they enjoyed full liberty of conſcience, ſince he adds, that the Perſians thought it ſtrange that Eatemad Doulet ſhould have undertaken ſome time before to conſtrain the Jews to turn Mahometans.

Jews diſgraced, and diſtinguiſhed by dreſs in Perſia.

The Jews are very numerous at Lar, the capital of a province, where they have a quarter aſſigned them to eat at the foot of the mountain between the city and the caſtle. They are alſo diffuſed into the country, on the coaſt of Ormus and Bander Abaſſi, in order to glean up ſome little part of the trade that is carried on from thence to the Indies, where they had formerly many brethren. Indeed they were diſtinguiſhed there in two kinds, one that were born Indians, who turned Jews, and the others were deſcended from the race of Abraham. The king of Portugal, though he had expelled them out of his kingdom, tolerated them ſtill at Goa, and other places, where they had their public worſhip.

Jews at Lar, &c.

At Goa.

The Jews maintain themſelves at Bagdad, where they have a ſynagogue, and at preſent make a part of its inhabitants; but their number increaſes conſiderably every year, by the pilgrimages made to Ezekiel's tomb. This continues among the Jews, as well as the Perſians, and a multitude of pilgrims arrive annually at Bagdad, and remain there. However, they are mortally hated; and the Raſedi's, which make a particular ſect among the Muſſulmans, and are very powerful at Bagdad, will hold no correſpondence with them.

At Bagdad.

In Armenia they are ſaid to live more peaceably; though their own writers tell us, that thoſe of Maſea having accuſed them of killing a Chriſtian, becauſe he was ſeen to go into a Jewiſh houſe, and not come out of it again; an information was immediately lodged againſt them, and the murder being confeſſed by the accuſed, they crucified ſome, and burnt others, not even ſparing Abiob, a celebrated phyſician, whom they caſt into the flames. Three days after theſe executions, the Chriſtian appeared, the accuſation was found to have been laid out of hatred to them, and the confeſſion to have been wreſted by torture. Complaint being made of it to Solyman II. the Armenian magiſtrates were forbidden from thenceforth to take cognizance of ſuch criminal caſes, and ordered to bring them before the ſultans. This ſtory, if true, which is taken from an anonymous writer, who lived in Egypt, and is intituled, The Sufferings of the Jews, ſhews plainly that if they live quietly among the Armenians, it is rather owing to the protection of the Porte, than to any conformity between them and the people.

Jews in Armenia.

Some of them are alſo found in Media, where they were carried at the time of the captivity, and where they have ſtill continued, though declining very much.

In Media, &c.

The Jews are not tolerated at Scamachia, ſeated upon the Caſpian ſea, a place of great trade; but the Tartars, who bring thither girls and boys, and horſes to be ſold, tolerate them out of neceſſity, and mingle with them for the ſake of commerce. We find ſome of them as far as at the foot of Mount Caucaſus, which the Arabians thought encompaſſed the whole earth, ſo that the ſun roſe upon one of its points, and ſet behind the other. It is related, that the prince of Mingrelia pretends to be deſcended from David. The king of Imaretta aſſerts the ſame thing. The ancient kings of Georgia believed it likewiſe; and the cham of Georgia puts it among his titles, that he iſſued from this great king by Solomon his ſon. But theſe pretenſions, indeed, are ſupported by no ſolid proofs. It is true that there is a ſynagogue at Aſcalzike, a little city ſituated at the foot of Mount Caucaſus, which the Georgians had built, to defend themſelves againſt the invaſions of the enemy, and which the Turks have taken from them.

This is the ſtate of the Jews in all this part of the eaſt; by which it appears, that the tribes which were diſperſed there remain ſtill in Perſia, Armenia, and Media, where they have their ſynagogues, and are ſtill numerous, ſince they are in all

all the trading cities from Baſſora and the Indies to Mingrelia. But the tribes are too much confounded to be any longer diſtinguiſhed: they are ignorant, poor, miſerable, and reduced to the vileſt offices to get their bread. In fine, they have ſo little correſpondence with their weſtern brethren, as hardly to know any thing of them. About this time ſhone the famous impoſtor, named Zabathai Tzevi, who, after practiſing a variety of the moſt diſtinguiſhed artifices, in order to delude the public, was, at length, detected in his iniquitous deſigns, and received the puniſhment juſtly due to his crimes.

Sapheta peopled with Jews.

The city of Sapheta, or, as the Jews commonly call it, Saphet, or, rather, Tzephtheth, in Galilee, is the moſt populous and the moſt noted that the Jews have in this province. They enjoy many privileges there. It is ſituate nine miles from Bethſaida, upon a mountain with three tops, is of moſt difficult acceſs, and, therefore, it is ſheltered from the incurſions of the Arabians, who plunder and lay waſte the cities where they can enter. It is alſo certain, they are more numerous and more kindly treated at Sapheta than in all the reſt of the Ottoman empire.

An academy there.

It has an academy in it, which is grown very famous; and though for many years the oriental Jews have much neglected ſtudy and ſciences, yet they ſtill keep up profeſſors and doctors here, that are men of repute. Hither they ſend their children to ſtudy, as believing the Hebrew tongue is here taught in its purity; as if that language was annexed to the Holy Land, and that the doctors who teach it, and are often ſtrangers, ſpoke it better than other rabbies. But it is the common prejudice, and the academy of Sapheta has been, for ſome ages, what that of Tiberias, to which it has ſucceeded, was before. The moſt famous Caſuiſt that has appeared ſince Simon Jochaides taught in this academy. He was born at Corduba, which gave him the name of Moſes Cordoverus; but quitting Spain, towards the end of the thirteenth century, he was one of the pillars of this academy, and, perhaps, one of the firſt founders of it.

Learned men.

Moſes Cordoverus.

Dominic of Jeruſalem.

In the ſame academy Dominic of Jeruſalem taught for ſome time. He became doctor after he had finiſhed his courſe of ſtudies, and read lectures upon the Talmud. His profeſſion of phyſic he practiſed at the ſame time made him better known, than the titles of Rau and judge that were given him. The ſultan invited him to Conſtantinople, to be his phyſician. He lived to the beginning of the laſt century, and turned Chriſtian; tranſlated the New Teſtament into Hebrew; and, at the ſame time, anſwered ſome objections of the rabbies, againſt the martyrdom of St. Stephen.

Moſes of Trany and Joſeph de Karo.

Moſes of Trany and Joſeph de Karo had the conduct of this academy, about the middle of the ſixteenth century. The one was born in a city of Apulia, and taught with ſo much ſucceſs at Sapheta, that the Jews called him the Light of Iſrael, the Sinaite of Sinai, the doctor that plucks up mountaints, becauſe he reſolves the difficulties that are raiſed upon the law. The title of his book manifeſts, that it is an abſtract of the Jewiſh civil law, in which he goes to the fountain head of the laws, and diſtinguiſhes betwixt thoſe that proceeded from Moſes, and others that had been handed down by oral tradition; and a third ſort, which are founded only upon the deciſions of the rabbies.

Moſes Alſcheb.

Moſes Alſcheb was born in this city, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the ſeventeenth century, not only by the eloquence of his ſermons, but the commentaries he compoſed upon a part of the law. All the titles of his works are metaphorical; one is called the Eye of Moſes, another the Roſe of Sharon, the third, the Lily of the Vallies. He is much praiſed for attempting, in his explication of ſcripture, to produce ſomething new; and, being more devoted to the old interpreters than the modern, has exactly related their ſentiments, even when they favoured the Chriſtians, with whom they lived.

To the above, we may add, 1. Moſes de Nagiara, who was alſo a Galilean, though ſome make him a Portugueſe, becauſe of the family of Noghera, which was, or is ſtill in this country. He taught at Sapheta, and has left a commentary upon the Pentateuch, which the Jews greatly eſteem. The Jews had a preſs there, in which they printed the Ritual, which Moſes Gallant, head of this academy, compoſed in 1560: and, 2. Judas Jona, who, after his converſion, became the learned Bartolocci's maſter, and put him upon the deſign of his rabbinical library, was born at Sapheta, and took the degree of doctor, or rabbi, in this academy. He was deſcended of a Spaniſh family, which, after Ferdinand's expulſion, retired into Tuſcany. Pius V. having expelled it from thence, it paſſed into the eaſt, where Judas Jona was born. Having gone through his courſe of ſtudies, he came into the weſt, and determined at Amſterdam the validity of a will, on which depended ſome points of importance. The ſentence he gave was approved by eighty-ſeven rabbies of Germany and Theſſalonica. The Jews of Hamburgh made him afterwards their judge, and aſſigned him a ſalary; but he went from thence to Poland, where he turned Chriſtian. He afterwards ſettled at Rome, and taught Bartolocci Hebrew; who, like a grateful diſciple, vindicated him from the errors imputed to him. He had ſo ſtrong a memory, that if the Talmud had been loſt, he could have reſtored it.

A printing preſs ſet up at Sapheta.

Few Jews at Jeruſalem.

At Jeruſalem there are fewer Jews than at Sapheta. They reckon but about an hundred families, who have their chief habitations upon mount Sion. Some of them have employs in the cuſtom-houſe, others are ſecretaries to the governor; but the greateſt part is made up of mendicants, who live upon alms. They ſend in queſt

queſt of them, even to the weſt, where wealth and learning are retired. Upon this errand Jacob Tomerita took a journey to Frankfort and Holland, in the year 1684. His father had retired from Portugal, to a little town in the Holy Land, bordering on Sapheta, called Tomer: his brethren deputed him to ſeek ſomething for their ſubſiſtence, and at his return, he undertook to carry Mr. Ludolf's letters to the Samaritans of Gerizim, by whom he was known. Four years after appeared another deputy from the Jews of Jeruſalem, who came begging for them, which ſufficiently proves that they were extremely poor.

At the beginning of the ſixteenth century, when Selim took Jeruſalem, there was a famous rabbi, who compoſed a book intituled, "the Eye of Iſrael." This work is a collection of the explications of the law contained in the Talmud. Many doctors had compiled before what related to the queſtions concerning right and rites; but Rabbi Jacob collected the explications of the law that were diſperſed in this great book. He could not finiſh his deſign, but Levi his ſon, who was at leaſt as learned as the father, put the laſt hand to it. This work occaſioned the commotion of the Sapheta profeſſors. As they were contemplative doctors, they mightily deſpiſed the doctrines. They found, in the work of Jacob and Levi, doctors at Jeruſalem, things that diſpleaſed them. The diſpute was violent, and the diviſion great, as long as Levi lived; but the jealouſy of the Sapheta profeſſors died with him. His memory was honoured, and his work, which ſaved the reading of many large volumes, was received with wonderful applauſe. Leo de Modena endeavoured in the laſt century to perfect it, by adding the opinions of many doctors that were wanting. He gave an index of the paſſages, that they might be more eaſily found. He gave to his additions the title of the Houſe of Judah, and that of the Houſe of the Bread of Judah to the table or index.

R. Jacob.

In Ethiopia the Jews have met with very little diſturbance. They agree more eaſily with the Chriſtians of this country than with thoſe of any other, becauſe theſe latter conform to many of their rites. They eat no ſwine's fleſh, and rigorouſly obſerve the ſabbath. Even their kings fancy themſelves deſcendents from the antient Jews, and have a lion in their eſcutcheons, holding a croſs, with theſe words, "The lion of Judah hath prevailed." On the other hand, the Jews in this country have not received the Talmud, nor all that heap of traditions which cloud their religion in other places. When the Saracens made themſelves maſters of Ethiopia, the Jews, fearing their perſecution, retired and took ſanctuary in Abyſſinia. They were treated with more humanity than the natives of the country, ſince an Arabian author aſſerts, that a general maſſacre of the inhabitants being reſolved upon, they begged, as a bounty of the king, that they might be treated like the People of the Scripture. Theſe ſcripture people, in the Arabian ſtyle, are Jews. This name is given them in the Alcoran; for Mahomet, ſpeaking of them, calls them the People of the Book, becauſe of the book of the law and the prophets. The Ethiopians therefore deſired the ſame fate as the Jews; and the king of the Arabians granted their requeſt, on condition that they would give themſelves a mark on the face by which they might be known and diſtinguiſhed.

Jews in Ethiopia.

"The people of the Book," a title given to the Jews.

How long the Jews have been ſettled in Ethiopia it is not eaſy to determine; but if we may credit a modern traveller who has been in thoſe parts, there were not any to be found, except upon an high and ſpacious mountain, inacceſſible on all ſides but one, and that very rocky, difficult, and dangerous. Here it was that our author tells us they were ſeated, the top of it having a moſt delicious plain of vaſt extent, full of ſmall brooks, fine fruits, and excellent paſturage, where they live in plenty of all things without ever coming down, or having any communication with the inhabitants of Abyſſinia. Here it was that Claude the ſon of David, being driven by his brother Goranha, king of Adel, took refuge, and was received by the Jews with open arms, and defended by them with ſuch bravery and faithfulneſs againſt the forces of the latter, that they obliged them to retire, for which brave action they enjoyed his protection and friendſhip, during his whole reign, after he had aſcended the throne.

At the beginning of the laſt century they ſtill preſerved that independency, which ſometimes rendered them formidable to the kings of the Abyſſinians. They poſſeſſed at that time near three provinces: but Suſneus, who then reigned, and was a bold prince, having defeated ſome idolatrous nations, called Gallants, among whom he had been educated, carried the war even into the rocks of the Jews with ſo much vigour, as to drive them out. They were obliged to abandon the provinces they had poſſeſſed, and to diſperſe themſelves over the kingdom. Some retired towards the ſprings of the Nile, near the Cafres, where they ſtill ſubſiſt. Others remain in the province of Denobe, where they apply themſelves to the woollen and iron manufactures, which being odious to the Abyſſinians, they leave it to the Jews, who undertake to furniſh them with all warlike inſtruments. They have there their ſynagogues, and public worſhip, in which they uſe the Talmudic Hebrew, though they have not received that collection of traditions. Laſtly, great numbers follow the court of the king of the Abyſſinians. An Arabian, who had travelled in that country at the end of the laſt century, aſſured Mr. Ludolf, that ſixty thouſand of them were at court. In that country they correſpond with the Chriſtians, with whom they live very familiarly.

Live independent of him.

That part of Egypt which borders upon Ethiopia has ſerved the Jews for a ſanctuary. They were notwithſtanding very near the brink of deſtruction in the year 1524, but Providence delivered them by an unexpected revolution. Achmed, to whom Solyman II. had intruſted the government of Egypt, revolted againſt him, and reſolved at the ſame time to make

himself master of his new subjects' estates. The soldiers had already begun to plunder the Jews houses, as being persuaded they might do all things safely at the beginning of the rebellion. Achmed resolving to enrich himself, taxed this nation two hundred talents. They represented their inability, and only brought fifteen talents to the treasury. Achmed, enraged at this refusal, ordered all to be committed prisoners that had not paid the tax. The very moment that Sadus, one of his officers, was executing his orders, news came of a conspiracy against Achmed, who having been surprised in the bath by a plot, was obliged to fly, and nine men with him; that he was pursued by an army of Circassians; and that it was impossible for him to escape his enemies. He was actually taken, and peace and tranquillity were restored to the city of Cairo. The Jews, being delivered, made a great entertainment, and called the feast they celebrated in memory of this event, Nessim; which signifies a *Miracle*.

Jews rule powerful in Egypt.

The Jews were rendered very considerable by the liberty which they enjoyed in Egypt. Their mechanics were dispersed over the country, and in all the cities: but the richest and most creditable of them dwelt at Cairo. In fine, they pretended to be more numerous in this country, than when Moses led them out of it: but this number is of late lessened; for travellers affirm, that they have no settlement except at Cairo, and the maritime cities of Egypt; and that they are so far from being in other places, that if their business obliges them sometimes to go thither, they are forced to disguise and conceal themselves, because the country people abuse them as soon as ever they are discovered.

In other parts of Africa.

Some of them are also met with in divers parts of Africa: a Jew of this country enabled Muley Archey, king of Tafilet, to make war against the prince Quiveane, to whom he fled for sanctuary. For going to the castle of Dar Michal, upon pretence of visiting the governor, he seized the citadel, and began to manifest his revolt: but he must have miscarried, had he not found a Jew immensely rich, whom he stripped of all his treasures, by means whereof he assembled the inhabitants of the province, was elected king, and dispossessed his brother then king of Fez and Morocco. He acknowledged the service the Jew had done him, by granting the nation the same liberty it had enjoyed, and making Joshua Ben Amossech prince of it. Muley Ishmael, brother to the king of Tafilet, and his successor, had still greater obligations to them: for in recompence for Don John de Toledo's services during his disgrace at Mequinez, he not only made him one of the first officers of his household, but sent him to the courts of several princes, to negociate with them; and it was he who concluded the peace with the United Provinces, in the year 1684. This prince continued the offices to the son, who enjoyed the same honours as his father was invested with.

Many of this nation had likewise been a long time settled at Oran, and were intrusted with some of the most important offices in that city; yet such was their fidelity to the Spaniards, notwithstanding the treatment they had received, that they were the very people who betrayed it to them, if it was not rather their avarice, and the great sums with which Cardinal Ximenes bought their perfidy. However that be, they have continued very faithful to them ever since: when the town was in great danger from their neighbours of being retaken, the Jews resolved to lose their lives in its defence, and when the garrison threatened to revolt at another time for want of pay and provisions, they suppressed it by a timely supply of both. All these services, however, did not prevent their being banished from the place in the year 1669, but on what account it is not easy to determine.

Betray Oran to the Spaniards.

Banished from it.

In the province of Suz, they had likewise been very numerous and flourishing: this country formerly depended on the kingdom of Morocco, but has since been dismembered from it. They had in the capital of that principality a very rich and sumptuous synagogue served by several priests and officers. They had their judges and interpreters of the law, who were maintained at the charge of the people, who live by traffic and labour. There are great numbers of them in the mountains of Morocco, who are employed in the iron manufacture, building, and other laborious employments to which the inhabitants are averse; but this employment does not hinder others from trying their fortunes at court, and raising themselves to eminent posts. One of that nation named Pacheco was sent embassador to the United Provinces at the beginning of the last century. Some time after their synagogues having been demolished in the kingdom of Fez, Muley Mahomet not only caused them to be rebuilt after he came to the throne, but conferred the office of high treasurer and prime minister on one of that nation.

Synagogues rebuilt.

In the territories of the Grand Signor the Jews have for many ages preserved their liberties, not excepting Constantinople itself. Their principal trade is in wine; and they have the preference in this market, because the law of Moses condemns mixtures; it is therefore imagined that the Jews dare not adulterate it, and consequently sell it in its purity.

They have long preserved their liberties in Turkey.

Here, as every where else, they are much addicted to trading and usury. Nevertheless, it often happens that poverty makes them turn Mussulmans. They are not circumcised, because they already wear that mark of the covenant; nor are they baptised to make them Christians: having inquired into the motives of their change, they are made to pronounce these sacred words, which it is not lawful, upon pain of being burnt, to utter without becoming Mussulmans: "La Illah Illalah Mehemet Resoul Allah; There is but one God, and Mahomet the prophet."

A press at Constantinople for Hebrew books.

In process of time, the Jews obtained the liberty of having a press at Constantinople. It was a new sight for the Mahometans to see books printed, and they were alarmed at it. The Mufti was afraid lest the alcoran should be printed, and lest the love of the

ſciences, which would hereby grow eaſier, ſhould be propagated from the Jews to the Arabians. This was a great advantage to the whole nation; for the copies of the law, which were grown very ſcarce in the eaſt, were univerſally diſperſed; and people applied more earneſtly to the ſtudy of the law, becauſe the reading was more eaſy, and they had greater aſſiſtances to underſtand it. Many learned men, and illuſtrious heads of ſynagogues, were produced by this means. Solomon Japhe, who had left his native Germany, came thither ſoon after. He explained the Talmud of Jeruſalem; and rendered it more complete, by adding ſome neceſſary illuſtrations. He publiſhed two other works, which he called Fair in the Eyes; and, Fair in the Look; alluding to his name, which ſignifies Fair. The one contained ſermons, and the other the explication of Middruſh Rabba upon the Pentateuch. To theſe we may add Gedaliah and Mardochai.

Learned men.

Solomon Japhe.

In ſome cities of Greece they have ſtill conſiderable eſtabliſhments. They have four ſynagogues at Patras, and their own judges here, which they chuſe from among themſelves. They have alſo their particular burying-place upon a neighbouring mountain, which looks like a great city, becauſe it conſiſts of ſeveral little ſtone houſes, in which each family is buried, and a marble ſtone, on which the name of the family the tomb belongs to is engraved, ſerves as a door. But as there are but few inhabitants in this city, the Jews, which are not above a fourth part, amount only to about a thouſand perſons. They are ſettled at Lepanta, Livadia, Corinth, and other cities, where they live by commerce. But Greece is ſo depopulated by the revolutions it has undergone, by the tribute it pays, and ſtill more, by the oppreſſions of the grand ſignor's officers, that their condition is become very miſerable on theſe accounts.

Numerous in the cities of Greece.

At Theſſalonica we find them ſettled ever ſince the time of St. Paul, and where they have had a conſiderable academy for ſome centuries, as well as a printing-houſe, which laſt was at length taken from them. Hither the Jews ſend their children from Conſtantinople to be taught the Hebrew tongue, and here have flouriſhed ſeveral eminent rabbies.

Flouriſh in Theſſalonica.

At Gallipoli, a city ſeated in the Thraſian Cherſoneſus, at the mouth of the Propontis, they ſtill ſubſiſt, and at this day make one fourth of its inhabitants, which conſiſt of ſix thouſand Jews, as many Greeks, and twelve thouſand Turks. They are more conſiderable at Prouſia, built upon a hill of Myſia, near mount Olympus. This city was the capital of the Ottoman empire, before the taking of Conſtantinople; and as they had to maſter it by deſtroying an hundred thouſand Chriſtians, who vigouroufly reſiſted the Mahometans, they are not permitted to live in it, but confined to the ſuburbs, whilſt they number twelve thouſand Jews within its walls. There has been found here an antient medal, ſtruck in honour of Marcus Aurelius, having on the reverſe a man forcing himſelf upon his ſword; ſuppoſed to be the figure of Ajax, who in this city is ſaid to have killed himſelf.

Subſiſt at Gallipoli.

Potent at Prouſia.

At Rhodes, they had formerly a diſtrict aſſigned them near the wall called "The Wall and Quarter of the Jews:" and when Mahomet II. beſieged the place, the baſha, who could not carry either St. Stephen's Mount, or St. Nicholas's Tower, erected a battery of his heavieſt cannon againſt this wall. It was a violent aſſault, and the quarter was taken. Some nations were already caballing to oblige the grand maſter to ſurrender; but he ſuſtained the aſſault, and repulſed the enemy, though he had received five wounds. The Turks raiſed the ſiege; and to preſerve the memory of this event, the grand maſter, d'Aubuſſon, erected a church near the wall where he had beaten the Turks. Some time after he reſolved to expel all the Jews, not only from their quarter, but the whole iſland, and from all the eſtates of the order. The better to authorize his violence, he repreſented to the council, that the commerce between Jews and Chriſtians was dangerous; that, according to the opinions of divines and canoniſts, the Jews were all ſlaves of Chriſtian princes; from whence he inferred, they had loſt the natural power of fathers over their children, and that they might be baptiſed whether they would or not. The Jews were allowed to ſell their effects in forty days time; but when that term was expired they were obliged to depart. They were prohibited going and ſettling in the Levant, for fear they ſhould become ſpies to the grand ſignor; as if they ſtill preſerved any authority over thoſe they had baniſhed. In fine, they detained all the children, whom they cauſed to be baptized, and kept at the expence of the church, leſt they ſhould reſume their old religion when they left the iſland.

At Rhodes.

When the Turks took Rhodes, the Jews ſettled there again, and they are even treated more favourably than the Chriſtians; for the latter, who have their warehouſes and ſhops in the city, are not allowed to lodge in it; whereas the Jews are not obliged to quit their houſes to ſeek beds in the neighbouring villages. But they reckon but two hundred of them to thirteen hundred Turks.

At Smyrna they are more numerous; where they reckon ſix thouſand of their nation, and they have many ſynagogues. In fine, there are few cities or great towns in the Ottoman empire, but have ſome Jews. They ſuffer much by the avarice of the ſultan's officers; but this misfortune is common to them with moſt of the grand ſignor's ſubjects.

The Jewiſh hiſtorians complain, that they had a bitter enemy in Pope John XXIII. whom they repreſent as fitter to head an army as a general, than to be the head of the church. He iſſued many edicts to force them to turn Chriſtians; and this with ſuch ſeverity, that ſixteen thouſand were forced to abandon their religion: part of thoſe which perſevered periſhed by fire, and others by the different puniſhments to which they

Pope John XXIII. a cruel enemy to the Jews.

they were ſentenced. But this is not to be attributed to the pope alone: he was aſſiſted in this diabolical purpoſe by the queen of Spain, who was regent in the minority of John II.

Pope Nicholas II. intereſts himſelf in behalf of the Jews.

Pope Nicholas II. in ſome meaſure made the Jews amends for the former cruelties they had endured, by granting them his protection. He ſuppreſſed the inquiſitors, who continued to torment them unreaſonably. He wrote likewiſe in his turn to Spain, to prevent, by his remonſtrances, the forcing of their conſciences, and maintained the voluntary converts in the privilege of entering into offices, which the inhabitants of Toledo had taken from them by a ſolemn edict. But they had not enjoyed the fruits of that pontiff's patronage many years before a new ſtorm aroſe from another quarter.

A new ſtorm againſt them.

Sextus IV. had been prevailed upon to canonize the little Simon, ſuppoſed to have been murdered by the Jews in the city of Trent, in a moſt cruel manner. They ſtill ſhew in that city a knife, a pair of pincers, and four large needles, with which they had let out his blood, and two ſilver tumblers out of which they had drank it. The whole tragical ſtory is painted at full length in a corner of one of the churches, dedicated to the little ſaint. This canonization drew great calamities upon the Jews, not only in the biſhoprick of Trent, where they pretended the crime was committed, but alſo in all the territories of the republic of Venice. The preachers inflamed the people, who, wrought on by the notion of a falſe miracle, plundered and murdered all the Jews they met with. So great was the diſorder, that the doge and ſenate were obliged to ſuppreſs it, and order the magiſtrates of Padua to treat the Jews like their other ſubjects, and prevent their being abuſed; becauſe the report ſpread at Trent to them appeared a falſehood, contrived by art, for a certain end the ſenate would not examine into.

Decree of the ſenate of Venice in their favour.

They are baniſhed from Trent.

They were all baniſhed out of the city of Trent, where the magiſtrates were leſs equitable. But ſome time after they obtained the liberty of tarrying three days, becauſe they carried on a conſiderable commerce. We are told, that ſome time after, the three days liberty were reduced to three hours, as a puniſhment for their obſtinate defence of Buda againſt the Chriſtians, in the laſt war with the Turks. However, Alexander VI. inſtead of perſecuting, received them with abundant cordiality.

Being expelled Spain by Ferdinand the Catholic, and becoming fugitives, all thoſe that came to Rome were ill-treated by their cruel brethren, who would have ſuffered them to die with hunger, if he had not ſuccoured them. In effect, that pontiff, though a Spaniard by birth, and head of the church, underſtanding that the Jews, who had long been ſettled at Rome, left the exiles in miſery, without attempting to ſuccour them, threatened to expel them, unleſs they altered their conduct, and gave their miſerable brethren opportunities of ſettling in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. He thought it expedient to profit by Ferdinand's error, and to enlarge his revenues at the coſt of others. There have been many who would not perſecute the Jews, nor yet ſuffer their numbers to multiply in their ſtates, by the conjunction of ſtrangers. But the pope attended not to the reaſons dictated by his religion, but would have the new comers have the ſame privileges at Rome with the old inhabitants.

The Jews protected by Alexander VI.

The learned R. Jochanan was amongſt theſe whom that pontiff's kindneſs had invited to Rome; he was a German, came from Conſtantinople, and was taken into the ſervice of Picus count of Mirandola, as his preceptor. This prince, for many years, had been fond of the writings of the rabbies, and even of the caſuiſts. He is reported to have ſaid, that thoſe who read the Hebrew books drew at the Fountain-Head; that the rivulets had flowed from thence to the Greeks, and that nothing but marſhes and ſtagnate water were found among the Latins. He maintained, that Eſdras had cauſed certain caſuiſtical books to be written, which he had purchaſed at a great price, and that Sextus IV. had ordered them to be tranſlated into the Latin language.

Some Jews come to Naples, and are perſecuted.

Naples was pitched upon as another place of retreat for the Spaniſh and Portugal refugees; but the inquiſitors purſued them either with ſuch rancour, or exerciſed ſuch terrible oppreſſions under this pretence, that the people rebelled. The viceroy reſolved to expel the Jews, that he might at once get rid of the inquiſitors. He alledged, that the contagion having ceaſed, and the faith of the old inhabitants being pure and well known, there was no need of theſe cruel phyſicians, who made wounds, and kept them open, inſtead of cloſing them. His conduct was authoriſed afterwards by Charles V. who would not tolerate the Jews in his kingdom, nor in Sicily. The truth is, this prince hated them, and the impoſtures he had diſcovered ſeemed to juſtify him in it. This averſion, however, did not diſcourage one Ricci, a converted Jew, from dedicating to that monarch his celebrated treatiſe on what he ſtyled Celeſtial Agriculture. He was a phyſician in Germany, and produced fifty theorems and expoſitions of ſome points in theology, but it will be apparent to thoſe who read them, that they deſerve not the encomiums which ſome learned men have made on them; on the contrary, that they are far beneath the dignity of a ſound and reaſoning divine.

The Jews are powerful under Paul III.

Under the pontificate of Paul III. the Jews were become ſo powerful as to provoke the rage of cardinal Sadolet. He was biſhop of Carpentras, in the dioceſe of Avignon, where the Jews had ever been tolerated, ſince Joan queen of Sicily made a preſent of this city to the pope. They had their ſynagogues there, as they have at this day, though the city is in the midſt of France, from whence they were baniſhed. The prelate, not able to bear it, wrote to cardinal Farneſe, repreſenting, That the pope had never been ſuch a benefactor to the Chriſtians as he was to the Jews: that he had granted them titles, new privileges and honours, which rendered them haughty and inſolent; inſomuch

inſomuch that the Chriſtians were but like ſheep in the midſt of wolves: that they were driven from their houſes, and even commonly from the cities where they ought to live at reſt: that it was unaccountable, how a pope could ſo rigorouſly perſecute the Lutherans, and grant at the ſame time ſo partial a protection, and ſuch ſingular favours to the Jews, who ſeemed more worthy of his indignation. He obſerved, that the true method for a man to make his court, and to riſe to eccleſiaſtical dignities, was to countenance this nation. He laid open the real ſource of this protection, and pointed out that this favour proceeded from the pope's treaſurers, and the intendants of his finances, to whom the Jews were neceſſary men. However, ſome regard was paid to the cardinal's remonſtrances, and in this caſe they did what is commonly done at Rome; when any abuſe is diſcovered that tends to pecuniary pupoſes, they palliate it, and retrench its too manifeſt and glaring enormity.

The pope orders the Talmud to be burnt.

Some time after, Julius III. being perſuaded the allegorical interpretations of the Gemara were dangerous, cauſed the Talmud to be burnt; ſo that all the books of the Gemara, which were in Italy, were deſtroyed, according to the Jewiſh writers.

Learned men and learned works at Rome.

In this pontificate, Joſeph Tzarphati, a famous rabbi, who had taught a long time at Rome, embraced chriſtianity. He was born in France, but retired into Italy, where he explained the Talmud in the ſynagogues and the academy of Rome; and, to do more honour to Pope Julius, took the name of Monte. There were, moreover, at this time other famous Jews at Rome. Elias the Levite was born at Padua; but having loſt all, when this city was taken, he was received by ſome cardinals, whom he taught Hebrew. Being an unfortunate man, he once more ſuffered, when the conſtable de Bourbon plundered Rome. He retired to Venice, and from thence to Germany; but being unaccuſtomed to the cold air of this country, he returned to Italy, where he died at eighty years of age. He was ſuſpected to have great inclination for chriſtianity, and this ſuſpicion was a ground ſufficient for his nation to hate him; but he did not abjure the faith of his anceſtors, though ſome have believed and affirmed it. There was a woman at Rome, called Deborah, who then began to diſtinguiſh herſelf by her poems and other works.

Paul IV. iſſues two edicts againſt the Jews.

The people of the Jews met with a bitter and implacable enemy and perſecutor in Paul IV. who, in the firſt year of his pontificate, iſſued two bulls, of which the Jewiſh writers vehemently complain. By the firſt he ordered each ſynagogue in his territories to pay ten ducats annually for the inſtruction of the catechumens who ſhould abjure Judaiſm; and by the ſecond, which was more rigorous, obliged the men to wear a yellow hat, and the women a veil of the ſame colour. He compelled them all to live in the ſame quarter of the city, the gates whereof were to be ſhut by night. They were deprived of all ſocieties, offices, or profeſſions among the Chriſtians, without excepting phyſic and merchandiſe; for their commerce was confined to ſmall wares, and they were forbid having more than one ſynagogue in each city. They were commanded to ſell all their lands within ſix months, a circumſtance which ſo lowered their price, that they could not get the fifth part of the value of them.

Council of Milan acts againſt them.

Cardinal Charles de Boromes, biſhop of Milan, not only enacted ſeveral canons againſt them, in the firſt council he held in that metropolis, much of the ſame kind with thoſe of Paul IV. before-mentioned; but deſired all the Chriſtian princes to do the ſame, and all this to promote, as much as poſſible, their converſion. But that edict ſhews, at the ſame time, they were become ſo numerous and powerful, that there was ſome reaſon to fear them, not only at Milan, but in other places of Italy, unleſs they were confined to their own ſeparate quarters, and interdicted from all kind of converſe with the Chriſtians, as much as poſſible.

Pope Pius V. was ſtill more ſevere towards the Jews, and the Conſtitution he publiſhed againſt them was ſufficient to render them odious to all the world; for he accuſed them of hating the Chriſtians; of ruining the eccleſiaſtical ſtate by the exorbitant uſuries they drew from it; of ſheltering robbers, and thereby promoting theft; together with a train of various other vices. They were alſo charged with dealing in magic, and foretelling things to come; and, for theſe reaſons, were expelled all the cities of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, except Rome and Ancona. But Sextus V. acted more frankly towards them, and candidly owned the advantage he reaped from them was the chief motive of his tolerating them.

They are baniſhed, by Pope Pius V. out of the eccleſiaſtical ſtates.

A rabbi, called Meir, or Magin, of French origin, who reſided at Venice, came to Rome, and, being a man of addreſs, was very agreeable to the pope. He dedicated a book to him, and wrote verſes in his commendation, which were tranſlated into Italian. He at length preſented a petition to have the ſole privilege of a ſilk manufacture, pretending to have an admirable ſecret for multiplying the worms. The pope granted him ſeveral privileges, and revoked all the contrary declarations and bulls of his predeceſſors, though they had been made with an oath and menace of excommunication. The hope of enriching himſelf, by laying a great duty upon every pound of ſilk, was the motive that induced Sextus V. to diſtinguiſh this Jew from all others, and to grant him a patent.

Grants of Sextus V. to R. Meir.

Bull of Clement VIII. againſt the Jews.

The Jews received but little favour from Clement VIII. for he renewed the bull of Pius V. who baniſhed them out of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. Two things are obſervable in this bull: one, that he added the city Avignon to thoſe of Ancona and Rome, where they ſtill preſerved their liberty of conſcience; the other, that this pope founded the privilege of tolerating them at Rome upon this reaſon; that the

Jews ought not to be removed far from Rome, that they might be always at hand to be converted, *as if converſions were more frequent at Rome than other places.* According to this principle, he ſhould have given liberty of conſcience to all heretics at Rome, and have filled the city with them.

Great numbers of Jews at Venice.

Beſides other conſiderable ſettlements in the cities of Italy, the moſt noted one belonging to this nation was that of Venice. The republic received them all into its territories, and gave them very hoſpitable entertainment. They boaſt alſo to have in part deſerved this kindneſs by their fidelity, and the great ſervices they had rendered in the war with the Turks, and particularly at the ſiege of Candia. Here it was that Daniel Bombergue printed their Hebrew Bible

Hebrew Bible printed.

the firſt time. This printer came from Antwerp to Venice, and chiefly dealt in Hebrew books. To print them the more correct, he employed the moſt learned Jews, whom he kept in pay, to the number of above an hundred. Felix Pratenſis had the care of an edition of the Bible, with the Chaldee paraphraſes, and the commentaries of many rabbies, which he dedicated to pope Leo X. But this edition is not the beſt, becauſe he could not regularly diſpoſe the different readings of the Maſſoreths. Bombergue was, likewiſe, deſirous of printing a good Hebrew grammar, and R. Abraham de Balmis was ordered to compile one accordingly: but he dying before it was finiſhed, it was afterwards completed by R. Calonymas, a learned Jew then at Venice. Beſides theſe books, he printed a great number of other works of the Jewiſh rabbies, for which his memory is ſtill dear to the learned world, eſpecially to thoſe of his own nation.

Account of R. David de Pomis.

David the ſon of Iſaac de Pomis retired to Venice; and, by way of acknowledgment, wrote a treatiſe to prove that the laws of that republic are of divine original. This learned rabbi aſſerted, that his family deſcended from one of the heads of the captives whom Titus carried from Jeruſalem to Rome. He was a prodigy of learning in his tendereſt years. His father lived at Spoleto; but the Germans having pillaged Rome, he was afraid of being ruined by the like fate, and, therefore, carried off all his effects, and went to ſeek a retreat ſomewhere elſe. He fell into the misfortune he ſought to avoid; for Colomna's troops meeting the mules that carried his treaſure, ſeized it, and reduced him to extreme poverty. He ſettled at Bevagna, where his ſon, who was born in the year 1525, intently applied himſelf to ſtudy. The manuſcript of one of his anceſtors, who lived in the beginning of the twelfth century, and who had then compoſed an Hebrew dictionary, accidentally fell into his hands. He not only ſtudied it, but reſolved to make another larger, in which he inſerted the terms which the rabbies often make uſe of, though they are not Hebrew. He inſerted into his work all that was valuable from thoſe of Rabbin Nathan, Elias the Levite, and Kimki's roots. We find the Hebrew words, and the foreign terms, with the Latin and Italian, in this performance.

He is protected by the republic of Venice.

Venice maintained its rights in the war with the Uſcoques. Theſe robbers often pillaged the merchants of this nation, and the houſe of Auſtria pretended to diſpute with the Venetians their privilege to protect them, becauſe they were not Chriſtians. But no regard was had to a pretenſion that deprived ſovereigns of the right of defending their ſubjects; and the Jew, Henriques, was choſen by the ſenate to go into Dalmatia, to endeavour to accommodate this affair, which cauſed an unhappy war. R. Sichma, ſince named Simeon Luzati, at this time publiſhed here his Socrates; in which he ſhews that the greateſt geniuſes are weak and wandering, when they are guided by prejudice. He compoſed another treatiſe concerning the ſtate of the nation.

Celebrated rabbies at Venice.

At Venice alſo lived Samuel Nachmias, though he was of a Theſſalonian family. Here he abjured Judaiſm, with David his ſon, and part of his family, which took the name Moroſini. To ſhew that his converſion was ſincere, he publiſhed an Italian treatiſe, intituled, Via della Fede, or, the Way to the Faith, in which he explains the ceremonies of his nation, and ſhews the uſefulneſs of them; proves that the ſix hundred and thirteen precepts, which they diſtinguiſh in the law, are obſerved by nobody, and confutes all the Jewiſh ſuperſtitions and ſects: he died in the year 1687, at Rome, whither he retired. Mardochai Korkos, who taught in the year 1672, performed a taſk that was no leſs bold than odious to the doctors of the nation; for he compoſed a treatiſe againſt the cabbala, and their prejudices for that ſcience are ſo great, that all ſeem to ſhake the foundations of their religion who attack it; and, therefore, the doctors have had the precaution not to print it. At the ſame time that Bombergue had his preſs at Venice, ſome Jews from Spire, in Germany, were employed in the ſame manner at Soncino, a ſmall town in the Duchy of Milan, near the river Oglio, where they began to print Hebrew books about the end of the fifteenth century. There were alſo famous rabbies and ſynagogues at Imola, Modena, Padua, &c. ſome of whom were much diſtinguiſhed for learning.

Strenuous efforts uſed by Pope Gregory XIII. to bring about the converſion of the Jews, but in vain.

Gregory the Thirteenth did all in his power, by perſuaſion and argument, to promote their converſion. An ingenious preacher was choſen for this purpoſe, who was to prove, that the introduction of the goſpel was deſigned to aboliſh the Jewiſh law; and to enlarge upon the continued ſeries of calamities which had diſtinguiſhed this nation, merely on account of their rejection of the Meſſiah. All the Jews, in rotation, were obliged to hear his diſcourſes, and children above twelve years of age were ranked amongſt his auditors. Seminaries, for the reception of the new converts, were erected, and hoſpitals for the ſick: but, after

all, the number of converſions was very circumſcribed; and that judicial blindneſs which pervades the whole nation was not to be taken away by the well-meant effects of his Holineſs; the time was not arrived, when the loſt ſheep of the houſe of Iſrael ſhall be gathered into the fold under one ſhepherd Jeſus Chriſt. This brings the hiſtory of the Jews in Italy to the end of the ſeventeenth century.

They are oppreſſed in Germany, by the landgraves, in the 15th and 16th centuries.

Many viciſſitudes attended this unhappy people in Germany, during the fifteenth and ſixteenth centuries. The liberty they ſometimes enjoyed was obtained at a very great expence; the avarice of the landgraves prompting them to demand conſiderable ſubſidies.

They enjoy much peace among the reformed.

Under the reformation, particularly at its beginning, the Jews experienced much quiet; as the Monks had enough to do with the reformed, without diſturbing the peace of the Iſraelites. The Jewiſh books were ſpared, and the ſtudy of the languages cultivated. Luther himſelf, notwithſtanding, cenſured them with an impetuoſity which ſometimes carried him beyond all bounds. In return for theſe outrages, the Jewiſh doctors inveighed publicly againſt the Reformation.

The Jews are greatly oppreſſed, and cruelly uſed, in Hungary and Moravia.

The Jews in Hungary were greatly diminiſhed towards the end of the ſixteenth century. The emperor Rodolphus laid a double tax upon them, which, as they were unable to pay it, obliged them to quit the country the ſooner. They had ſynagogues in Moravia; but they ſuffered a cruel perſecution in 1574, all the profeſſors of their religion being ſentenced to the flames, and many were burnt before their complaints reached the ears of Maximilian, who compaſſionated their wretched ſituation. They, likewiſe, ſuffered very much in Franconia, from various ill-founded and vague reports, which operated to their prejudice. They were afterwards, in ſome meaſure, recompenſed for their misfortunes by the duke of Brunſwick's kindneſs, who permitted them to ſettle in his dominions.

Authority of the Jews in Poland.

In Poland, the Jews have always received greater favour than in any other country. They have their ſtately ſynagogues and academies, and their court of judicature is endowed with ſingular authority, ſince it is allowed to determine in civil as well as religious caſes. We are told, they have had the ſingular privilege of coining money, becauſe ſhekels have been found there with an Hebrew inſcription; but as the tomb in which they are ſaid to have been found is rather ſuſpicious, we cannot ground upon it a prerogative uſually veſted in ſovereigns alone.

This country is looked upon as a nurſery of learned rabbies, and the country to which the Jews ſend their youth to ſtudy the Talmud and the rites of their religion. In ſpeaking of the preceding century, we mentioned ſome rabbies who were an honour to their nation. This kingdom hath produced one man, who not only renounced Judaiſm, but wrote and publiſhed thirty-ſeven demonſtrations againſt it. His name was Solomon. He had been bound for one of his brethren, and committed to priſon, whence nothing could have redeemed him but his converſion to Chriſtianity; ſo that this circumſtance, together with the affected ſwoln ſtyle in which he wrote, has afforded reaſon to many for ſuſpecting his ſincerity. However that be, he was an excellent caſuiſt, well verſed in theological matters, and an able defender of the Jewiſh religion.

Jews at Hamburgh.

The city of Hamburgh is called a Little Jeruſalem. The Jews are obſerved to have been more tractable in that city than elſewhere, for a great number of them were converted in this century by one Edzas, or Eſdras, who made it his buſineſs to inſtruct and confirm them in the Chriſtian faith. A divine of that city once aſſerted, that if thoſe inſtructions were armed with ſome violence, they would become more effectual: but the ſenate now ſuppreſſed his immoderate zeal, which tended only to leſſen the number of their citizens, and had already cauſed ſome popular commotions among them.

They are favoured by the emperor Ferdinand III. of Bohemia.

Ferdinand III. granted them great privileges, becauſe, when the city of Prague was beſieged by Carolus Guſtavus, who was lately declared generaliſſimo of the armies of Sweden and Germany, they defended themſelves with a ſurpriſing fidelity and vigour. The city was already taken, and the garriſon called upon to capitulate; but the conqueror having refuſed honourable conditions, they ſuſtained many aſſaults with unſhaken fortitude. The Jews diſtinguiſhed themſelves in theſe aſſaults, and defended their poſt with a reſolution that merited praiſes and extraordinary privileges.

Inveterate enmity between the Chriſtians and Jews of Prague.

From various circumſtances, it appears that no conſiderations have been capable of creating a tolerable good underſtanding between the Chriſtians of Prague and the Jews. On the contrary, they hate one another; and as it muſt be confeſſed, the Jews have occaſionally been guilty of ſuch enormous deeds as muſt render them not only ſuſpected, but odious to the Chriſtians; ſo likewiſe it muſt be granted that the Chriſtians have ſubjected them to conformity to ſome practices that were incompatible with their profeſſion, and of courſe productive of dangerous commotions. Nevertheleſs, they are ſo numerous in this country, as to fill, of themſelves, the third city of Prague, but they are poor and miſerable, flock about ſtrangers, and ſubmit to the meaneſt ſervices to obtain a living. They had enjoyed in Hungary the privilege of farming the revenue, till Ferdinand II. took it from them by an edict, notwithſtanding which, they found means to preſerve the advantages of it, ſince Ferdinand III. was afterwards obliged to deprive them of it by a new edict, which condemned thoſe to the loſs of their places who admitted the Jews into any of them, alledging, as the cauſe, "that they have neither conſcience or honeſty, and are, therefore, unworthy

worthy to enjoy the privileges of Hungary." However, they continue there ſtill, not only under the protection of the grand ſignor, in thoſe parts under his dominions, but in thoſe of the empire likewiſe.

The Jews were in ſuch credit in Vienna, about ten years afterwards, that rabbi Zachary obtained them liberty to build a ſtately ſynagogue there, and to add an academy, to revive the ſtudy of the ſciences, which ſeemed extinct in this country. He had ſettled a penſion for twenty-four perſons, who were to read the Talmud every hour, day and night. One relieved the other; ſo that the ſchool was always open, and never found without a doctor. But this building, however, was ſcarcely finiſhed, when the emperor drove all the Jews from his capital, ſeized the ſynagogue, and turned it into a church. They complain, that the ſuperſtitious empreſs, imagining the toleration the court gave the Jews occaſioned her barenneſs, preſſed the emperor to baniſh them; but, after the death of this princeſs, they were reſtored to Vienna.

The emperor had a new ſubject of diſcontent againſt them in the Turkiſh war, becauſe they aſſiſted the infidels to maintain the ſiege of Buda, and diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their valour. But this was in reality an act of fidelity they owed their ſovereign; and though this reſiſtance rendered them odious, not only to the people of Germany but Italy, where they roſe againſt them; yet we cannot condemn them, ſince they were then ſubject to the Ottoman empire. Upon the whole, the emperor favours them at Vienna; admits them into affairs of ſtate, and gives honourable titles to thoſe who are employed, or purchaſe them. The people, indeed, jealous of the riches they heap together, endeavour ſometimes, by violent tumults and commotions, to ſtrip and plunder them.

In Servia, Croatia, Moldavia, Valachia, and in the rich cities of Germany, the Jews are numerous and flouriſhing. If they have been expelled Nuremberg, they are ſpread abroad in the country towns, and have their ſynagogue at Erfurt, which is in the neighbourhood. In the city of Augſburg, they had formerly a ſynagogue and academy, and their doctors and diſciples were maintained by the rich merchants of the place. But they have ſince been baniſhed from it, and muſt buy the liberty of coming into it, at the price of a florin for every hour they ſtay in the place.

State of the Jews in Holland.

There is no ſtate in Europe where the Jews live more quietly than in Holland. They enrich themſelves by trade, and, through the lenity of the government, poſſeſs their acquiſitions without fear. There are two ſorts of Jews in Holland; ſome are Germans, and others come from Portugal and Spain. They are divided about ſome ceremonies, and hate one another, as if the eſſentials of religion were concerned. But the real cauſe of this extreme hatred between thoſe two ſorts of Jews, if we may credit the Germans, is the diſſimulation and remiſſneſs of thoſe of Portugal and Spain, who live in thoſe countries, and conform in all things with the Popiſh religion, for the ſake of enriching themſelves, and then retire to Holland, to enjoy, with more ſafety, the fruits of their hypocriſy. Into this republic the Spaniſh and Portugueſe Jews, who make another part of this nation, retired, to avoid the cruelties of the inquiſition. Strada accuſes one of their leaders of having intrigued in the war of the Low Countries, and kindled the fire of enmity, by promiſing a potent ſupply. His name was Michez. He was a Spaniard born; but the fear of puniſhment had obliged him to ſeek ſanctuary at Antwerp, where he grew into the knowledge and affection not only of the magiſtrates of this city, but of Mary queen of Hungary, who reigned at that time. Going from Antwerp to Venice, and from thence to Conſtantiuople, he wrote to the malecontents he knew, and to the Proteſtants of Antwerp, intimating, "that it was their beſt way to adhere conſtantly to the league they had made againſt the Catholics, becauſe the grand ſignor was meditating deſigns againſt the Chriſtians; and in a ſhort time would ſo embarraſs king Philip, as not to give him leiſure to think of the affairs of the Netherlands." His letters were read in the ſenate of Antwerp, and gave great encouragement to the allies, but Michez did not make good his promiſe. He followed his maſter's views, who turned his arms againſt the kingdom of Cyprus. It only appears, that the Jews were more ſecure in the Netherlands than in Spain, ſince Michez ſought a retreat there; but it was but forty years after that the refugees of Spain and Portugal began to ſettle in Holland. Their firſt aſſembly at Amſterdam occaſioned ſome jealouſy in the city, where all things were ſuſpected during the war, which continued with great vigour. They were taken for Roman Catholics, who ſhut themſelves up, and concealed their images. They ſay, they were purſued into the place of their religious worſhip; but, as they found nothing but Hebrew books, and the law of Moſes, they laid no other condition on them, than to pray for the proſperity of the city, which they promiſed to do; and at the ſame time they erected their firſt ſynagogue, which they called the Houſe of Ben Jacob, becauſe that was the name of a rich Jew by whom it was founded. They alſo raiſed another ſynagogue, which they called Neve Schalom, that is, the Houſe of Peace.

Settlement of the Portugueſe Jews.

Firſt ſynagogue at Amſterdam.

A ſecond ſynagogue.

Spinoſa, who made himſelf famous by the ſingularity of his tenets, was born at Amſterdam in 1632. His parents were Portugueſe Jews, in good circumſtances, but he received nothing but a bed from his father's poſſeſſions, and always lived in poverty. He did not aſpire to follow the law, and imitate the rabbies, but learnt the trade of poliſhing glaſſes, and making ſpectacles. He compared himſelf to a ſerpent that bites his tail, becauſe he had nothing left at the year's end, though he lived upon milk and gruel. He had learnt Latin of Vanden Ende, who taught then

Account of Spinoſa.

then at Amſterdam; and who, retiring to Rikpus, embarked in the chevalier of Rohan's conſpiracy, and was executed. It is pretended, it was this pedant that ſowed the firſt ſeeds of Atheiſm in Spinoſa's mind. But it was Deſcartes's philoſophy which gave him a diſlike to the principles of the rabbies. He did not find in their writings thoſe evident truths built upon demonſtrations, which Deſcartes recommends to his diſciples.

When he was perceived to neglect the ſabbath and ſynagogue, they attempted, in vain, to retain him by a penſion of a thouſand livres: by this refuſal, he incurred ſo violent an hatred, that it was reſolved to ſtab him. As he came from the old Portugueſe ſynagogue of Amſterdam, he ſaw a man with a dagger in his hand, who endeavoured to ſtab him; and, indeed, the blow only reached his coat, which he kept in memory of this event. Not thinking himſelf ſafe in his native country, where the Jews were numerous and potent, he ſought a retreat near Leyden, and afterwards at the Hague. He had the great excommunication thundered againſt him; but he proteſted againſt this ſentence given in his abſence, and ſignified his proteſtation by a writing in Spaniſh, addreſſed to the rabbies in the ſynagogue. He publiſhed firſt a geometrical demonſtration of Deſcartes's principles, afterwards his Meditations; and at laſt produced the Tractatus Theologico-Politicus, in which he formed a new ſyſtem, that makes him much eſteemed by thoſe who are called Free-thinkers, in Holland, Germany, and France, from whom he received ſeveral invitations and large encouragements, but he refuſed them all, and died at the Hague in 1677, aged forty-four years.

This famous writer left behind him a ſect that has eſpouſed his principles. We cannot tell whether it be numerous, ſince it is conſtituted of perſons diſperſed in different places, who form no body or ſociety. As he had many followers and diſciples, ſo alſo had he many oppoſers of his own nation, particularly the learned Balthazar Orobio, a Spaniard by birth, and phyſician by profeſſion. His parents, who profeſſed the Romiſh religion, taught him betimes to diſſemble like themſelves. He ſtudied philoſophy, and became metaphyſical reader in the univerſity of Salamanca, being a lover of this ſcience, which was then much cultivated. He afterwards became a phyſician at Seville, where he was ſeized by the inquiſition, becauſe he did not ſufficiently conceal his religion, to remove all ſuſpicion. At length, tired with diſſembling, he came to Amſterdam, was circumciſed, and made open profeſſion of Judaiſm. He practiſed phyſic there with great reputation, and aſſures us, that his preſſing occupations did not permit him to apply himſelf to ſtudy as he could wiſh. When Spinoſa's book appeared, he at firſt deſpiſed it on account of its author; but when he received Bredenburgh's anſwer to it, in which that author agreed with Spinoſa in two dangerous poſitions, he ſeemed to heſitate about them. Orobio undertook to confute them both, and in the

Orobio opponent of Spinoſa.

execution of this taſk proved himſelf an able metaphyſician.

It has been affirmed by ſeveral authors, both Jews and Chriſtians, that the ten tribes were ſtill preſerved in China. One of the former tell us, that there was a ſynagogue at Pekin, which had coſt them ten thouſand crowns to repair. He aſſerted, that they had been ſettled in this province above five hundred years, and that they religiouſly preſerved one of the five books of Moſes, which he called Sepher Thora. He could not read Hebrew, having neglected the ſtudy of it in his youth; ſo that he was excluded from the offices of the ſynagogue, which his brother exerciſed, becauſe he underſtood the language; but he repeated the hiſtorical parts of the Old Teſtament, particularly thoſe of Abraham, Judith, and Eſther. He added, that there were in the capital of the province of Chequiam many ſynagogues, and Iſraeliſh families; for they gave themſelves that name, becauſe, being the poſterity of the ten tribes, they knew not that of the Jews. Alvarez, who had lived in China a conſiderable time, affirms, that they had been ſettled there above 600 years, and had obtained ſeveral privileges on account of their ſervices and fidelity to king Hun; that they were very numerous in ſome provinces, and had ſynagogues in moſt of their great cities, but more eſpecially in that of Honan, and in Kai-tong-fu, where they have a repoſitory for the ſacred volume, adorned with rich curtains, and in which they preſerve an ancient Bible in Hebrew characters. Theſe Jews, however, we are told, know nothing of Hebrew, and only mention the names of Abraham, Iſaac, and David; are very ignorant and remiſs in their law, even to the neglecting of circumciſion, becauſe the Chineſe upbraid them with the cruelty of performing the ceremony on innocent babes.

Whether the ten tribes are in China.

In England, the Jews attained many privileges under the protectorate of Cromwell: that ſagacious uſurper, and his parliament, foreſaw many advantages which might accrue from granting them protection; they were accordingly patroniſed more by him than by any of the former kings; and the privileges then granted them are continued to the preſent day.

In England.

Nothing more particularly occurs in the hiſtory of the Jews, worth notice. Their preſent hiſtory is pretty well known: that general toleration of all religion, which prevails almoſt univerſally, includes the miſerable deſcendents of Abraham; and though they retain their ſeparate communities, and are regulated by the ordinances of Moſes, they are not at all perſecuted, but are permitted the free exerciſe of their religion, without any moleſtation. This people are diſperſed over the whole earth; and every government affords, by them, ſome living teſtimonies of the truth of divine revelation.

Concluſion.

From the intire hiſtory of the Jews, taken in all its parts, it is beyond a doubt that UNBELIEF has been the ſource of all their

Unbelief the real ſource of all their paſt

and preſent calamities.

their calamities. A view of the remarkable events which occurred in the earlieſt ages, exhibits a ſtriking diſplay of the divine mercy and juſtice, as well as the certain effects of incredulity and impenitence. Diſobedience ſucceeded calamity, and calamity deliverance: obedience met its reward, and diſobedience its puniſhment. Hence it follows, that as the ſupreme and ultimate felicity of man conſiſts in a conformity to the divine will, and as that will is only communicated by divine revelation, which holds forth competent inſtructions throughout the whole, it is his higheſt wiſdom and happineſs to receive the ſame with all the deference due to its origin, and to confirm himſelf and others in the belief and practice of it, by every means which his benevolent Creator hath put in his power. But notwithſtanding the exertion of God's irreſiſtible power, and the repeated diſplays of his goodneſs on their behalf, the Jews were no ſooner freed from the woes they deprecated, than they fell into doubts, and ſet the power of the Moſt High at defiance. In ſucceeding times, their conduct ſeems invariable; and to this day they appear bent on their own deſtruction, by continuing in obſtinacy and unbelief. God grant that the ſcales of ignorance may ſpeedily fall from their eyes; and that they may, as individuals and as a nation, be brought to behold the light of the knowledge of the glory of God, as it ſhines in the perſon and face of Jeſus Chriſt!

APPENDIX.

ARTICLES OF THE JEWISH FAITH.

THE modern Jews compriſe their faith briefly in thirteen Articles; which, according to the learned Buxtorf's Account of the Religious Cuſtoms and Ceremonies of the Jews, is delivered in their prayer-book in the following manner:

I. I BELIEVE, with a perfect faith, that the Creator, whoſe name be bleſſed, is the creator and governor of all creatures; and that he alone hath performed, doth perform, and will perform all things.

II. I believe, with a perfect faith, that the Creator, whoſe name be bleſſed, is One in unity which hath nothing like it; and that he hath been, is, and will be, our GOD.

III. I believe, with a perfect faith, that the Creator, whoſe name be bleſſed, is not corporeal, nor to be comprehended by any corporeal meaſure or capacity; and that there exiſts not any thing which is like him.

IV. I believe, with a perfect faith, that the Creator, whoſe name be bleſſed, is the Firſt and the Laſt.

V. I believe, with a perfect faith, that the Creator alone, whoſe name be bleſſed, and no other, is to be worſhipped.

VI. I believe, with a perfect faith, that all the words of the prophets are true.

VII. I believe, with a perfect faith, that the prophecies (rules and leſſons) of Moſes, our maſter, on whom be peace, are true; and that he is the father of all wiſe men, as well of thoſe who went before him, as of thoſe who have come after him.

VIII. I believe, with a perfect faith, that the whole law, which at this day is in our hands, was delivered by Moſes our maſter, on whom be peace.

IX. I believe, with a perfect faith, that this law is never to be changed, nor any other law to be delivered from the Creator, whoſe name be bleſſed.

X. I believe, with a perfect faith, that the Creator, whoſe name be bleſſed, knoweth all the deeds and thoughts of men; as it is written, "He faſhioneth their hearts alike: he conſidereth all their works."

XI. I believe, with a perfect faith, that the Creator will reward thoſe who keep his commandments, and puniſh thoſe who tranſgreſs them.

XII. I believe, with a perfect faith, that the Meſſiah will come, and though he delays his coming, I will nevertheleſs always look for him until he comes.

XIII. I believe, with a perfect faith, that the dead will be raiſed to life, when it ſhall be ſo decreed by the Creator, whoſe name be bleſſed, and whoſe memory be exalted through time and eternity.

Upon theſe articles, ſay the Jews in their writings, the religion of Moſes, and the faith of the Jews, have always ſtood; though theſe articles were not, according to the ſame authors, reduced to writing and method till near the five thouſandth year of the world, this having been the work of Rabbi Moſhebar Maimon, who died, ſay the Jews, in the year of the world 4964: that is, in the year of Chriſt 1104. And this confeſſion of faith the Jews are ſolemnly

enjoined to receive and uſe as their creed, and to live and die in it. The rabbin above-mentioned enjoined this uſe of it on pain of loſs of the Jewiſh name, and of eternal ſalvation. But it is viſible enough, that his grand deſign, in the compoſing and enjoining of this creed was, to guard againſt the propagation of the goſpel on the ſide of his own nation, and fortify the averſion of the Jews to Chriſt and his religion.

Opinions of the Modern JEWS concerning the MESSIAH.

ALL the Jews agree, that a Meſſiah is promiſed to the Jewiſh nation, and accordingly they pray, in their daily offices, "that he may come quickly, and in their days:" but what ſort of a man he is to be, or the quality or condition he is to appear in, together with the time of his coming, is matter of great doubt and debate among them. It is, however, generally believed, that the Meſſiah is to appear as a plebeian, or vulgar perſon; but that he will far excel the reſt of men in manifold virtue: that he will marry, and beget children, who will ſucceed him in his kingdom.

"When, ſay they, the Meſſiah ſhall have gathered together all the Jews from all the nations and parts of the world, and ſhall have conducted them into the land flowing with milk and honey, he ſhall celebrate a royal banquet with great plenty, pomp, and rejoicing; and ſhall invite all the Jews to it, and receive them with a moſt courteous welcome. At this banquet every one of the Jews ſhall be ſeated at a golden table. On this occaſion there ſhall be prepared and ſerved up an abounding ſtore of the nobleſt and moſt delicious animals for the food of man, as fiſh, fowl, &c. that ever God created. The tables ſhall be piled with the nobleſt, the richeſt, and moſt inſpiring and enlivening wines that ever man taſted, or the earth produced, ſince the beginning; for they are produced in paradiſe, and are to this day preſerved in Adam's wine-cellar for this grand regale."

Let us now ſee a little after what manner the Jews are to live in their ancient country under the adminiſtration of the Meſſiah. We are told, that the ſtrange nations, which they ſhall ſuffer to live, ſhall build them houſes and cities, till them ground, and plant them vineyards, and all this without looking for any reward of their labour. Thoſe ſurviving nations will likewiſe voluntarily offer them all their wealth and furniture: and princes and nobles ſhall attend them, and be ready at their nod to pay them all manner of obedience; while they themſelves ſhall be ſurrounded with grandeur and pleaſure, appearing abroad in apparel glittering with jewels, like prieſts of the unction conſecrated to God.

The Jews will then likewiſe, we are told, breathe a pure and wholeſome air; and for this matter they reſt particularly on the following paſſage, "Behold I create a new heaven and a new earth," Iſa. lxv. 17. They will therefore be perpetually in a flouriſhing ſtate of health, and as long-lived as antediluvians; enjoying in old age all the vivacity of youth; as it is written, ſay they, "They ſhall bring forth fruit in old age," &c.

For the fertility of the country in thoſe happy times, they tell us, that wheat being once ſown, the ground will every year after yield that grain ſpontaneouſly without any more ſowing or culture; as in Hoſ. xiv. 7. A Jew ſhall no ſooner wiſh for rain in his field, his garden, or upon a ſingle herb, than God will grant it him; as in Zech. x. 1. In thoſe times they ſhall gather their harveſts and vintages in the higheſt ſafety and tranquillity, and ſhall be in no danger from any enemy whatſoever; as in Iſa. lxii. 8. The trees ſhall daily yield new fruit, the earth, without any culture or aſſiſtance from the hand of man, daily produce plum-cakes and ſilken garments, as it now does toad-ſtools and muſhrooms. The women ſhall daily bring forth children, according to Jer. xxxi. 8.

There ſhall no more be wars, or rumours of wars, upon earth; but a ſolid and eternal peace ſhall be ſettled among men, and between men and beaſts, as in Hoſ. ii. 1. Iſa. xi. 6. The Meſſiah ſhall be arbiter of the world: and when menaces of war ſhall appear among the heathen nations, differences ſhall be accommodated, and peace preſerved and eſtabliſhed by his mediation; ſo that not a ſword ſhall be drawn; as in Iſa. ii. 4.

In thoſe days the Jews ſhall ſwim in perpetual joys and pleaſures; and, next to the daily celebration of the high praiſes of God, they ſhall be engaged in nothing but nuptial feaſts and mirthful aſſemblies, and other the like ſcenes of feſtivity and plenty; and all of them ſhall be repleniſhed with wiſdom and the knowledge of God; as it is written in Jer. xxxiii. 10.

In a word, the felicity of this holy nation, in the times of the Meſſiah, will be ſuch, that the exalted condition cannot enter into the conception of man; much leſs can it be couched in human expreſſion. At leaſt, this is what the rabbins ſay of it; but the intelligent reader will, doubtleſs, pronounce it THE PARADISE OF FOOLS.

THE LIFE OF *FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.*

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

WITH ADDITIONS AND IMPROVEMENTS.

Account of Josephus's extraction.

TO have been honourably deſcended is the pride and boaſt of various nations: in the line of the prieſthood it is ſupremely illuſtrious: on which account, I may aſſume the credit of an extraction ſuperior to the generality of my brethren; ſince, for a ſucceſſion of ages, my paternal anceſtors have been prieſts of the higheſt of the twenty-four ranks. On the mother's ſide, I am deſcended of the regal race; as ſhe was of the *Aſmonæan* line, in which, for a conſiderable time, the royal government was united with the prieſthood.

His family.

My great grandfather was named Simon, otherwiſe Pſellus, who flouriſhed during the pontificate of Hyrcanus, the ſon of the high-prieſt, called Simon. Pſellus was father of nine ſons, of whom Matthias, who took the ſurname of Aphlias, eſpouſed a daughter of Jonathan the high-prieſt, who bore him a ſon, called Matthias, whoſe ſurname was Curtus. This Curtus was father of a ſon, who was born in the ninth year of the reign of Alexander, and called Joſeph, who was the father of Matthias, born in the tenth year of Archelaus; and this Matthias was my father; my birth taking place in the firſt year of the reign of Caius Cæſar. My ſons are three: Hyrcanus, Juſtus, and Agrippa, reſpectively born in the fourth, ſeventh, and ninth years of the emperor Veſpaſian. This is a genuine and conciſe account of my family, as it ſtands upon indubitable and incontrovertible record.

All ranks of people in Jeruſalem held my father Matthias in the higheſt veneration, and that far more on account of his virtues than of his honourable deſcent. I had a brother, alſo named Matthias, with whom I was educated from my infancy. With a tolerable judgment, and a moſt retentive memory, I made ſuch a rapid progreſs in my ſtudies, that, when I had attained my fourteenth year, I ſometimes received the diſtinguiſhed honour of being conſulted, even on difficult points of law, by the high-prieſt and elders. Being deſirous of acquainting myſelf with the fundamental principles of the Phariſees, the Sadducees, and the Eſſenes, in my ſixteenth year I entered upon this taſk, with an intent to unite myſelf with that ſociety whoſe doctrines I ſhould moſt approve upon examination.

He applies himſelf to the ſtudy of the then prevailing ſects.

With great aſſiduity, though not without frequent diſguſts, I paſſed through a kind of noviciate in each of theſe ſects ſucceſſively: nor did I ſtop here; but, having learnt that a certain perſon, named Banus, had withdrawn himſelf from all commerce with the world, to reſide in deſerts and ſolitude, I deter-

determined to become his pupil alſo. This man wore no other cloathing than the bark of trees; he lived ſolely on the ſpontaneous productions of the fields and woods, and, in order to abate the violence of his inordinate appetites, conſtantly bathed himſelf in cold water. Having ſubjected myſelf to theſe and ſuch-like auſterities, for near three years, and my curioſity being ſatisfied, I quitted our hermit, and returned to the city; and being now in my nineteenth year, began to apply myſelf to the ſtudy of the civil law; for which purpoſe, I entered into the ſociety of the Phariſees, whoſe doctrines bear ſome reſemblance to thoſe of the ancient Stoics.

Adopts that of the Phariſees.

In going to Rome, in behalf of his friends, he is ſhipwrecked, and wonderfully eſcapes.

In my ſix-and-twentieth year, I made a journey to Rome, on the following intereſting occaſion. Several prieſts, many of them men of exemplary characters, and my intimate friends, had been ſent by Felix, who was at that time governor of Judæa, upon a very frivolous pretext, to juſtify themſelves before Cæſar. Such was the noble conduct of theſe men, upon this occaſion, that I reſolved to afford them every aſſiſtance in my power. Accordingly I embarked for Rome, and our veſſel, in which were nearly ſix hundred perſons, was loſt in a violent ſtorm in the Adriatic Gulph. Out of the whole ſhip's company, eighty perſons only were ſaved, who, after ſwimming the whole night, were taken up early the next morning by a veſſel from Cyrene. I now contracted an intimacy at Dicæarchia (the Puteoli of the Italians) with one Alityrus, a comedian, and a Jew by birth: this man ſtood high in the favour of Nero. The empreſs Poppœa, to whom I was introduced by Alityrus, inſtantly, at my requeſt, obtained the releaſement of the prieſts: after which I departed for my own country, loaded with preſents.

Finding the populace, upon my return, in a violent ferment, and much inclined to revolt, I uſed every endeavour to bring them to a due ſenſe of their folly. I repreſented to them the great ſuperiority of their opponents, both in reſpect to their military and every other qualification, and ſtrongly urged to them the phrenzy of riſking the fate of all they held dear, on ſuch unequal terms. In this manner, I endeavoured to divert them from an enterpriſe, which appeared to me big with the moſt fatal conſequences. My arguments, however, inſtead of producing the deſired effect, ſerved only to render me ſuſpected by them of ſecretly favouring the views of the enemy, and thereby my ſafety became very precarious.

He joins the chief men among the Phariſees.

As the inſurgents had already poſſeſſed themſelves of Fort Antonia, I was neceſſitated to fly for refuge to the inner temple. Manahem, and ſome other of the chiefs of the party, being now taken off, I united myſelf with the high-prieſt, and the leading men among the Phariſees, all of whom were totally undetermined what meaſures to purſue in the preſent diſtracted ſtate of affairs, the whole city being in arms. Perceiving that all oppoſition would be vain, we pretended partly to adopt the ſentiments of faction, and contented ourſelves with recommending it to them to act with caution, and to delay the execution of their deſigns till the enemy ſhould have drawn off a little; urging that Geſſius, whoſe force was conſiderable, would certainly arrive in time to quell the inſurrection. He returned, at length, but with a remnant only of his army; having been defeated in an engagement, in which the major part of his troops were cut to pieces: and this accident, in fact, laid the foundation of the ruin of our nation; the revolters being ſo much elated with this ſucceſs, they conceived the ridiculous notion, that they ſhould, with equal eaſe, be able to repel the whole force of the Romans. Juſt at this juncture, numbers of the Jews were maſſacred in the moſt horrible manner.

In many of the great towns on the confines of Judæa, the Syrians and the Jews had, for ſome time paſt, reſided together, in the moſt friendly manner: but at this time, the former, watching their opportunity, roſe upon the latter, and put them all to death, without diſtinction either of ſex or age; and this without the ſhadow of a pretence; as neither an intention to revolt, nor ſo much as any diſaffection to the Roman government, had been imputed to the unhappy victims. Amongſt all the actors in this bloody ſcene, the Scythopolitans diſtinguiſhed themſelves the moſt, by their contempt of every ordinance both human and divine.

Theſe people were not ſatisfied with compelling the Jews, reſident among them, to take up arms againſt thoſe of their own tribe, who had lain ſiege to the city (a thing expreſsly prohibited by our law), but having, by their aſſiſtance, repulſed the aſſailants, in direct violation of every tie of gratitude, juſtice, and common faith, they indiſcriminately put them to the ſword, to the number of ſeveral thouſands.

Joſephus, with others, deputed as commiſſioners to quiet the common people.

The leading men among the Jews, finding themſelves, after the defeat of Geſſius, in a very feeble and inſecure ſtate, and expoſed to the attacks of a powerful and reſtleſs faction, now judged it highly requiſite to adopt ſome plan for their preſervation from the dangers which ſurrounded them. With this view, they thought proper to depute me, together with two other prieſts, Joazar and Judas (both men of reſpectable character) to Galilee; the inhabitants of which place were, at that juncture, divided in their ſentiments, part of them ſiding with the Romans, and the reſt oppoſing them. The object of our commiſſion was, to prevail on the malecontents to lay down their arms, at leaſt for the preſent, and to depoſit them in the hands of their governors; abſtaining from all acts of violence, till they ſhould have acquired further intelligence of the real deſigns of the Romans.

Upon

Disagreement between the Galileans and Sepphorites.

Upon my arrival in Galilee, I found the Galileans and the Sepphorites engaged in a ſtrong conteſt, and at the eve of an open rupture. The Galileans were about to invade the country of the Sepphorites, on account of the attachment of the latter to the Romans, and of their adherence to Senius Gallus, the Roman governor of Syria. Both parties, however, were at length appeaſed, by the permiſſion which I obtained for them, to viſit, as often as they pleaſed, the hoſtages which they had put into the hands of Geſſius, and which were detained at Dora, a city of Phœnicia.

Account of an inſurrection at Tiberias.

An inſurrection had taken place in Tiberias alſo, on the following occaſion. The citizens were divided into three parties; the firſt of which, headed by Julius Capella, in conjunction with Herod, the ſon of Marius, Herod, the ſon of Gamalus, and Compſus, the ſon of Compſus, was compoſed of men of acknowledged worth and diſtinction: Criſpus, the brother of Compſus, who had, ſeveral years before, been appointed governor of the town by Agrippa the Great, did not, however, enter into the party, reſiding at that time upon his own eſtate, on the other ſide of Jordan; this party was, to a man, cloſely attached to the intereſts of the emperor and the Roman people; and the only perſon of rank who ſided with the oppoſite faction was Piſtus, who was thereto induced by a paternal attachment to his ſon Juſtus. The very dregs of the people formed the ſecond faction; and the third was headed by Juſtus, the ſon of Piſtus, aforementioned.

This man, though he did not openly declare for a war, yet certainly favoured that meaſure in his heart, in the deſign of advancing his own fortune, by the troubles which he expected it would give birth to. With this view, he endeavoured to ſound the inclinations of the people, by an oration, in which he obliquely hinted only at the matter in queſtion; repreſenting to them, "that their city, in the time of Herod the Tetrarch, the founder of it, had always been conſidered as belonging to Galilee, and as being the capital of the province. From the time of Agrippa the father, to that of Felix, when Nero conferred the government of the city on the younger Agrippa, this claim of precedency was never once diſputed. In ſhort, the Sepphorites never arrogated to themſelves any ſuperiority over the people of the neighbouring cities, till ſubſequently to the period in which they readily yielded up their necks to the Roman yoke, and in which, in conſequence of the above revolution, the records and treaſury were removed."

In this manner did Juſtus tamper with and incenſe the minds of the people againſt the emperor, till finding them at length diſpoſed to coincide in his views, he boldly told them, that as the Sepphorites appeared to be ſo inſeparably connected with the Romans that their union ſeemed indiſſoluble, it was abſolutely neceſſary, for the preſervation of their privileges, they ſhould immediately take up arms againſt the Sepphorites, who had rendered themſelves ſo obnoxious to the reſt of their neighbours, that they need not doubt of being powerfully ſupported in their attack upon them.

In this inſinuating manner did he confound the judgment of men of ſenſe far ſuperior to his own, and thereby effect the deſign he had in view. He was, alſo, ſo well verſed in the Greek language, as, by palliating ſome matters, and miſrepreſenting others, to give ſuch a picture of the ſtate of affairs at that period, as was beſt calculated to promote his purpoſes. Of the wicked arts and malice of this man and his brother, by which they reduced their country to the very brink of ruin, I ſhall here give a more particular detail. Some of the citizens having been won by perſuaſion, and others compelled by Juſtus to take arms, he put himſelf at their head, and marched againſt the Hippenians and Gadarenes, dwelling about Tiberias and Scythopolis, whoſe habitations he utterly deſtroyed.

State of affairs in Giſchala.

Having ſaid thus much of the ſtate of affairs at Tiberias, I ſhall now recount what paſſed during the ſame period at Giſchala. The propenſity which many of the citizens manifeſted, to throw off the Roman yoke, was ſtrongly combated by John, the ſon of Levi, who exerted himſelf to the utmoſt to reſtrain them within the bounds of allegiance and duty: but all his endeavours proved ineffectual; as the people of the country round, the Gadarenes, the Gabaraganæans, and the Tyrians, having united their forces, made themſelves maſters of the place, and, after burning and utterly deſtroying it, again retreated towards their reſpective cities. But John, who was highly incenſed at this outrage, collecting his troops together, purſued and overtook them, and, in a pitched battle, totally defeated them; after which he rebuilt Giſchala, encompaſſing it, for the greater ſecurity, with a wall of conſiderable ſtrength.

Gamala adheres to the Romans.

During this whole period, the inhabitants of Gamala continued firm in their attachment to the Romans, of which they gave a ſtriking proof, on the following occaſion. King Agrippa's lieutenant, named Philip, the ſon of Jacimus, having miraculouſly effected his eſcape from Jeruſalem, at the very time that the royal palace was cloſely inveſted by the enemy, was a ſecond time in imminent peril of his life, from Manahem and the aſſaſſins his companions, but was again providentially preſerved by ſome of his Babylonian relations, who chanced to be then at Jeruſalem.

On the fifth day after this his ſecond eſcape, he diſguiſed himſelf in a cap compoſed of hair, and in a ſhort time arrived at one of the villages, in the neighbourhood of the caſtle of Gamala, to which place many of his ſubjects inſtantly repaired to him. He was here ſeized with a ſudden fever; which incident, by a wonderful interpoſition of Providence, proved the means of preſerving his life. When he was firſt attacked by this diſorder, he diſpatched a perſon, in whom he could confide,

with letters to Agrippa and Berenice, who were then on a journey, to meet Geſſius at Berytus. Theſe letters the meſſenger was ordered to deliver into the hands of Varus, to whom the king and the queen had committed the care of the palace during their abſence. The news of Philip's eſcape from Jeruſalem gave Varus great uneaſineſs, leſt the incident ſhould be productive of his diſmiſſion from the ſervice of the king and queen. Varus, therefore, repreſented the meſſenger to the people as an impoſtor, and put him to death on that pretext, aſſerting, with the utmoſt effrontery, that, to his certain knowledge, Philip was ſtill at Jeruſalem, and engaged in the defence of that city againſt the Romans. A conſiderable time being elapſed from the period of the meſſenger's departure, and no kind of intelligence having arrived from him, Philip deputed another perſon, with freſh letters; and this man too Varus put to death, on the ſame pretext as he had before uſed. This conduct of Varus was occaſioned by an idle notion, which had been ſuggeſted to him by the Syrians of Cæſarea, that the Romans would, doubtleſs, ſacrifice Agrippa to their reſentment of the Jewiſh revolt, and that, in ſuch caſe, himſelf, being of the race of Sohemus, the Tetrarch of Libanus, muſt inevitably ſucceed to the regal dignity. Thus prepoſſeſſed, Varus put in practice every artifice, to conceal from the king the knowledge of what paſſed; for which purpoſe, he intercepted all letters addreſſed to his majeſty, and ſhut up every paſs, by which any intelligence could poſſibly have been communicated to him. With the view of ingratiating himſelf with the Syrians of Cæſarea, he put to death great numbers of the Jews, and alſo offered to engage with the Trachonites of Batanea, in a war againſt the Jewiſh inhabitants of Ecbatane, who are ſtyled Babylonians. He accordingly diſpatched twelve of the principal Jews in Cæſarea to Ecbatane, to acquaint the inhabitants, in his name, that he had heard they meditated a revolt; that he was much diſinclined to credit the report, but that he required them, as a teſtimony of their innocence, immediately to lay down their arms, and alſo to depute to him ſeventy of the chiefs of their party, to juſtify the conduct of the reſt. Upon the receipt of this meſſage, the inhabitants of Ecbatane made the ſtricteſt ſcrutiny into the cauſe of this rumour, which they found to be utterly deſtitute of foundation: in obedience, however, to the requiſition of Varus, they ſent to him ſeventy of the principal men of the place, who were all maſſacred by him, ſave one ſingle perſon, on the road to Cæſarea; after which he marched his troops againſt Ecbatane. But, by a ſecond wonderful interpoſition of Providence, the perſon who had been thus miraculouſly preſerved from deſtruction, reached the city before him, and made the inhabitants acquainted with the horrible treachery which had been perpetrated upon his aſſociates. The people inſtantly ran to arms, and, quitting the city, retired, with their wives and children, into the caſtle of Gamala, leaving behind them their effects and cattle, to a very conſiderable value. No ſooner was this event communicated to Philip, than he inſtantly repaired to the caſtle of Gamala, where he was received with open arms by the inſurgents, who unanimouſly made him a tender of their lives and fortunes, urgently ſoliciting him to put himſelf at their head, and to lead them againſt Varus and his Cæſarean abettors; for a report was now ſpread, that the king had been aſſaſſinated. Philip, however, endeavoured to allay the ferment of their minds, by urging to them the favours they had received from the king, the formidable power of the Romans, and the imminent dangers they would expoſe themſelves to by a revolt; and his endeavours at length proved ſucceſsful. The king, being, at length, made acquainted with the miſconduct of Varus, and with a deſign which he had formed, to put to death all the Jews in Cæſarea, together with their wives and children, to the number of ſeveral thouſands, removed him from his government, which he conferred on Æquus Modius; as I have before mentioned: Gamala and the neighbouring country being retained in their allegiance to the Romans, by the prudent meaſures taken by Philip.

At the command of the Jewiſh ſanhedrim, Joſephus continues in Galilee.

Having acquired the moſt authentic intelligence of the above tranſactions, upon my arrival in Galilee, I diſpatched a letter to the council at Jeruſalem, requeſting to be honoured with their commands: in anſwer to which, they ſent me orders to remain where I was, and make the beſt proviſion poſſible for the defence of the place, retaining my colleagues with me, if they ſhould be inclined to ſtay. A large ſum of money having been collected on account of tithes, my aſſociates had taken the reſolution of returning home, but, at my requeſt, readily conſented to continue with me a ſhort time longer, till I could arrange matters more happily. We, accordingly, went together from Sepphoris to Bethmaus, a place about four furlongs diſtant from Tiberias, from whence I ſent a meſſage to the ſenate and ſome of the principal perſons of that city, requiring their attendance. They came in obedience to my ſummons, accompanied by Juſtus; and I acquainted them, that the council at Jeruſalem had commiſſioned myſelf and my aſſociates to confer with them on the ſubject of demoliſhing the palace which Herod the Tetrarch had erected in their city, and had ornamented with many curious images and figures of animals, which was expreſsly prohibited by our laws; and I earneſtly deſired that the buſineſs might be carried into execution without delay. In this requeſt I was ſtrongly oppoſed by Capella and his party; but I, with much difficulty, at length, carried my point.

Herod's palace rifled and burnt by the rebels who put all the Greeks in Tiberias to the ſword.

While this conteſt was depending, Jeſus, the ſon of Sapphia, putting himſelf at the head of a body of men, compoſed of the very dregs of the people, and being joined by a party of the ſeditious Galileans, ſet the royal palace on fire, in hopes, from the rich and brilliant appearance of every thing they ſaw, that they ſhould obtain a princely

princely booty by the plunder of it: and, in fact, they carried off many valuable effects, notwithſtanding all that could be done to prevent them. Having ſettled all matters with Capella and the Tiberians, we departed from Bethmaus for the Upper-Galilee, juſt at the time that the faction of Jeſus had put all the Greeks, reſiding in Tiberias, to the ſword, and all thoſe, indiſcriminately, who had taken part againſt them previous to the war. When I received intelligence of this outrage, I was highly incenſed, and repaired immediately to Tiberias, at which place were many valuable effects belonging to the king, (amongſt others, ſeveral rich candleſticks of Corinthian workmanſhip, coſtly tables, and a large quantity of ſilver in the maſs) ſome of which I hoped to be able to preſerve from pillage. I had determinated to depoſit whatever goods I might be able to ſecure, in the hands of proper perſons, for the king's uſe. Sending, therefore, for ten of the principal ſenators, and Capella, the ſon of Antyllus, I delivered all the rich veſſels, and other valuables which I had ſaved, into their care, with a ſtrict injunction to give them up to no one but myſelf.

Intrigues of John of Giſchala, and his ſtratagem to procure money.

From Tiberias I went, with my colleagues, to Giſchala, for the purpoſe of informing myſelf of the procedings of John, whom I found evidently endeavouring to eſtabliſh himſelf at the head of a party. In different parts of the Upper-Galilee were divers magazines of corn, belonging to the emperor, and John was mightily deſirous of obtaining the ſale of them, pretending that he meant to expend the profits which might accrue in erecting fortifications. I eaſily penetrated into his deſign, and therefore told him, that I would never yield my conſent; and I was obligated, by my commiſſion from the council at Jeruſalem, to ſee that thoſe ſtores ſhould be applied, either to the emperor's uſe, or to the benefit of the province. He then applied himſelf to my colleagues, perceiving that there was no probability of his ſucceding with me, and they, partly through inadvertency, and partly through avarice, ſuffered themſelves to be won over to a compliance with his ſolicitations; and thus, they being two to one, my oppoſition was rendered fruitleſs. The ſucceſs which John met with on this occaſion, emboldened him to ſet another ſcheme on foot, for the promotion of his intereſt. Pure virgin oil was, at that time, particularly ſcarce at Cæſarea Philippi; the inhabitants of which place, being reſtricted from the uſe of the Greek oil, and from purchaſing the other out of their own city, had, he ſaid, made great complaints to him on the ſubject, praying relief. His interference in this buſineſs did not proceed ſo much from religious, as from intereſted motives; being ſenſible that this oil was forty times dearer at Giſchala than it was at Cæſarea: accordingly, under the pretence of a permiſſion from me, he tranſported all the oil from one of thoſe places to the other. I did, indeed, from an apprehenſion that the people would otherwiſe ſtone me, acquieſce in the above meaſure; but I no otherwiſe conſented to it. The profit that John derived from this device was very conſiderable.

Joſephus having diſmiſſed his collagues from Giſchala, finds meaſures for defending his province.

From Giſchala I ſent my colleagues back to Jeruſalem, and now employed my whole time in providing for the defence of the province. Perceiving that every attempt to reduce the free-booters by force muſt prove vain, I adviſed the people to try the effect of negociating with them: and we, thereupon, entered into a treaty with ſome of their chiefs, offering to take the whole body into our ſervice; as we were well convinced, that the expence attending this meaſure would be far inferior to the loſs we ſhould be liable to ſuſtain from their continual depredations. Articles being, as length, agreed upon between us, after receiving their oaths for the due obſervance of the engagement, I diſmiſſed them. The conditions to which they bound themſelves, were, that they would never enter our territories, but upon a requiſition from us, or in the caſe that we ſhould at any time be in arrears to them. My chief object, however, was to retain the Galileans in due ſubjection, and, with this view, I ſelected ſeventy of the principal perſons of the province, to accompany me. Of theſe I formed a council, and, in moſt caſes, regulated my conduct by their advice, ſtill retaining a ſupreme deference for the dictates of honour and juſtice: thus, under the guiſe of friends, theſe men were, in reality, my hoſtages.

He vindicates his conduct.

I had now attained my thirtieth year; a period of life in which a man in a public ſtation cannot, even with the utmoſt precaution poſſible, ſhelter himſelf from the attacks of envy and detraction. Thus much, however, I muſt be permitted to ſay for myſelf, that I had never been charged with any breach of duty, or corrupt practices, towards either of the ſeveral parties. So far was I from wiſhing to acquire wealth, that I even declined my proffered tithes, to which, from my function of a prieſt, I was indubitably entitled. I acknowledge that, after defeating the Syrians, I ſent part of the booty obtained on that occaſion, to my relations at Jeruſalem; and, having twice vanquiſhed the Sepphorites, the Tiberians four times, and reduced the Gadarenes to throw themſelves on my mercy; having, moreover, ſeized the perſon of John, who had been guilty of many treacherous practices againſt my ſafety; I never entertained a thought of reſenting the injuries I had ſuffered from any of the above parties, but readily conſigned the remembrance of them to utter oblivion; and the Almighty, who perceived the rectitude of my heart, was pleaſed, as will be ſeen in its proper place, graciouſly to deliver me from the machinations of my perfidious foes, not only upon the occaſion in queſtion, but alſo at various ſubſequent times.

Crafty machinations of John againſt him fruſtrated

Although the Galileans were daily ſuffering all the miſeries of war, yet ſuch was the affection they bore to me, they appeared to be much more moved with the dangers and hardſhips which I underwent, than with their own. The popularity that I had thus acquired, excited the rankeſt envy in the breaſt of John, who, under the pretext of a ſudden indiſpoſition, wrote

to

to me for permiſſion to go to the hot baths of Tiberias, which I granted him with the utmoſt readineſs, not ſuſpecting his motives in making the requeſt; and even furniſhed him with letters of recommendation to ſome of my friends there, to accommodate him and his train with whatever they might ſtand in need of. I had at this time taken up my reſidence in a village of Galilee, called Jana. Upon John's arrival at Tiberias, he immediately ſet about inveigling the inhabitants into a revolt. Many of them were well diſpoſed to enter into his views, being heartily deſirous of a change in the government; and among theſe, Juſtus and his father Piſtus, eagerly united themſelves with John againſt me. But providentially, Silas, whom I had appointed my deputy in the government of Tiberias, having diſcovered the deſigns of the conſpirators, ſent me a minute account thereof; urging me to repair thither with all ſpeed, as the leaſt delay might occaſion the loſs of the place.

Inſtantly upon the receipt of this intelligence, I aſſembled a body of two hundred men, and thus attended, poſted away to Tiberias, travelling, for the greater expedition, the whole night, and diſpatched a meſſenger to acquaint my friends with my being upon the road. At an early hour in the morning, I was met by the inhabitants in a body, who conducted me into the city. John, alſo, came with the reſt, when the great confuſion viſible in his face, plainly manifeſted a conſciouſneſs of his guilt: but after a ſlight and haſty reverence to me, he ſuddenly withdrew. Upon my entrance into the city, I directly repaired to the public place of exerciſes, where I diſmiſſed all my attendants, ſave one ſervant and ten ſoldiers. Having choſen a ſpot for my purpoſe, I began to harangue the people on the ſubject of the duties of good faith and allegiance; the reputation which muſt accrue to them from a generous perſeverance in their fidelity, and the dangerous conſequences as well as the abſolute baſeneſs of perfidy; urging to them, that thoſe who were guilty of treachery muſt always expect a retaliation upon themſelves; and that one ſuch act would eternally ruin their credit with the world. I had ſcarcely got thus far in my oration, when I heard a voice in the croud, loudly and with great earneſtneſs adviſing me to deſiſt, and provide for my ſafety by a ſpeedy retreat. The caſe was, that John, perceiving me to be thus almoſt without attendants, had ſelected a certain number of ſoldiers out of the thouſand of which he had the command, and had given them orders to attack me by ſurpriſe. They had approached within a very ſmall diſtance of the place where I ſtood, when I inſtantly leaped down, and, with the aſſiſtance of one of my guards, named Jacob, and one Herod a Tiberian, made good my retreat to the lake, and embarked on board a veſſel which providentially chanced to be there, and which landed me at Taricheæ; and thus I eſcaped the villanous deſigns of my foes.

He narrowly eſcapes aſſaſſination.

Inſtance of the kindneſs of the Galileans to Joſephus, and his moderation and juſtice.

This perfidy of the Tiberians incenſed the people of Taricheæ to that degree, that they aſſembled in a body, and earneſtly preſſed me to lead them againſt the perpetrators of ſo horrid a villany. They alſo invited the Galileans to join them in their intended attack upon Tiberias, and to ſubmit themſelves implicitly to my conduct and direction. This invitation was readily accepted by the Galileans, who recommended it to me, to march immediately againſt Tiberias; and having made myſelf maſter of it, utterly to deſtroy the city, and to ſell the inhabitants, of whatever ſex or age, publickly for ſlaves: nor was this the opinion of the Galileans alone, but even of ſuch of the Tiberians, alſo, as had quitted the city to join me. But I poſitively refuſed to comply with their ſolicitations, dreading to be the author of a civil war, and being deſirous of ſettling all differences in an amicable manner. I, therefore, repreſented to the people the imprudence of cutting each others throats, for the entertainment of the Romans, who would be pleaſed ſpectators of ſuch a ſcene. By the arguments I urged on the occaſion, I at length, though not without much difficulty, induced the Galileans to adopt more moderate ſentiments.

John attempts in vain to exculpate himſelf by perjury, while the Galileans faithfully adhere to him.

John now finding all his evil deſigns againſt me defeated, thought it high time to alter his conduct, leſt his ſafety ſhould be otherwiſe endangered. He accordingly retired from Tiberias to Giſchala, accompanied by ſuch of his men as remained with him; from whence he wrote me a letter of excuſe, calling God to witneſs with many oaths and proteſtations, that the late vile attempt to deſtroy me, had been intirely concerted without his knowledge. But the perfidy of this wretch was ſo notorious, that the Galileans could not be prevailed on to give the leaſt credit to his declaration; but having aſſembled a conſiderable force, preſſed me to lead them againſt Giſchala, the place of John's birth, and to ſacrifice him and utterly deſtroy the city. I made them my acknowledgments for their good-will, and tendered them my beſt ſervices in return; but begged of them to ſuffer me to try whether I could not terminate the quarrel to their ſatisfaction without bloodſhed. The Galileans acquieſced in the juſtice of my arguments, and permitted me, ſoon afterwards, to lead them to Sepphoris. Upon my approach, the Sepphorites, who ſtill perſiſted in their allegiance to the Romans, began to entertain ſome fears that my intentions were hoſtile; and they contrived how they might, for their own ſecurity, draw off my attention from them to ſome other object. With this view, they engaged Jeſus, who commanded the outlaws, by the promiſe of a large ſum of money, to attack us, with a body of eight hundred men: Jeſus and his troops were at that time ſtationed on the borders of Ptolemais. The method by which he propoſed to effect his purpoſe, was to come upon us unexpectedly, and thus bring matters to an iſſue at once. He accordingly ſent a meſſage to me, requeſting my permiſſion to wait on

A conſpiracy of the Sepphorites againſt Joſephus is detected, and he generouſly pardons the men, and Jeſus, their leader.

me.

me. This requeſt I readily granted, not ſuſpecting his motives; and he began his journey, accompanied by a ſelect band of his aſſociates. He had arrived within a very ſhort diſtance of the town, when one of his followers left him, and communicated to me every particular of the plot formed againſt me. Diſſembling all knowledge of the matter, I repaired to the market-place, attended by a ſtrong guard of Galileans, with ſome few of the Tiberians. My next care was to ſecure the paſſes, and to give orders to the porters at the gates, to admit none but Jeſus and a few of his followers, keeping the reſt out; and, in caſe they ſhould attempt to obtain an entrance by violence, to repreſs force by force. All my orders were punctually obeyed, and Jeſus and a ſmall number of his aſſociates only were permitted to enter the city, the gates being ſhut upon the reſt. The inſtant he came into my preſence, I commanded him to throw down his arms; and perceiving himſelf ſurrounded by ſoldiers, he readily yielded obedience. Thoſe of his followers who had remained without the gates, having learnt what had befallen their leader, fled in all haſte. Taking Jeſus aſide, I told him that, notwithſtanding I now had him in my power, and was well informed of all his mal-practices and connections, I was ſtill inclined to pardon him for what had paſſed, on condition that he ſhould engage to abſtain from all ſuch like conduct in future. This he faithfully promiſed, and was in conſequence diſmiſſed, together with his attendants. With reſpect to the Sepphorites, I contented myſelf with enjoining them to a more peaceable demeanor, at the hazard of my ſevereſt diſpleaſure.

His kindneſs to the Trachonite noblemen, who fled to him for refuge.

Juſt at this period, two noblemen, belonging to the court of the king of Trachonitis, fled to me for refuge; bringing with them horſes, money, and arms. The Jews were very averſe to my receiving them, unleſs they would ſubmit to be circumciſed: but I firmly rejected the propoſition; repreſenting to the people that every man was entitled to the privilege of worſhipping God according to the rules of his own conſcience: and that it would betray an inhoſpitable diſpoſition thus to conduct themſelves towards men, whom misfortunes had compelled to reſort to them for protection.

Gallantly defends himſelf againſt Æbutius the Roman general; and ſeizes great quantities of grain.

In the mean time Æquus Modius had been diſpatched by King Agrippa, with a large body of troops, to inveſt the caſtle of Magdala. Finding himſelf in no condition to lay ſiege to it, he judged it ſufficient to ſecure the paſſes, and thus to form the blockade of Gamala. Intelligence having been communicated to Æbutius, the Decadarch, of my arrival at Simonias, a village ſituated on the borders of Galilee, and at the diſtance of about ſixty furlongs from the place where he then was, he aſſembled a body of an hundred horſe, about two hundred foot, and ſome auxiliary troops from Gaba, with which, making a forced march during the night, he reached the village early in the morning; whereupon I gathered together ſome of the beſt troops I had with me, and prepared for my defence. Æbutius, depending on his ſuperior force in horſe, would fain have induced me to have engaged him in the open field; but, as my ſtrength lay chiefly in infantry, I dared not quit my ſtation; and my antagoniſt, after many fruitleſs efforts to drive me from it, retired towards Gaba, with the loſs of three men only in the ſkirmiſh. I cloſely purſued him, with a body of two thouſand men; and, having reached Beſara, on the frontiers of Ptolemais, and about twenty furlongs diſtant from Gaba, where Æbutius then was, I firſt ſecured all the neighbouring paſſes, and then I carried off prodigious quantities of wheat and other grain, which had belonged to queen Berenice, and had been plundered by the enemy from the adjacent villages. The grain I ſent to Galilee, on a number of camels and aſſes, which I had brought with me for that intent. When I had finiſhed this buſineſs, I offered battle to Æbutius; but he declining it, I directed my march againſt Scythopolis, which was then garriſoned by a body of horſe, under the command of Neapolitanus, who had committed great depredations in the neighbourhood of Tiberias. Having delivered the Tiberians from this troubleſome foe, I now confined all my views to the re-eſtabliſhment of peace and good order in Galilee.

John revives his treacherous deſigns againſt Joſephus, whoſe credit he attempts to ruin.

John the ſon of Levi was, as I have before obſerved, ſtill at Giſchala, where, jealous of my ſucceſs againſt my enemies, and of the affection which the people under my government manifeſted for me, he endeavoured to ſeduce the Tiberians and the Sepphorites from my intereſts; flattering himſelf alſo, that he might be able to prevail on the Gabarenes to quit my party, they being the moſt conſiderable people in Galilee. For this purpoſe, he took every opportunity to decry my adminiſtration, and to extol the advantages which they would enjoy under his government, imagining that, in proportion as he blemiſhed my reputation, he ſhould brighten his own. The Sepphorites, in fact, favoured neither him nor me, being cloſely attached to the Romans. He could not prevail on the Tiberians to take arms, but they, nevertheleſs, engaged to maintain a correſpondence with him. The Gabarenes were the only people who conſented to join him: and this union was effected by the intervention of one of their leading men, named Simon, who was a particular friend and aſſociate of John's; and even theſe people made a ſecret of their connection with him, through an apprehenſion of the reſentment of the Galileans, of whoſe affection for me they were well convinced; but they readily engaged in every perfidious attempt againſt my perſon; and, in the following inſtance, I narrowly eſcaped falling a victim to their evil deſigns.

His equity in reſtoring the goods ſeized by robbers from Ptolemy's wife.

The wife of Ptolemy, the king's intendant, travelling, with a numerous body of attendants, over the great plain, from a place under his ſovereign's juriſdiction, into one of the Roman provinces, her

train was attacked by a party of desperate young Dabarittenians, who defeated the escort which attended her, and made prize of all the valuable effects she had taken with her. The plunder taken on this occasion was brought to Taricheæ, whilst I continued there, and consisted of a large quantity of rich cloaths and costly furniture, a great number of silver vessels, and five hundred pieces of gold. As these articles were the property of Ptolemy, who was of my own tribe (and it being prohibited by our law to rob even an enemy), I told the parties that it was absolutely requisite they should be laid by, till an opportunity might offer for disposing of them, and that the produce should be applied to the reparation of the walls of Jerusalem. The robbers were so much incensed to be thus disappointed of their booty, that they, in revenge, circulated a report throughout Tiberias, that it was my intention to betray the province into the hands of the Romans. My promise, they said, of applying the profits of the sale to the reparation of the walls of Jerusalem, was a mere pretext, as also that I meant to restore the above effects to their former master; nor, indeed, were they wrong in their conjecture; for, immediately after the departure of the robbers, I gave secret orders to two of the principal citizens, Dassion and Jannæus, the son of Levi, both highly favoured by the king, to make restitution of the prize, and, at the peril of their lives, to mention the matter to any man living. The charge against me, of having conspired to deliver up the province to the Romans, was now spread throughout Galilee, and the people were strongly incited to revenge. The Taricheans, amongst others, gave such credit to the slander, that they seduced several of my guards, and other soldiers, to quit me while I was asleep, and to repair with them to the Circus, to confer with the citizens on the intended change to be made in the government. A large concourse of people had assembled in this place, unanimously calling for justice on the traitor; but the chief fomentor of the sedition was Jesus, the son of Sapphia, one of the most turbulent and unprincipled wretches breathing, who chanced at that time to be the chief magistrate of Tiberias. He presented himself before the people, with the two tables of Moses in his hand, and addressed them in these words: "If (says he) you have no consideration for your own welfare and safety, at least shew a proper reverence for these sacred laws which your governor Josephus has not scrupled to violate, and has thereby rendered himself deserving of the severest and most exemplary punishment." This speech was received by the people with repeated shouts of applause; and, taking with them a number of soldiers, they hasted towards the house in which I resided, with a fixed resolution to put me to instant death. Unconscious of all that was passing, I lay on my bed, wearied out with fatigue, and in a sound sleep. Simon, however, one of my guards, and the only person who had not deserted me, seeing the people rushing into the house, suddenly awaked me, and representing, in a few words, the imminent danger to which I was exposed, advised me rather to perish by my own hand, than submit to the insults and cruelties of an enraged and insolent enemy. Upon receiving this intelligence, I disguised myself in a suit of black cloaths, and armed with my sword, commending myself to the protection of Providence, I passed, undiscovered, thro' the midst of the throng, and repaired, by a private way, to the Circus, where I threw myself prostrate on the ground, and, by my tears and lamentations, excited the pity of the majority even of the insurgents themselves. Perceiving that I had, in some measure, wrought upon the temper of the people, I exerted all my endeavours to divide them in their sentiments respecting me and my conduct, before the return of the soldiers, who had been dispatched to destroy me. I begged their permission to lay before them the true state of the case, admitting, at the same time, that there was, indeed, some slight foundation for the charge brought against me. I requested that they would, however, give me a patient hearing, after which I should readily submit to their decision, whatever it might chance to be. The people were well inclined to listen to me, and ordered me to proceed; but the soldiers, who had just now returned to the Circus, were for putting me to instant death; but, on more mature deliberation, they suffered themselves to be prevailed on to suspend the execution of their design; and to this they were induced partly by the clamours of the common people, and partly by the hope that, by a confession of my treachery, and that I had actually resolved to reserve that money for the king's use, I should afford them a better pretext for accomplishing their sanguinary purpose. Silence being, therefore, proclaimed, I addressed them, in a short speech, to the following purport:

He is accused of a conspiracy to deliver up Taricheæ to the Romans.

Is in imminent danger of being killed, but providentially escapes.

That provided I might be permitted to give them a true detail of my conduct in the matter objected against me, I should acquiesce in whatever sentence they might think proper to pronounce; that I had ever considered their city as an asylum for strangers; that, induced by the conveniences of the place, and the amiable manners of the inhabitants, numbers of foreigners had quitted their own country, and repaired thither, with the view of continuing there to the end of their lives; that the crime now alledged was, an intention, through zeal for the public benefit, to apply a considerable sum of money towards the repair of the city walls; and that this was the sole foundation of the inveterate persecution which had been raised against me. The Tarichæans, and the foreign inhabitants of the city, highly applauded my speech, and bade me proceed without fear; but the Galilæans and Tiberians, on the other hand, manifested much turbulence of disposition; insomuch that the dissension between the two parties arose,

Josephus makes his defence before the Tarichæans, and the affair has a favourable issue.

aroſe, at length, to a very great height; the one ſide continually menacing me, and the other giving me the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of their favour and protection. But the conteſt was finally dropt, upon my promiſing the Tiberians to repair the walls of their city, and to do the like for all the other towns of the province, whoſe ſituation would admit of it; and every one truſting to my word for the performance of this covenant, retired peaceably to his own home.

His ſurpriſing deliverance, by means of a ſtratagem, from being deſtroyed by ruffians ſetting fire to his houſe.

After this providential and unexpected deliverance, I returned to my lodging, attended by a party of my friends, and about twenty ſoldiers. Soon after I had retired, the robbers and other ringleaders of the late ſedition, fearful leſt they ſhould be called to account for their conduct on the occaſion, aſſembled in a body, to the number of about ſix hundred, and beſet the houſe in which I reſided, with an intention of ſetting fire to it. When the news of their approach, and of their deſign, was communicated to me, deeming flight diſgraceful, I determined to barricade the doors of my reſidence, and to abide the event. Upon their arrival, I acquainted them, from a window, that, if money was their object, they had only to depute a ſmall number of their companions to me, and their commands ſhould be inſtantly complied with. A party was accordingly ſent; and, when they entered the houſe, obſerving that one of them diſtinguiſhed himſelf from the reſt by his inſolence and audacity, I ordered him to be ſeized, whipped, and to have one of his hands ſtruck off; after which, with the hand hanging round his neck, to be turned into the ſtreet, that his aſſociates might be informed of what had happened to him. All this was accordingly executed, and the inſurgents, imagining, from the boldneſs of my conduct in this inſtance, that I had a ſtrong guard in the houſe, fled with the utmoſt precipitation, through fear of expoſing themſelves to a ſimilar puniſhment; and by this ſtratagem I eſcaped an imminent danger. Thus defeated in one ſcheme, they quickly put another in agitation; eagerly ſeeking all opportunities of exciting a ſpirit of diſaffection among the people. They now pretended to diſapprove of the protection which I had afforded to the two foreign noblemen aforementioned, whom they affected to conſider as ſpies and priſoners, and as being unworthy of an aſylum in a country, to the cuſtoms of which they had pertinaciouſly refuſed to conform. By theſe inſinuations, they had in part revived that ſeditious ſpirit in the multitude, which I had ſo lately appeaſed: but I obſerved to the people, that it would be both ungenerous and imprudent to tyrannize over perſons who had put themſelves under our protection, as we knew not how ſoon we might be reduced to a like ſituation ourſelves; and that, with reſpect to the idea of their being priſoners, nothing could be more abſurd, as the Romans would certainly never be at the expence of keeping ſuch numbers of troops in pay, when their purpoſe might be equally anſwered by a ſpell, or a bolus. By this mode of reaſoning, I partly pacified them for a time; but their reſentment quickly broke out afreſh, and to that height did it arrive that, accompanied by a band of deſperate ruffians, they directed their courſe to Taricheæ, with the full intent of putting theſe unfortunate ſtrangers to death.

He is attacked in revenge for his lenity to the foreign noblemen, whom he protects, and ſends home.

The inſtant I became acquainted with the ſtep they had taken, I haſtily aſſembled as many troops as the ſhortneſs of the time would permit, and took the ſame route, with a view of preventing the execution of their deſign, being ſenſible that a connivance at an action of ſuch ſavage barbarity would render me univerſally odious. In ſhort, I reached the reſidence of the ſtrangers juſt in time to barricade the doors, and to take neceſſary ſteps for the ſecurity of the houſe, before the arrival of the aſſailants; and, conveying my two noble gueſts, through a back-door, to the lake which was behind the houſe, I croſſed over with them to the frontiers of the Hippenians, where I left them; having firſt paid them the value of their horſes, which their haſte would not permit them to carry off; and, at parting, I recommended to them to ſubmit to their hard fate with becoming fortitude. It was with the utmoſt regret that I ſaw myſelf thus compelled to abandon theſe men, who had thrown themſelves upon my protection, to the mercy of their enemies; yet I judged it preferable thus to commit them to the care of providence, than to ſuffer them to remain expoſed to a certain deſtruction, from the perfidy of my own people. They at length, however, ſurmounted all their difficulties, and were again received into favour by king Agrippa.

The Tiberians being ready to revolt, Joſephus orders their walls to be rebuilt.

Intelligence having been communicated to me that the people of Tiberias had ſecretly diſpatched a letter to king Agrippa, with a tender of their ſervices, provided he would engage to furniſh them with a ſufficient number of troops to protect them, I inſtantly repaired to that city. The inhabitants, upon my arrival, reminded me of my promiſe to rebuild their walls, having learnt, as it afterwards appeared, that I had already fulfilled my engagement in that point with the Taricheans. To ſatisfy them, I gave orders for materials and workmen to be provided, and that the buſineſs ſhould be entered upon immediately. Having continued there three days, I departed for Taricheæ, which is diſtant about thirty furlongs. Immediately after my departure, a body of Roman troops, being on their march, paſſed within ſight of Tiberias; and the inhabitants, miſtaking them for the forces of King Agrippa, gave a ſudden looſe to the moſt extravagant encomiums on the king, and to the ſevereſt cenſures on me. A meſſenger was ſoon afterwards diſpatched to me, in great haſte, with information that the people were ripe for a revolt. This intelligence threw me into the utmoſt conſternation: for the ſabbath now approaching, I had ſent away the ſoldiers from Taricheæ, in order to the more quiet celebration of that feſtival. Moreover, ſuch was my confidence in the

the zeal and affection of the inhabitants, that I seldom retained any guard about me during my residence in that place, and had only seven soldiers, and a small number of my friends with me at the time in question.

He quells the sedition by a stratagem.

Thus circumstanced, I was perplexed in the highest degree what course to take. It being now evening, to have re-assembled my troops would have answered no purpose, as they could not have acted on the next day; and with respect to the inhabitants of Taricheæ, their number including foreigners and natives, could I have purchased their assistance, which I probably might have done by the promise of granting them leave to pillage the city, would have been too inconsiderable to have answered my purpose. However it was necessary I should be speedy in my determination, lest the mal-contents should possess themselves of the city, and shut me out; I therefore adopted the following stratagem: I committed the care of the gates to some of my most intimate and trusty friends, with a strict injunction to suffer no person whatever to pass through. They had it further in charge from me, to cause each of the principal citizens to go on board his respective boat, taking with him only one person to row it, and to follow me, while I, in another boat, attended by a small party of my friends, and seven soldiers, steered my course towards Tiberias; the inhabitants of which city had, in the interim, discovered their mistake relative to the troops they had seen. The Tiberians, however, perceiving the lake thus covered with so numerous a fleet of boats, which, they concluded, were filled with an army destined to the attack of their city, actuated by their apprehensions, instantly laid down their arms, and, accompanied by their wives and children, in the most submissive manner welcomed me on my arrival, wished me success in my undertaking, never suspecting that their designs were discovered, and invited me into the city.

He adjudges Clitus, principal promoter of the sedition, to lose one of his hands.

Previous to my landing, I had given orders that all the boats should be anchored at such a distance from the shore, as to prevent the Tiberians from discovering the weakness of my apparently formidable fleet. I had now reached the quay, and, after severely reproaching them with their late treacherous conduct, I declared myself willing to pardon what had passed, on condition that they should send on board of my boat ten of their chief citizens, as hostages; with which command they instantly complied, and by this stratagem, I, by degrees, got the whole senate and most of the principal inhabitants into my hands. The rest, now taking into consideration the critical state of their affairs, with one voice imputed the whole blame of the late disturbances to a bold and turbulent fellow, named Clitus, and requested that I would order him to be punished according to his deserts. This fellow being of my own tribe, I could not conscientiously put him to death; yet, as I perceived the necessity of inflicting on him some exemplary punishment, I commanded one of my guards, named Levi, to cut off one of his hands. This man, dreading the resentment of the people, dared not execute my orders; and I, on the other side, was equally apprehensive lest they should notice his hesitation. Without further deliberation, therefore, I addressed myself to Clitus, and, severely reproaching him with his ingratitude and treachery, condemned him to the loss of both his hands, and, as far as in him lay, to be his own executioner; further enjoining him to make all dispatch, lest I should change his sentence to one still more severe. The fellow was very urgent with me to remit him one half of the punishment; to which request, with much seeming difficulty, I, at length, yielded; and he instantly struck off his left hand with his right, and thus the tumult was at once appeased.

He recommends moderation to the Tarichæans.

I now returned to Taricheæ, leaving the Tiberians impressed with the highest opinion of my wisdom, in thus subduing, without bloodshed, so formidable an insurrection. At an entertainment, which I gave to my Tiberian hostages, among whom were Justus and his father Pistus, I chanced to observe, in the freedom of table discourse, that I considered the Romans as the greatest people on the face of the earth: nevertheless, that, circumstanced as I was, with respect to the present faction, I thought it most prudent to conceal my sentiments: recommending it to them to follow the example, till affairs should take a turn for the better; and in the interim, to demean themselves peaceably under my government, which I promised should be as mild as they could desire. I also reminded Justus of the conduct of the Galileans towards his brother, whose hands they cut off, on a false accusation of forgery, previous to the time of my entrance upon the government; and also that the people of Gamala, in consequence of a dispute which had arisen between them and the Babylonians, after the departure of Philip, had put Chares, his kinsman, to death: contrasting these barbarities with my behaviour to his brother-in-law, Jesus. These are the chief particulars of our conversation at supper; and early the next morning, I gave Justus and his companions permission to depart.

A short time previous to this period, Philip, the son of Jacimus, quitted Gamala, upon the following occasion. Having received intelligence of the revolt of Varus, and of the appointment of Equus Modius to his vacant government, he wrote letters to Modius, who was his intimate friend, acquainting him with the state of his affairs, accompanying them with a packet for the king and queen, who were at that time at Berytus; which Modius instantly dispatched, according to the instructions sent him. No sooner did the king perceive, by the contents of this packet, that the report of Philip's deserting to the Romans was groundless, than his majesty immediately dispatched a party of horse to conduct him to court; and he received him upon his arrival with the most honourable testimonies of affection and approbation. He was soon afterwards sent, at the head of several troops

troops of horſe, to the fort of Gamala, with orders to bring away his family; to re-eſtabliſh the Babylonians in Batanea, and to uſe his utmoſt efforts to reſtrain the people within due ſubjection.

Nearly at this period, a mountebank, named Joſeph, put himſelf at the head of a party of turbulent young people, who were countenanced in their ſeditious conduct by ſome few of the moſt conſiderable inhabitants of the place. This man endeavoured to ſeduce the people from their allegiance, and to prevail on them to take arms, in defence, as he pretended, of their violated rights and privileges. This party ſoon became ſo powerful, that no one dared to oppoſe them; they having already, in a ſudden tumult, put to death Chares and his kinſman Jeſus, together with the ſiſter of Juſtus of Tiberias, of whom mention has been made before. They next applied to me for troops to garriſon the town, and workmen to ſurround it with walls, to which requeſt I immediately acceded.

At this juncture, alſo, the Gaulanites inhabiting the whole extent of country as far as the village Solyma, deſerted the party of king Agrippa, and united themſelves with the Romans. I incloſed with walls Sogannes and Seleucia, two places of great natural ſtrength, and fortified ſeveral towns in the Upper Galilee, as Jamnia, Amerytha, and Charabe, ſituated in the mountainous part of the country. I likewiſe fortified the towns of Taricheæ, Tiberias, and Sepphoris, and the villages of the Cave of Arbela, Berſobe, Selame, Jotapata, Capharath, Comoſogana, Næpapha, and the Mount Itabyr; all ſituated in Galilee. It was in theſe places that I formed my magazines of arms and corn.

John vilifies Joſephus, and endeavours to ſupplant him.

The ſucceſs with which all my undertakings were attended, created ſo much envy in the breaſt of John, the ſon of Levi, that he determined, at all events, to effect my ruin; and accordingly, after the walling in of Giſchala, he diſpatched his brother Simon, with an eſcort of an hundred men, to Jeruſalem, with a letter to Simon, the ſon of Gamaliel, requeſting him to uſe his influence with the council, to procure my diſmiſſion from the poſt I held, and the appointment of John as my ſucceſſor. This Simon was one of the principal men of the city, a Phariſee, and conſequently a rigid obſerver of the Moſaical law; a perſon of exemplary prudence, and particularly qualified to execute a difficult negociation: he, moreover, had long been the intimate friend of John, and my avowed enemy. Yielding to the importunities of John, he tampered with the high-prieſt Ananus, Jeſus, the ſon of Gamala, and others of the party; repreſenting to them, that their intereſt was concerned to reduce my power, and, without delay, to deprive me of the government of Galilee, leſt, upon diſcovery of their deſigns, I ſhould fall ſuddenly upon them with a numerous army, and thereby render all their ſchemes abortive. Ananus objected, on the other hand, that the number of the high-prieſts and heads of the people, who were prepoſſeſſed in favour of my adminiſtration, was ſuch, that it would be difficult to procure a majority againſt me; beſides, that it would be conſidered as an act of injuſtice to condemn a man unheard.

Proceedings of his enemies, for procuring his removal.

Simon, therefore, deſiſted from all farther ſolicitations, and gave them to underſtand that he would adopt ſome other methods for removing me from the government. He accordingly propoſed to the brother of John, to diſtribute money and preſents among the friends of Ananus, as the moſt likely method of effecting the deſign they had in view. This ſcheme ſucceeded, and Ananus and his party, without farther heſitation, entered upon the execution of the plan for depriving me of my poſt. For this purpoſe, they, in the moſt ſecret manner, commiſſioned four perſons, two of them of noble deſcent, and the others of private rank, but all equally eminent for their abilities, to repair to Galilee on this buſineſs. The perſons thus deputed, were Joazar and Simon, both of ſacerdotal families, and the former a Phariſee; and Jonathan and Ananias, both of the Phariſaical ſect: of theſe, Simon was the youngeſt. Theſe men were inſtructed to attend at the next aſſembly of the Galileans, and to expoſtulate with the members on the prepoſſeſſion they manifeſted in my favour; and to urge, if they ſhould attempt to vindicate ſuch predilection, on the plea either of my knowledge of the law, of my being a native of Jeruſalem, or of their reſpect for the prieſthood, of which I was a member; that each of them had equal pretenſions to the government of the province. Thus tutored, and furniſhed, moreover, with forty thouſand pieces of ſilver from the public treaſury, the deputies began their journey.

Jeſus, a Galilean, with 400 men, engages with the deputies to ſend Joſephus in chains to Jeruſalem.

Juſt at this period, a perſon, named Jeſus, a Galilean, arrived at Jeruſalem, at the head of a band of ſix hundred ſoldiers. This man entered into an engagement with the deputies, on the promiſe of three months pay, in advance, to accompany them with his troops, and to ſubmit to all their orders. They alſo retained in their ſervice three hundred mercenaries, whom they had collected in the city, and a party of an hundred men, commanded by the brother of John. They were enjoined, in caſe I ſhould voluntarily ſurrender myſelf, to ſend me in chains to Jeruſalem; but to give me no quarter, if I ſhould make the leaſt reſiſtance; and were fully indemnified from all conſequences, by the powers granted to them in their commiſſion. Letters were diſpatched to John, alſo, requiring his aſſiſtance in the deſigns carrying on againſt me; and the Sepphorites, the Gabarenes, and the Tiberians, were likewiſe engaged to lend their aid on the occaſion.

Joſephus's father, at Jeruſalem, ſends intelligence to his ſon of the miſchievous deſigns of the

Jeſus, the ſon of Gamala, however, who wiſhed me well, and was privy to all the aforementioned tranſactions, ſent intelligence, it ſeems, from time to time, of what paſſed, to my father, who conſtantly communicated the ſame to me.

faction againſt him; whereupon he reſolves to viſit him, which gives much concern to the Galileans.

I was greatly affected by the ingratitude, treachery, and malice of the faction at Jeruſalem; nor was I undiſturbed at the uneaſineſs expreſſed by my father, who eagerly preſſed me to repair to him, expreſſing an earneſt deſire to ſee me once again, before his death. I aſſembled my friends, and acquainted them with my determination to reſign my command and return home, in the courſe of three days. They all expreſſed great ſorrow on the occaſion, and earneſtly ſolicited me to drop my deſign, urging that my departure would be attended with certain deſtruction to them: but, as my life was now at ſtake, I ſtill perſevered in the reſolution I had formed. The news of my intention was quickly ſpread throughout the whole province, by the diligence of the Galileans, who entertained the ſtrongeſt apprehenſions that they muſt be inevitably overrun by the outlaws, and other banditti, as ſoon as I ſhould have abandoned them. A large number of people, accompanied by their wives and children, aſſembled, in conſequence, in the great plain of Aſoch, in which city I at that time reſided, with the view of prevailing upon me to continue with them; leſs, perhaps, from any motives of affection for me, than from a dread of the danger which threatened themſelves; for they imagined that they had nothing to fear while I remained amongſt them.

His extraordinary dream.

That night I had a very remarkable dream. Being in great perturbation of mind, ariſing from the intelligence I had received from my father, I fancied that I ſaw the figure of a man approach my bed-ſide, and addreſs me in theſe words: "Take courage, thou worthy man; for all theſe troubles will quickly have an end, and will, moreover, be productive not only of your preſent but future advantage and ſatisfaction. Be reſolute, therefore, and remember that I forewarned you that you would be engaged in a war againſt the Romans." Awaking from this dream, I roſe, with an intention of walking for the benefit of the air, and I no ſooner appeared at the door, which leads towards the plain, than a multitude of the Galileans, of all ages, and either ſex, proſtrated themſelves before me, and, with tears, beſought me not to abandon them, in this extremity, to the mercy of their enemies. Perceiving that, notwithſtanding their importunities, I continued inflexible, they, in the moſt ſolemn manner, adjured me to yield to their requeſt, venting, at the ſame time, the bittereſt execrations on the turbulent temper of the people of Jeruſalem.

The Galileans prevail on Joſephus to continue to govern them.

This ſcene affected me to a very high degree; and, reflecting upon the wretched and forlorn ſituation of theſe inoffenſive people, I determined to expoſe myſelf to every danger for their ſervice; and, therefore, conſented to retain the command of the province. I accordingly deſired that they would ſelect five thouſand men, furniſhing them with arms and ammunition for a march, and that the reſt would return, without delay, to their own habitations. To theſe five thouſand I joined a body of my own troops, conſiſting of three thouſand infantry and eighty horſe, and marched at their head to Chabolo, a village on the borders of Ptolemais, with the apparent view of attacking Placidus, who had been ſent into thoſe parts by Ceſtius Gallus, with a troop of horſe and two companies of foot, to deſtroy all the neighbouring villages belonging to the Galileans. Placidus lay intrenched at a ſmall diſtance from the walls of Ptolemais; and about ſixty furlongs from that place, nearer to Chabolo, I drew up my forces. Both armies ranged in order of battle, and ſeveral times took the field: but, notwithſtanding my utmoſt efforts, I could not induce my antagoniſt to reſt the iſſue of our cauſe on a general engagement.

Such was the ſtate of affairs when John and his aſſociates, the deputies from Jeruſalem, who, as I have before obſerved, had been ſent by Simon, Ananus, the high prieſt, and their party, arrived in theſe parts; and, as they found it would be impoſſible to effect their deſigns againſt me by open force, they had recourſe to treachery, and accordingly, after due deliberation, ſent me the following letter.

JONATHAN and his Deputy Colleagues from the Council at JERUSALEM, to JOSEPH, Greeting.

Jonathan's enſnaring letter to Joſephus.

"IT having been repreſented to our principals, that John of Giſchala has, at ſundry times, been guilty of certain evil practices againſt the ſafety of your perſon, they have commiſſioned us, in their names, to cenſure him in the moſt ſevere manner, for his conduct on the occaſion, and to enjoin him to a due deference to your commands in future. And, in order that matters may be better regulated for the time to come, we requeſt that you will repair hither with all convenient ſpeed. As the village is but ſmall, we deſire that you will bring but few perſons in your train, leſt there ſhould not be ſufficient room to accommodate them."

By this requiſition, I was involved in great perplexity: as if, on the one hand, I ſhould go thither but ſlightly attended, my perſonal ſafety would be much endangered; and, on the other, I conſidered that, by marching at the head of my troops, I might ſubject myſelf to a charge of treaſon and rebellion. The meſſenger who brought the above letter was a trooper, a bold young fellow, who had formerly been employed in the ſervice of the king. I chanced to be at ſupper, with ſome friends, and ſeveral Galileans of quality, when the meſſenger arrived. I ordered him to be introduced; and, upon his entrance, without the leaſt ſhew of reſpect to the company, he put the packet into my hand, telling me, with an air of inſolence, that it came from the deputies from Jeruſalem, and required an immediate anſwer, as his orders were to return without delay. All preſent expreſſed, by their looks, great ſurpriſe at the abrupt

Inſolent behaviour of the meſſenger.

rupt behaviour of the man. I invited him, however, to partake of our collation, but he declined the offer. During this whole time, I kept the letter in my hand unopened, pretending to be engaged in private converſation with ſome of the company, or in attending others, who were retiring. It was in one of theſe intervals that I took the opportunity of breaking open the letter, and, having juſt glanced my eye upon the contents, folded it up again, and returned to my companions, without mentioning the circumſtance. There now remained with me only four of my particular friends, and a boy to ſerve us with wine. I preſented the meſſenger with twenty drachmas, for which he was ſo profuſe in his acknowledgments, that I plainly perceived avarice to be a predominant foible in him, and determined to convert the diſcovery to my advantage. I, therefore, again preſſed him to ſit down to table with us, promiſing to give him a drachma for every cup of wine he ſhould drink. With this propoſal he readily complied, and became, in a ſhort time, ſo violently intoxicated, that, without even the trouble of ſounding him on the ſubject, I obtained all the particulars of the deſign in agitation againſt me: whereby I found that the deputies intended to put me to death, in caſe they ſhould ſucceed in their ſcheme of getting me into their hands. Having made this important diſcovery, I returned the following anſwer to the letter I had received.

Joſephus, by an artful invention, learns from him the real deſigns of his enemies.

JOSEPHUS to JONATHAN and his Fellow-Deputies, Greeting.

His letter to Jonathan and the deputies at Jeruſalem.

"IT gives me great pleaſure to hear of your health, and that you are arrived in Galilee, the more particularly as I am preparing to return to Jeruſalem; a deſign which I have long meditated; and I ſhall now have a fitting opportunity to reſign into your hands the government of the province. I ſhould be happy to wait on you at Xallo, or at any more diſtant place, were it only for the ſatisfaction which the interview would afford me. But, unfortunately, the exigency of public affairs requires me to continue in the poſt which I have for ſome time paſt occupied in the neighbourhood of Chabolo, in order to watch the motions of Placidus, who menaces the province of Galilee with an attack; and, for theſe reaſons, I think it more adviſeable that you ſhould inſtantly, upon the receipt of this letter, repair to me hither: and ſo I bid you farewell."

I re-diſpatched the meſſenger with this anſwer, and ordered thirty Galileans of the firſt rank to accompany him; ſtrictly enjoining them to make their compliments only to the deputies, without entering into any farther intercourſe with them; and I ſent, likewiſe, one of my own guards, in whom I repoſed great confidence, to watch narrowly that they ſtrictly complied with the injunction. The deputies perceiving, on the arrival of the above perſons, that their plot had failed, addreſſed a ſecond letter to me, conceived in the following terms:

JONATHAN and his Colleagues to JOSEPHUS, Greeting.

Anſwer of Jonathan, &c. peremptorily citing Joſephus to appear before them.

"YOU are bereby required to appear before us, at Gabara, within three days from the date hereof, to juſtify the accuſation which you have exhibited againſt John of Giſchala; and you are farther enjoined to repair to the place above ſpecified, (without any military attendants.")

Having ſent away this letter, they directly repaired to Japha, one of the moſt conſiderable villages, in point of magnitude, populouſneſs, and ſtrength, in Galilee. Immediately upon their arrival, the inhabitants roſe in the moſt tumultuous manner, and, with one voice, told the deputies to be gone; declaring, that they were perfectly ſatisfied with my adminiſtration, and would yield obedience to no other governor. This behaviour of the inhabitants induced the deputies to retire in haſte to Sepphoris; the beſt-built city in the whole province, and ſtrongly attached to the intereſt of the Romans. They were received here, it is true, with rather more reſpect than at the latter place, being conducted into the city by a party of the inhabitants; but not a word paſſed, on either ſide, relative to me. From thence they went to Aſoch, where they experienced a ſimilar treatment to what they had met with at Japha. This contemptuous conduct of the people enraged them ſo much, that they commanded the ſoldiers to repreſs their inſolence with blows. Continuing their journey to Gabara, they were there joined by John, at the head of a corps of three thouſand men. As I had now received full information of the deſigns of my enemies, I ſelected a party of three thouſand men from the army under my command, and marched with them to Jotapata, diſtant about forty ſtadia from our camp; in order to preſerve a communication with the main body, which I left under the care of a friend in whom I could confide. From this place, I once more addreſſed the deputies in the following letter.

The people unanimouſly ſide with Joſephus.

JOSEPHUS to JONATHAN and his Fellow Deputies, Greeting.

Joſephus again writes to the deputies.

"IF it appears to you to be ſo abſolutely requiſite that I ſhould attend you, I am ready to give you a meeting at any one you ſhall name of the four hundred cities and villages of Galilee, excepting only Gabara and Giſchala; the firſt being the birth-place of John, and the latter the reſidence of his family and friends."

Upon the receipt of this letter, they deſiſted from all farther importunities, and, calling a council of their friends, at which John himſelf was preſent, entered

He is informed of their ſubtle and

treacherous contrivances.

tered into debate what other meaſures ſhould be adopted for the accompliſhment of their purpoſe. John recommended the ſending circular letters throughout the whole diſtrict of Galilee, not doubting but that, in each city and village of the province, one or more perſons might be found ſufficiently inclined to do me any ill office, and who might, without much difficulty, be prevailed on to join in an accuſation againſt me of having betrayed the intereſts of the public. Could this deſign have been effected, the people of Jeruſalem would, doubtleſs, have conſidered me as an enemy to the Galileans, and I ſhould, in conſequence, have been utterly deprived of their future confidence. This propoſition being adopted, intelligence thereof was communicated to me late the ſame night, by a deſerter, named Sacchæus.

His precaution, by ſecuring the paſſes, and ſummoning the people of Galilee to attend him in arms at Gabara.

Being now well aware of the imminent danger which threatened me, I, without farther delay, diſpatched Jacob and Jeremy, both men of approved courage, and my particular friends, the firſt with two, and the other with ſix hundred men, to ſecure the paſſes, and to waylay all the roads between Galilee and Gabara, and Jeruſalem and Galilee; ordering them to ſeize all ſuſpected perſons, particularly all couriers, and to ſend me whatever letters might be found upon them. I likewiſe ſent ſummonſes throughout the whole province of Galilee, enjoining all perſons to repair to me the next morning at Gabara, properly armed, and bringing with them proviſions for three days. I divided the troops I had with me into four ſeparate bodies, giving the command of them to my moſt experienced officers, with orders not to admit a ſingle ſtranger into their reſpective corps.

Teſtimonies of their zeal to ſerve him, his acknowledgments, and advice to them.

Upon my arrival at Gabara, in the forenoon of the next day, I found the whole plain covered with the Galilean troops, together with a numerous body of peaſants. I had ſcarcely began to addreſs myſelf to them, when they interrupted me with the loudeſt ſhouts and acclamations, unanimouſly ſtyling me their benefactor and deliverer. I made my moſt grateful acknowledgements for this flattering teſtimony of their favour, but conjured them to act with moderation, and to do no man the leaſt injury whatever, either in his perſon or property: urging that, as they had a ſufficiency of proviſion, they could have no inducement to oppoſe my earneſt deſire of effecting a reconciliation without bloodſhed.

By an intercepted letter, Joſephus is informed of the deſigns of the faction againſt him, which he prevents.

It fortunately happened that the perſons to whom I had committed the care of ſecuring the paſſes, intercepted, on the very firſt day, ſome diſpatches from Jonathan, to the faction at Jeruſalem. They detained the meſſengers, as I had ordered them, and ſent their packets to me; which, on peruſal, I found replete with the groſſeſt calumnies and ſcurrilities againſt myſelf. This incident I kept profoundly ſecret, and continued my journey, as if nothing had happened of any conſequence. The inſtant that the deputies heard of my being on my march towards them, they took ſhelter, together with John, in the houſe of Jeſus; a ſpacious and ſtrong building, conſtructed much upon the plan of a citadel. A band of ſoldiers were concealed in the houſe; one of the gates only was ſuffered to be kept open, and orders were given, that, upon my arrival (for they ſuppoſed I meant to pay them a viſit), I ſhould be admitted alone, and thus they imagined that, by excluding my attendants, they ſhould inevitably make themſelves maſters of my perſon. Providentially, however, I eſcaped their machinations; for, having received a ſlight intimation of their deſign, and entertaining, moreover, ſome ſuſpicion of the matter myſelf, on my arrival, I repaired immediately, under pretence of a fatigue, to the apartment provided for me, at a houſe in the city, directly oppoſite to that of Jeſus.

The people avow their attachment and affection for Joſephus, to the confuſion of his enemies.

The deputies, not doubting that I had laid myſelf down to reſt, embraced the opportunity, and went to the plain, for the purpoſe of prejudicing the people againſt me and my adminiſtration. But the reception they met with was totally different from what they expected; for the Galileans, inſtantly upon their approach, began to upbraid them in the moſt bitter terms. They made great complaint of the conduct of the council at Jeruſalem towards them, and peremptorily refuſed to receive any governor but myſelf. Finding the people thus diſpoſed, I went to the ſpot where Jonathan and his colleagues had ſtationed themſelves, with the view of compelling them to produce their proofs of my miſconduct before the public aſſembly. Immediately upon my appearance, the people ſurrounded me with looks ſtrongly expreſſive of joy, which ſo cloſely correſponded with their words and actions, that the deputies became violently apprehenſive for their ſafety, and would fain have withdrawn. At my requeſt, however, they ſtaid; nor, indeed, were they allowed the liberty of choice, but remained like ſo many ſtatues, riveted in amazement to the ſpot on which they ſtood. Having obtained ſilence, and poſted ſome of my beſt troops at the avenues, to prevent a ſurpriſe, and being ſurrounded by the reſt of my guards, I addreſſed myſelf to the deputies in a ſpeech to the following purpoſe:

His addreſs to the deputies, and to Jonathan in particular.

I began with reminding them of the letter they had ſent me, producing it at the ſame time; in which they pretended to be impowered by the council at Jeruſalem, to hear and determine upon certain matters in diſpute between John and myſelf. I then propoſed it to themſelves, whether, admitting that they were duly authoriſed to enquire into my conduct, they would not acquit me upon the teſtimony of two or three perſons of eſtabliſhed reputation.

putation. "But," ſaid I, confining my addreſs to Jonathan, "what if I ſhould refer myſelf to the evidence of every perſon here aſſembled, for the juſtification both of my private and public conduct?" Then, turning to the people, I conjured them to deliver their ſentiments of my adminiſtration without the leaſt reſerve. They inſtantly, with one voice, made an open declaration of the bleſſings which they had enjoyed under my government; affirming, with repeated aſſeveration, that I had been as cautious to prevent any injury or inſult being offered to their wives and daughters, as to preſerve them in the undiſturbed poſſeſſion of their rights and property; concluding, that they had no other wiſh, than that thoſe bleſſings might be confirmed to them by my continuance in the command of the province. I next read, in the hearing of numbers of the Galileans, the two intercepted letters of Jonathan, mentioned above. They were replete with falſhoods and ſcurrility, and repreſented me in the light rather of a tyrant than of a governor.

On his appeal to the people, he receives the greateſt commendations from them.

Being deſirous of concealing from my foes the manner in which thoſe letters came into my hands, leſt they ſhould ſend their future diſpatches by ſome other route, I feigned that they had been voluntarily brought to me by their own couriers. The multitude were ſo highly incenſed againſt Jonathan and his aſſociates, on account of theſe letters, that they would, doubtleſs, have ſacrificed them, but for my interference. After enjoining the deputies to repentance and amendment, I gave them their liberty, and, at parting, deſired them, upon their arrival at Jeruſalem, to make the people acquainted with the exact ſtate of all that had paſſed; with which requeſt, however, I was fully perſuaded, beforehand, they would not comply, notwithſtanding their promiſes, of which they were very liberal. In ſpite of the great influence which I had obtained over the people, their reſentment againſt Jonathan and his colleagues had ariſen to ſo high a pitch, that they formed the reſolution of ſacrificing them in their quarters. They were very urgent with me to grant my ſanction to this deſign; but, reflecting on the dangerous conſequences of an inſurrection, I exerted myſelf to the utmoſt, to divert them from their intention.

They are beyond meaſure exaſperated at the deputies, whom he admoniſhes, and ſuffers to depart.

Perceiving, at length, that all my efforts to reſtrain them would be vain, I put myſelf at their head, and ordered them to follow me to Sagone, a village of Arabia, which is about forty ſtadia diſtant from Gabara; and thus I avoided the imputation of being the author of a civil war. At a ſmall diſtance from the place, I commanded my troops to halt, and, after a ſhort ſpeech, in which I recommended it to them to act with moderation, I ſelected one hundred perſons, the moſt eminent in point of rank and abilities, for the purpoſe of ſending them to Jeruſalem, to prefer a complaint to the council, againſt the ringleaders in the late tumults. They were further inſtructed, in caſe they ſhould find the inhabitants of Jeruſalem well diſpoſed towards me, to endeavour to procure a renewal of my commiſſion, together with the recall of John. Thus inſtructed, they began their journey on the third day, attended by an eſcort of five hundred ſoldiers. At the ſame time, I diſpatched letters to my friends at Samaria, requeſting a free paſſage through that diſtrict for my deputies, the city being, at this period, under the Roman government, and as by this route, they might arrive at Jeruſalem in three days, I accompanied them as far as the frontiers of Galilee, and took ſuch precautions to conceal their departure, that it remained a ſecret for a conſiderable time: after this I continued a few days at Japha.

Joſephus ſends a deputation to Jeruſalem with a complaint againſt the authors of the tumult.

When Jonathan and his colleagues found all their ſchemes thus diſappointed, they ſent John back to Giſchala, and repaired to Tiberias, of which city they hoped to poſſeſs themſelves, through the influence of Jeſus, who was the chief magiſtrate there, and who had pledged himſelf to engage the citizens in their intereſt. But Silas, who commanded there, in my abſence, ſent me intelligence, from time to time, of all that paſſed, and preſſed me to return thither with all poſſible diſpatch. In conſequence of my adopting this advice, I fell into a ſnare, which had nearly proved my deſtruction.

Jonathan, and others of the faction go to Tiberias.

The deputies from Jeruſalem, who had raiſed a powerful party againſt me in Tiberias, were greatly confounded upon my arrival at the city. They however, paid me the compliment of a viſit; repeatedly felicitating me on the high reputation I had acquired in the execution of my office, and claiming to themſelves ſome ſmall ſhare therein, both as I was their fellow-citizen, and had been, in a manner, their pupil. They profeſſed much friendſhip for me, and engaged, if I would return, and leave the management of the buſineſs to them, to deliver John into my hands in the courſe of a very ſhort time; confirming their promiſes with ſuch ſolemn oaths and imprecations, as induced my fulleſt confidence. This being the eve of the ſabbath, they from thence took occaſion to recommend me to retire with my troops to ſome neighbouring place, leſt any tumult ſhould ariſe among the people on that day. In order to quiet their feigned apprehenſions, I, ſuſpecting nothing of their deſigns, repaired to Taricheæ; taking the precaution, however, to place my ſpies about the city and upon the road, to give me the earlieſt notice of any material incident that might happen during my abſence. The people aſſembled on the next day in the Oratory, the chief place of worſhip in that city, and which was capable of containing a vaſt number of perſons; with the reſt came Jonathan, accompanied by his colleagues. In a ſhort time after his entrance, he roſe, and, addreſſing himſelf to the people, expreſſed his concern, that the city was not provided with better governors; and there he ſtopped; being, at firſt, cautious of ſhewing

Joſephus arrives in that city, where his enemies lay a ſnare for him, under profeſſions of friendſhip.

At a meeting in the Oratory, Jonathan and his colleagues propoſe to re-

shewing too plainly, that he meant to excite the citizens to a sedition. But Jesus, the chief magistrate, spoke with less reserve, and told the assembly, in plain terms, that it would be far more to their advantage to be governed by four persons than by one; especially if such governors were of noble birth, and approved abilities, as those men were, pointing to Jonathan and his associates, who stood close by him. Justus likewise declared himself of the same opinion, and he induced many to adopt the like sentiments. But the populace were so strongly possessed with the contrary persuasion, that a dangerous tumult must inevitably have ensued, had not the deputies, it being now the hour of twelve, which is the dinner hour among the Jews on the sabbath-day, adjourned the meeting to the next morning.

move Josephus, and appoint four of their own party in his room.

The most early intelligence of these proceedings having been conveyed to me, I departed at sun-rise, the next day, for Tiberias, where I found the people assembled in the Oratory, though they were totally ignorant of the cause of their meeting. My unexpected appearance so greatly confounded the deputies, that they were utterly at a loss, for some time, how to proceed; at length, however, they determined to raise a report, that a body of Roman cavalry had been seen at the distance of about thirty stadia from the city, near Homonæa. This rumour was spread with such industry and confidence, even by the authors of it themselves, that it quickly caused a ferment among the people, who loudly exclaimed against the scandal of permitting their country to be thus ravaged and destroyed, while they remained inactive spectators of the devastation. I plainly perceived that the deputies intended, by this stratagem, to compel me to quit the city, and to go in pursuit of this ideal enemy, that they might secure the possession of it to themselves, by alienating the affections of the citizens from me. Nevertheless, that I might not appear deficient in my attention to the welfare of the Tiberians, I determined immediately to begin my march in search of those troops, though convinced that I should thereby further the designs which my foes were concerting against me. But finding, upon my arrival at the place where this body of cavalry was supposed to have been seen, that none such had appeared, or been heard of, I posted back, in all haste, to Tiberias, where the senate and people were engaged in secret council, and the deputies, in the midst of a tedious harangue, pronounced the most bitter invectives against me, whom they represented as a man totally addicted to his pleasures, and utterly regardless of the public welfare.

A stratagem invented by the deputies, in order to compel Josephus to quit the city.

At the same time they produced four letters, which they feigned to have received from four of the most distant parts of Galilee, containing a representation of the imminent danger to which they were exposed, and requesting immediate assistance. This story was readily believed by the credulous Tiberians, and they unanimously insisted that succour should be sent to their allies with the utmost expedition. I, therefore, having by this time penetrated into the design, expressed my willingness to bear an adequate part in the execution of whatever measures might be deemed requisite for the public service; observing that, as the advices which had been received mentioned four several incursions, the army ought to be divided into as many different bodies, in order to repel them; and that, it being the duty of every good citizen to serve his country in person as well as with advice, the deputies were under an obligation each to take upon himself the command of one of the divisions. This proposition was universally approved, and the deputies, highly enraged to find all their treachery thus countermined and defeated, were compelled to take their respective parts in this adventure. Ananias, one of the four pretended deputies, and a man of a malignant disposition, advised the appointment of a solemn fast, to be observed on the next day, with an injunction to the people to meet at a particular hour, and without arms; proclaiming his confidence in the assistance of the Almighty, independent of human aid. His intention in this proposal was, evidently, to disarm me and my troops: yet was I necessitated to concur therein, that I might not be suspected of a contempt of the religious motives by which he appeared to be actuated.

Counterfeit letters produced in order to prejudice the Tiberians against Josephus.

The hypocrisy and villany of Ananias.

Jonathan and his colleagues, upon the rising of the assembly, dispatched a messenger to John, desiring him to come to them without fail at an early hour the next morning, with whatever force he might be able to raise; being convinced that, if they could secure my person, they might afterwards act as they pleased. On the next day, I privately armed myself with a corslet and sword, concealed under my cloaths, and chusing two of the bravest and most trusty of my guards, I ordered them to take a short sword each, and to follow me to the Oratory. This precaution I took, that I might be enabled to repel any insult which might be offered me. When we came to the Oratory, I was directly admitted, with my friends; but Jesus who kept the door, would not permit any of my attendants to follow. Just at that instant that the assembly were about to proceed to their devotions, Jesus started up, and questioned me, Where, and in whose hands, the valuable furniture, and the silver in the mass, which were saved from the flames when the royal palace was consumed, had been deposited? This he did merely with the view of delaying the time, till the arrival of John wtth his troops. I answered him, however, that all those articles had been committed to the care of Capella, and ten of the chief citizens of Tiberias; to whom I referred him for a confirmation of the truth of what I advanced. Capella and the rest, thereupon, acknowledged the receipt of the effects in question. I was then required to give an account in what manner I had

The deputies engage in a plot to destroy Josephus, which being aware of, he provides against it.

Captious questions put to him by Jesus and others.

I had diſpoſed of the twenty pieces of gold, which I received for a like value in ſilver? I replied, that I had diſtributed that money to defray the expences of the envoys whom I had ſent to Jeruſalem. Jonathan and his aſſociates obſerved, that I had acted very wrong, in paying my own agents from the public treaſure. This evident captiouſneſs of my foes enraged the populace to that degree, that all things ſeemed to tend towards an inſurrection: perceiving which, I judged it would be for my advantage to foment the diſturbance. I therefore told Jonathan, that he need give himſelf no further concern about the money in queſtion, as I would take due care it ſhould be refunded.

Interpoſition of the people in his behalf.

In proportion as my conduct appeared clear from imputation, the reſentment of the multitude grew more violent. This happened ſo contrary to the expectation of the faction, that Jeſus ordered the place to be cleared of all thoſe who were not ſenators, under the pretext that the buſineſs on which they had met, could not be tranſacted in the midſt of ſuch clamour and confuſion; the people, on the other hand, loudly declaring their reſolution not to leave me alone with them. In the midſt of the conteſt, a meſſenger entered, and whiſpered Jonathan, that John was cloſe at hand with his troops. This intelligence ſo far emboldened Jonathan, that, giving looſe to his virulence againſt me, he addreſſed himſelf to the people aſſembled, in theſe words: "Do not imagine, ye men of Tiberias, that I wiſh to have Joſephus puniſhed for his miſconduct in the affair of the money, but for his impoſitions on the ignorant multitude, and an undue exertion of arbitrary power." He had no ſooner finiſhed his ſpeech,

He is ſet upon by ruffians, from whoſe fury he is reſcued by his friends, and eſcapes to Tarichęæ.

than ſeveral ruffians, who had been hired for the purpoſe, attacked me, and would have put me to death, had not my friends drawn their ſwords and interpoſed in my defence; the populace, threatening to ſtone Jonathan, whom they conſidered as the projector of the deſign againſt me; and thus, by the efforts of both parties, I was preſerved from the attempts of my foes. I had ſcarcely quitted the aſſembly, when I met John at the head of his troops. This unexpected rencounter confounded me greatly, but, with ſome difficulty, I avoided them, and, taking a bye-road, reached the lake, where I took boat, and arrived ſafely at Tarichęæ.

Joſephus convenes an aſſembly of the chief men of his province, and with difficulty reſtrains the fury of their zeal againſt his treacherous enemies.

Upon my arrival, I ſummoned a meeting of the principal men of the province, and particularized to them the palpable breaches of humanity and faith of Jonathan, recapitulating the circumſtances of his treachery and inhumanity towards the Tiberians. The Galileans were ſo highly exaſperated by my harangue, that it became neceſſary to take meaſures for appeaſing their fury, and preventing an immediate declaration of war againſt Jonathan, John, and their adherents, whom they declared themſelves reſolutely determined to purſue with unremitting fury, on condition only of my giving a vote of conſent. I repreſented to them the probable ill conſequence of an impetuoſity of conduct on the preſent occaſion, and declared myſelf of opinion, that it would be moſt eligible to wait for intelligence of what had been tranſacted by the deputies at Jeruſalem, as their concurrence was neceſſary previous to our adopting any meaſures of conſequence. Theſe, with ſome other arguments I made uſe of, happily occaſioned the rage of the Galileans to ſubſide; and John, being once more diſconcerted in his treachery, returned to Giſchala.

The conduct of Ananus and Simon cenſured; John and his aſſociates recalled: and Joſephus confirmed in his government.

Some days ſubſequent to the above events, diſpatches were received from Jeruſalem, intimating that Ananus, and Simon the ſon of Gamaliel, had fallen under the diſpleaſure of the government there, in conſequence of having made attempts, by means of their agents, to deprive me of the government of Galilee, and for preſuming to act without the ſanction of public authority, in a buſineſs of ſo much importance; and that their conduct had proved ſo highly diſguſting to the people, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty they could be prevented from deſtroying their habitations. Other letters were alſo brought, from which it appeared, that the chief inhabitants of Jeruſalem, acting with the conſent and authority of the public, had commanded the immediate departure of John and his aſſociates, and by unanimous conſent confirmed me in the honourable ſtation I poſſeſſed.

An aſſembly at Arbela, and what paſſed there.

I now haſted to Arbela, where I had ſummoned an aſſembly of the Galileans; and when they had convened, my deputies repreſented what had paſſed at Jeruſalem, ſetting forth the reſentment which prevailed among the people againſt Jonathan; that a commiſſion had been tranſmitted to me, whereby a formal ratification was given for the continuance of my government of the province, and that an order had been iſſued, enjoining Jonathan and his followers to decline all further pretences. This order to John and his aſſociates, was diſpatched to them by a meſſenger, who was directed to make the moſt particular obſervation of their features when they received it. They were thrown into the greateſt conſternation, on the peruſal of the order, and immediately ſummoned a council, John himſelf, and the chief men of Tiberias and Gabara, being nominated to compoſe the ſame, in order to determine upon meaſures.

John and the Tiberians adviſe an accuſation of mal-practices to be exhibited at Jeruſalem againſt Joſephus.

The Tiberians were unwilling to truſt the power out of their own hands, and to abandon a people who had claimed their protection, at a time when they wickedly aſſerted I had threatened them with an invaſion. John coincided in the opinion of the Tiberians, and propoſed that two deputies ſhould be ſent to Jeruſalem, to exhibit an accuſation of mal-practices in the execution of my office, pretending that the reputation of my accuſers, and the unſteady diſpoſition of the people they had to negociate with, would inevitably operate to my diſadvantage in the minds of the populace.

populace. This matter was aſſented to, and a guard of an hundred ſoldiers was appointed to conduct Jonathan and Ananus to Jeruſalem, the reſt of the troops remaining at Tiberias, where the people made preparation for taking up arms, and began a general repair of their walls.

A party of Joſephus's guards intercept Jonathan in his way back.

Jonathan and his followers having proceeded as far as Dabaritta, (an extenſive plain on the borders of Galilee), about midnight were met by a detachment of my out-guards, who, in compliance with my command, attacked and made priſoners of them. Levi, who commanded the party, gave me information of this circumſtance, which for ſome days I omitted to take notice of: I ſent meſſengers, however, to perſuade the people of Tiberias to lay down their arms: but from an idea that Jonathan had by this time arrived at Jeruſalem, inſtead of proper and manly anſwers, they ſent me meſſages in the moſt contemptible terms. But this indecent treatment did not in the leaſt abate my deſire of prevailing with the Tiberians; for I would, on no conſideration, have been the promoter of civil diſcord. It occurred, that ſome advantage might ariſe, if I could entice them out of the town; and, in conſequence of this ſuggeſtion, I drew off ten thouſand choice men, dividing them into three corps, and ſtationing one thouſand of them about four ſtadia from Tiberias, in a village upon the mountains, ordered the reſt to Dora. I now came out of the village, and being within ſight of the Tiberians, they approached me, expreſſing the utmoſt contempt, and caſting reflections on me, equally undeſerved and ſevere. Their vanity and inſolence was ſo extreme, that, in order to expoſe me as an object of deriſion, they even repreſented my funeral: in which ridiculous and fantaſtical parade, the effigy of my body was expoſed in the open field, amidſt a group of people meant to perſonate my mourners. But it was not my buſineſs to attend to this trifling affair.

Joſephus is contemptuouſly treated by the Tiberians.

He gets Simon into his power, by a ſtratagem

I judged it expedient to get Simon and Joazer into my power, and, to effect this, I pretended a deſign of compromiſing the prevailing differences, by dividing the adminiſtration among us. I imagined that this ſtratagem would have brought them out of the town, with ſome friends, and ſuch a number of guards as they might judge neceſſary for the ſafety of their perſons. Joazer being the more crafty man, ſuſpected my deſign, and rejected the propoſal: but Simon having meaner abilities, and being avaricious withal, came over to me without heſitation, attended by his friends and guards. I treated him with proper reſpect and acknowledgements, and after ſome time ſpent in converſation, under pretence of deſiring to be more private, I led him to ſome diſtance from the perſons by whom he was attended, then ſeized him round the waiſt, and ordered him to be conducted to an adjacent village. At this inſtant I gave a ſignal for my people to join me, and that being duly complied with, proceeded towards Tiberias.

The town of Tiberias taken by ſurpriſe and miſtake.

On our way we had an encounter with the enemy, who behaved with ſo much bravery, that it was with great difficulty I kept my men to their ground; but after an obſtinate conteſt, it was my fortune to prove victorious, and the Tiberians retreated into the town. I had diſpatched a party, by the way of the lake, to ſet fire to the firſt houſe they ſhould meet with; and this being done at a lucky moment, the enemy imagining that the city was taken by force, laid down their arms, and, as a vanquiſhed people, came, with their women and children, and ſued for clemency. Satisfied with this ſubmiſſion, I ſounded a retreat, and the evening drawing on, retired for refreſhment, and invited Simon to ſup with me, accompanying my meſſage with the encouraging aſſurance, that he ſhould be ſafely conducted to Jeruſalem, and provided with every convenience on his journey.

The authors of the revolt ſent priſoners to Jotapata.

I marched into Tiberias on the following day with ten thouſand men; and having aſſembled the moſt conſiderable people of the town, made all neceſſary inquiries concerning the faction, the moſt active promoters of which I ſent under a proper guard to Jotapata; excepting Jonathan and his particular followers, whom I diſmiſſed, and moreover appointed a guard of five hundred men to convoy them ſafe to Jeruſalem, giving them a ſum ſufficient to defray all the expences of the journey.

The Tiberians, ſupplicating pardon, are treated with great humanity, and the plunder reſtored to them.

I had now a ſecond viſit from the people of Tiberias, who ſupplicated my forgiveneſs, and made the moſt ſolemn proteſtations that an unremitting fidelity ſhould make ample recompence for former errors, finally petitioning that the plunder might be reſtored to the proper owners. Upon the interceſſion of theſe people, I commanded every article which had been pillaged to be brought into my preſence; but I obſerved, that the ſoldiers obeyed with reluctance, and that one of them had on a more coſtly habit than I thought it became a man in his ſtation to wear; I therefore queſtioned him as to the manner of obtaining it, and his anſwers proving it to be a part of the plunder, I ordered a ſevere diſcipline to be inflicted upon him; and gave notice, that if any other ſhould be found guilty of a ſimilar offence, he ſhould be doomed to a ſtill more exemplary puniſhment; and I afterwards, as far as circumſtances would admit, cauſed the articles which had been ſeized to be returned to their reſpective proprietors.

Falſehoods and fictions of Juſtus confuted.

I cannot diſmiſs this ſubject, without endeavouring to controvert the aſſertions of Juſtus, who, in treating upon this matter at preſent in queſtion, has tranſmitted to poſterity the moſt profligate falſehoods, under the reſpectable name of hiſtory; and the ſame charge may, with equal juſtice, be adduced againſt other writers: but I ſhall confine myſelf to Juſtus, who, in giving an account of the war, has advanced a number of palpable fictions, which are calculated to reflect on his country, and to brand me with diſhonour. It is therefore

therefore neceſſary, that I ſhould now divulge certain matters, which I have hitherto concealed from the world.

An hiſtorian is peculiarly bound to keep within the limits of truth; but a modeſt author is embarraſſed when an abandoned character ſtands in his way, and he will ſometimes heſitate to record diſgraceful facts; but he will not ſuppreſs his ſentiments from a motive of delicacy towards the infamous ſubject, but from a regard to the dignity of his own profeſſion. "Thou, Juſtus, who haſt put in a claim to the character of an impartial writer, ſay, Did not you, and your Tiberians make war againſt the Decapolitans in Syria, and burn their villages previous to the revolt of the Galileans from their prince, and the Roman empire, and the honour that was conferred on me by the commiſſion conſtituting me governor of Galilee: and was not one of your attendants ſlain in the action? How, then, canſt thou attribute to me the cauſe of that revolt? The records of the emperor Veſpaſian will confirm my aſſertions on this head: from which it will appear, that, during the reſidence of that prince at Ptolemais, the Decapolitans were continually importuning him for juſtice on you, as the chief author of all their troubles; with which requeſt he would, undoubtedly, have complied, had not king Agrippa, who was charged with the execution of the ſentence, granted you your life, at the interceſſion of your ſiſter, Berenice; but notwithſtanding this remiſſion, you did not obtain your liberty for a conſiderable time afterwards. Moreover, your conduct has been perfectly conſiſtent through life, as will hereafter be ſeen; for I ſhall demonſtrate, beyond a doubt, that you was the chief inſtigator of the Tiberian rebellion. I ſhall now prove, that both yourſelf and the Tiberians equally betrayed the intereſts of your ſovereign, and of the emperor.

"Sepphoris and Tiberias, the latter your native place, are the two principal cities of Galilee. The former of theſe is ſituated in the centre of the province, and has ſeveral villages under its juriſdiction; and ſuch was the fidelity of the inhabitants to the ſuperiors of the town, that they, not ſatisfied with ſhutting their gates againſt me, ſtrictly prohibited, by a public edict, all perſons whatever from bearing arms in the ſervice of our nation.

"With the view of making all poſſible proviſion for their defence, they artfully obtained from me a promiſe to incloſe their city with walls; which I had no ſooner performed, than they ejected me in the moſt contemptuous manner; and, without the leaſt heſitation, admitted a Roman garriſon, under the command of Ceſtius Gallus, who was at that time governor of Syria; and theſe tranſactions happened at the very time that I held all the country in abſolute ſubjection. Nay, ſo cautious were they of giving the leaſt umbrage to the Romans, that they, when the temple was beſieged, and the very exiſtence of our nation conſequently depended upon the event, declined contributing, in the ſmalleſt degree, to our relief.

"With reſpect to the ſituation of the diſtrict in which you commanded; it lies on the banks of the lake Genneſareth, at the diſtance of about thirty ſtadia from Hippos, ſixty from Gabara, and an hundred and twenty from Scythopolis; all which places were in the poſſeſſion of the king's troops, and, moreover, ſtrongly garriſoned. What, let me aſk you, with all theſe advantages on your ſide, could have prevented you from diſcharging your duty to the Romans, had you in your heart been inclined thereto? But, admitting that I was, as you contend, at that time, in ſome meaſure, the cauſe of the war; to whom, I wiſh to know, is the blame of the ſubſequent tranſactions to be imputed? For you cannot be ignorant that I had been taken priſoner by the Romans ſome time before the ſiege of Jeruſalem; that the caſtle of Jotapata, with many others, had been carried by ſtorm, and that multitudes of the Galileans had fallen in the various encounters. If it be true, therefore, as you would inſinuate, that you diſapproved of the war, and was forced into it againſt your will, why did you not, when that pretended neceſſity no longer ſubſiſted, lay down your arms, and throw yourſelf on the mercy of your ſovereign, and of the Romans, as I was then no longer in a condition to hurt you.

"But you perverſely perſiſted in your rebellion, till Veſpaſian had advanced with his troops to the very walls of your city; when you found it abſolutely requiſite to ſubmit, in order to avoid that ruin which muſt otherwiſe have been inevitable. Nor would this ſubmiſſion have availed you any thing, but for the interceſſion of the king in your behalf; for your madneſs and folly would certainly have been puniſhed with the total deſtruction of the city, had he not obtained your pardon from the emperor: your enmity, therefore, to the Romans proceeded, not from any fault of mine, but merely from the impulſe of your own rancorous diſpoſition. Did I not repeatedly grant you both life and liberty, when the chance of war had put you in my power? Yet it is notorious that, in the rage of your inteſtine broils, actuated neither by a zeal for the king's ſervice, nor for that of the Romans, but ſolely by a ſpirit of animoſity and vengeance againſt each other, you, on one occaſion only, put to death no leſs than one hundred and eighty-five of the citizens; which incident happened during the time I was blocked up in Jotapata. Moreover, were not two thouſand of the Tiberians killed and taken priſoners during the ſiege of Jeruſalem? Do you imagine that, becauſe you appeared at this time, in the court of your ſovereign, not from any motives of duty or affection for his perſon, but from an apprehenſion of falling into my hands, you were not, therefore, to be conſidered as an enemy?

"If, then, as you pretend, my conduct has been reprehenſible, what opinion muſt the world entertain of your actions? Notwithſtanding you had been twice baniſhed, as often impriſoned, and once

even reſcued from an ignominious death, through the interceſſion of the emperor's ſiſter, Berenice; yet, when your royal maſter had received you again into favour, and inveſted you with the honourable office of ſecretary, you acted ſo inconſiſtently with your duty, that he was compelled to forbid you his court and preſence for ever.

" Without ſearching farther into your mal-practices, I cannot ſufficiently applaud your modeſty, in aſſuming to yourſelf the merit of having given a more faithful and exact account of this war, than any other writer on the ſubject; when, in fact, you are totally unacquainted with the particulars of thoſe tranſactions which you pretend to relate, and even of what paſſed in Galilee; for, during that period, you were engaged in attending the king at Berytus. In like manner, how could you be enabled to give an authentic relation of my conduct during the ſiege of Jotapata, when myſelf was the only perſon who ſurvived the capture of that city? You will, perhaps, aſſert that, however incorrect you may have been in other parts of your hiſtory, you have made amends by your accuracy in your recital of what happened at Jeruſalem. But it will appear ſcarcely probable, however, that you ſhould be ſufficiently informed of the tranſactions of that ſiege, if we conſider that you were neither upon the ſpot at the time, nor have even peruſed the commentaries written by Veſpaſian on that part of the war. It is apparent to me that you never have read thoſe commentaries, becauſe ſeveral paſſages therein are poſitively contradicted in your hiſtory.

" I wiſh to know why, if you really conſider yourſelf as the firſt hiſtorian of the preſent age, you did not favour the world with your admirable work during the life-time of Veſpaſian and Titus, the two generals who commanded in that expedition, or in the time of Agrippa and his family, all of whom were deeply verſed in the language of the Greeks? Why was this hiſtory detained ſo long, nearly twenty years, from the public eye, when you might have produced ſo many living evidences of the authenticity of your relation? Why, finally, having ſuppreſſed it thus long, did you fix upon this particular æra for its publication? The reaſon is obvious: you dared not ſubmit it to the inſpection and cenſure of the world, while there were yet ſo many perſons living who could have detected the falſity of your allegations. My conduct, in this reſpect, was widely different.

" Previous to the publication of my hiſtory, I put it into the hands of the two emperors who had directed the war; each particular therein contained being yet freſh in every one's memory. To this I was induced by a conſciouſneſs that I had been guided ſolely by a regard to truth in what I had written; and the work has, accordingly, met with as favourable a reception from the world as I could poſſibly deſire. I communicated theſe materials to many other perſons, who had taken an active part in the war, particularly to king Agrippa and ſeveral of his relations. As an indubitable proof of the eſteem in which this work was held even by Titus, he, under his own hand, ſtrongly recommended it to the world, as a moſt authentic record of the tranſactions of the times, and likewiſe honoured it with a place in his library. The fidelity and candour which is viſible throughout the work gave ſuch ſatisfaction to king Agrippa, that he honoured me with no leſs than ſixty-two letters, in teſtimony of his conviction of its authenticity; two of which I have here thought proper to ſubjoin.

King AGRIPPA to his deareſt Friend JOSEPHUS, Greeting.

" THE peruſal of your book has afforded me great ſatisfaction, and I conſider it as the moſt faithful and exact production of the kind. Pray let me have the remaining part: and ſo I bid farewell to my dear friend."

King AGRIPPA to JOSEPHUS, his deareſt Friend, Health.

" I PERCEIVE, by your writings, that you have but little occaſion for farther information from me; but at our next meeting I may communicate certain matters for your conſideration, which have eſcaped your obſervation."

From a deſire to recommend my works to poſterity, king Agrippa gave the above teſtimonies of their authority and candour. The authenticity of the above certificates are not to be doubted: the author of them was ſuperior to flattery; and, being a man of ſtrict integrity, his conduct towards me could not ariſe from the levity of making me the ſubject of merriment. Thus much I conceived it a juſtice due to my own character, to ſay in anſwer to Juſtus; and I ſhall now proceed with my hiſtory.

Joſephus calls a council, to adviſe what meaſures ſhould be taken reſpecting John.

Having reſtored good order and diſcipline in Tiberias, I called a council of my friends, to determine on the moſt proper manner of proceeding againſt John. They adviſed, that as he was the cauſe of the general irruption, to aſſemble the whole ſtrength of Galilee, and, by a ſudden attack, to ſtrike a deciſive blow. I objected to this, as being too barbarous a revenge; and declared myſelf inclined to terminate the quarrel by ſome means whereby the lives of the adherents to both parties might be preſerved; and I afterwards had recourſe to the following ſtratagem in favour of my deſign. I procured a correct liſt of the perſons compoſing the faction, and publiſhed an act of amneſty, purporting that all ſuch as ſhould lay down their arms and return to their duty within the ſpace of twenty days, might claim a general pardon; but towards thoſe who ſhould favour the meaſures of the enemy after that period, prohibiting the like indulgence, and denouncing ſlaughter, pillage, and other extremities of war againſt them. As this amneſty

Succeſs of his edict concerning his aſſociates, 4000 of whom came over to him.

neſtly included a menace as well as conciliatory terms, it operated the more extenſively upon the followers of John, four thouſand of whom immediately ſurrendered, the citizens of Giſchala and fifteen hundred mercenaries, from Tyre, only continuing in his ſervice; and he was ſo depreſſed by this circumſtance, that he preſumed not afterwards to leave his own country.

Joſephus invites Gallus to take poſſeſſion of Sepphoris.

The town of Sepphoris being encompaſſed by a ſtrong wall, and the inhabitants being a robuſt, ſturdy people, it was determined to put the place in a ſtate of defence, and to apply to Ceſtius Gallus, governor of Syria, either to come in perſon, and take poſſeſſion of the city, or to detach a ſufficient force to protect it, in caſe of aſſault. Gallus replied, that they might expect him, but mentioned not at what time.

It was ſuppoſed that the concerns in which I was engaged would delay the execution of any attempt I had meditated againſt Sepphoris: but gaining intelligence of the negociation which had been ſet on foot, I marched immediately to the place, which I attacked and conquered. The Galileans, judging this a favourable opportunity to wreak ample vengeance on the Sepphorites, againſt whom they entertained an implacable deteſtation, formed the barbarous determination of involving the men and city in one common ruin. The inhabitants quitted their houſes, and took refuge in the caſtle, leaving their effects to be plundered by the ſoldiers, who ſet fire to the town, and, without diſtinction of perſons, made prize of all the property they could diſcover.

The city taken by Joſephus, and plundered by his men, who commit unwarrantable outrages.

He favours the Sepphorites, by means of a ſtratagem.

Theſe violences gave me extreme concern; and I endeavoured by perſuaſions, and by exerting my authority, to reſtrain their barbarity towards men profeſſing to be of their own religion, and, moreover, belonging to the very tribe of which they were themſelves alſo members: but, finding their fury to be ungovernable, I adopted the following ſtratagem. I cauſed a report to be propagated that a numerous army of the Romans had entered the town; and, as I expected, the rumour of this pretended aſſault cauſed the Galileans to ſtop their outrage, and employ their whole thoughts upon means for their own preſervation; and the apprehenſion which prevailed among them was greatly increaſed, when they perceived me to join the flight from the ideal foe. Thus Sepphoris was preſerved, in a manner ſurpaſſing expectation; and Tiberias eſcaped no leſs miraculouſly, ſome time afterwards.

The Tiberians invite Agrippa to take them under his protection, which act is reſented by the people.

A letter had been ſent to the king, ſigned by ſeveral of the ſenators and principal citizens, requeſting that he would honour them with his preſence, and that he would take their city under his protection. The king immediately diſpatched one of his chief attendants, named Criſpus, a Jew by extraction, with a written anſwer to the above letter, importing, that he would be at Tiberias in the ſhorteſt time poſſible. It chanced that Criſpus was met upon the road by ſome Galileans, who knew him perſonally, and brought him in cuſtody to me. Having learnt the object of his commiſſion, the populace inſtantly took up their arms. A prodigious concourſe of people aſſembled the next morning, at Aſoch, where I then reſided, loudly accuſing the Tiberians of treachery, and of a deſign to revolt to the king. Their fury roſe, at length, to ſuch a pitch, that they poſitively inſiſted on my permiſſion to deſtroy the city, declaring that the Tiberians were more deſerving of puniſhment than even the Sepphorites themſelves.

Joſephus, by his wiſe counſel, pacifies the people, and preſerves the city from deſtruction.

I perceived that every attempt to bring the people to reaſon, by argument, would be vain, and their numbers precluded all hopes of reducing them by force. The contents of the king's anſwer ſet the whole matter in ſo clear a light, that no vindication or palliative could be offered in defence of the Tiberians. After revolving in my mind various projects to reſtore the people to their ſenſes, and preſerve the city, I determined at length to obſerve a medium in my conduct towards them, neither abſolutely oppoſing, nor implicitly complying with their will; and accordingly addreſſed them in theſe terms: "The Tiberians," ſaid I, "have, undoubtedly, acted very wrong; and I ſhall readily yield to your deſire of puniſhing them, on condition that you do nothing raſhly; for, truſt me, you will find, on examination, a number of perſons of the firſt quality among yourſelves, who are equally concerned with the Tiberians in this plot againſt your liberties. I therefore ſtrongly recommend it to you, to delay the execution of your vengeance for a time, till you can diſcover thoſe concealed foes to their country, and then you may puniſh them all together, in a manner ſuitable to their demerits." This propoſal was ſo well approved by the multitude, that they immediately diſperſed, and every man retired quietly to his own home.

He contrives a way for the eſcape of Criſpus.

As Criſpus was ſtill under confinement, I made a pretext of ſome trifling buſineſs to get out of the town, and, ſending for him privately, adviſed him to attempt an eſcape, by intoxicating the keeper of the priſon. This was the ſecond time that the Tiberians were indebted to me for the preſervation of their city.

Juſtus, inclining to favour the Romans, goes to the court of Agrippa.

Juſt at this juncture, Juſtus, the ſon of Piſtus, ſecretly withdrew to the court of king Agrippa. I was quite ignorant of his retreat, which aroſe from the following cauſe. At the commencement of the war between the Jews and the Romans, the Tiberians determined to adhere to the intereſts of the latter. But Juſtus, flattering himſelf that, in the confuſion of a popular tumult, he might find means to advance himſelf to the government, endeavoured to ſeduce them into a revolt. But he did not ſucceed in

in his views; for ſo inveterate was the hatred of the Galileans to the people of Tiberias, on occaſion of the repeated inſults which they had experienced from them, previous to the war, that they conſtantly oppoſed and defeated all his attempts; and, during the courſe of my adminiſtration, I myſelf was often ſo incenſed by the perfidious practices of this wicked man, that it was with great difficulty I refrained from proceeding to extremities againſt him. From a conſciouſneſs of his danger, and not knowing, moreover, how far paſſion, and a ſeries of injuries and affronts might provoke a man in my ſtation, Juſtus thought it moſt prudent to withdraw himſelf out of my reach.

The people of Sepphoris reſolving to give themſelves up to Ceſtius Gallus, ſend him another meſſage to that purpoſe.

Although the Sepphorites had ſo lately experienced a deliverance little leſs than miraculous, yet, no ſooner had they recovered from their apprehenſions, than they ſent a ſecond meſſage to Ceſtius Gallus, requeſting him either to come and take immediate poſſeſſion of their city, or ſend ſuch a force, as might enable them to repel an attack. Gallus, accordingly, detached a numerous body of horſe and foot to their aſſiſtance, which were admitted into the city, under favour of the night. The devaſtation which theſe troops ſpread throughout the country, obliged me to encamp at the diſtance of about twenty furlongs from Sepphoris, near the town of Garizim. In the dead of the night, I poſſeſſed myſelf of the walls by ſtorm; but, for want of a due knowledge of the ſituation of the ſtreets, I was compelled, after remaining maſter of a conſiderable part of the city for ſome time, to relinquiſh the advantage I had obtained, and to retire. Twelve of the Roman foot, two of their horſe, a few of the Sepphorites, and on our ſide, only one man compriſed the number ſlain in this action.

After Joſephus had almoſt taken Sepphoris, heis obliged to retire.

An encounter between the men of Joſephus and a body of Roman horſe.

In a ſhort time after this event, a ſharp rencounter happened between us and the Roman horſe, in which my men, being ſurrounded, overpowered by numbers, after defending themſelves for ſome time with great bravery, were compelled to retire. On this occaſion I loſt one of my guards, named Juſtus, who had formerly been in the ſervice of the king.

Much about this time, Silas, the captain of the king's guards, at the head of a numerous party of horſe and foot, took poſt at the diſtance of about five furlongs from Julias, having previouſly ſecured all the paſſes leading to Cana, and the caſtle of Gamala.

He engages the troops of Silas, and, drawing them into an ambuſcade, puts them to flight.

I, therefore, diſpatched Jeremiah, with two thouſand men, to the banks of the river Jordan, about a furlong from Julias, where I joined him with a body of three thouſand troops; ſome few ſlight ſkirmiſhes only having taken place previous to my arrival. Having placed a ſtrong ambuſh in a valley, at a convenient diſtance from the camp, on the next day, I offered battle to the king's forces, and ordered my men to turn their backs at the firſt onſet, and to fly before the enemy till they had drawn them into the ambuſcade. My orders were punctually obeyed; and Silas, taking this feigned flight for an actual route, purſued us ſo far, that the ambuſh fell upon his rear, and threw his troops into ſuch diſorder that, upon my facing about and attacking them in front, they were ſo entirely broken, that a deciſive victory muſt inevitably have enſued, had not my horſe, in that critical moment, unfortunately thrown me, and my wriſt been diſlocated, I was carried off the field to an adjacent village, named Cepharnome.

The army of Joſephus fall into an ambuſh, but eſcape with inconſiderable loſs.

My people, fearing that the hurt I had received might be of a worſe kind than it was in reality, immediately gave over the purſuit, and directed their whole attention towards providing me with their aſſiſtance. From Cepharnome, where I was ſeized with a fever, I went after one day's ſtay, to Taricheæ. When the news of this accident came to the knowledge of Silas, he took freſh courage; and, having learnt that our out-poſts were very deficient in the neceſſary vigilance, ſecretly diſpatched a troop of horſe to the other ſide of Jordan, with orders to conceal themſelves, for the purpoſe of ſurpriſing us early in the morning, when he intended offering us battle. An engagement, accordingly, enſued; and my troops falling into the ſnare, were defeated, with the loſs of ſix men only; the enemy not daring to purſue their advantage, in conſequence of a report that a body of our troops were on their march, by the way of the lake, from Taricheæ to Julias.

Soon after theſe tranſactions, Veſpaſian came to Tyre, accompanied by king Agrippa. The people were very clamorous in their complaints againſt that monarch, who, they alledged, was equally the foe of the Tyrians and the Romans; accuſing him, moreover, of having treacherouſly ſent ſecret orders to his general, Philip, to ſurrender both the temple of Jeruſalem, and the Roman garriſon, into the hands of the Jews. This conduct of the Tyrians highly incenſed Veſpaſian, and he gave them a ſevere check for their audacity, in thus calumniating a ſovereign prince, and a friend to the Roman ſtate; recommending it, however, to Agrippa, for the purpoſe of reſtoring the peace of the city, to ſend Philip to Rome, to juſtify his conduct, on the above occaſion, before the emperor. Philip, accordingly, went thither; but found Nero ſo much embarraſſed with the civil wars then prevailing, that he was obliged to return, without obtaining an audience.

Upon the arrival of Veſpaſian at Ptolemais, the magiſtrates of Decapolis urgently preferred their complaints to him againſt Juſtus, who had burnt their habitations, and laid waſte their country; and Veſpaſian, in conſequence, delivered him into the hands of Agrippa, to be puniſhed in the moſt exemplary manner, for the depredations committed on his ſubjects. Upon this occaſion, the king condemned him, as I have already obſerved, to impriſon-

ment

ment, without communicating the matter to the emperor.

The Sepphorites admit Veſpaſian into their city, and receive a Roman garriſon.

When Veſpaſian had approached near to Sepphoris, he was met by the inhabitants in a body, who conducted him into the city. They, alſo, readily admitted a Roman garriſon, and received Placidus as their governor; and with him I had frequent conteſts, before the emperor came in perſon to Galilee. With reſpect to ſuch particulars as relate to the cauſe of his coming thither; my retreat to Jotapata, after being worſted at Taricheæ: my conduct, during the long ſiege which that place ſuſtained, and ſubſequent impriſonment; the manner in which I was afterwards releaſed; and, in ſhort, the whole of my behaviour throughout the Jewiſh war; with reſpect, I ſay, to theſe matters, having ſpoken ſo fully in that part of my work which relates to the ſaid war, there remains little more to add; and I ſhall therefore, content myſelf with ſubjoining ſome few anecdotes only of my private life.

Honours ſhewn by Veſpaſian to Joſephus, who is afterwards in danger both from Jews and Romans.

After the capture of Jotapata, on which occaſion I was taken priſoner, though ſtrictly guarded, I received every mark of reſpect and eſteem from Veſpaſian, at whoſe inſtigation I took to wife a virgin of Cæſarea, who was, at that time, in the ſame predicament with myſelf, reſpecting the loſs of her liberty. We abode together but a ſhort time, for I had no ſooner obtained my releaſe, and entered into the ſervice of Veſpaſian, who was about to depart from Alexandria, than ſhe quitted me. At Alexandria, I, a ſecond time, entered into the marriage ſtate. I was ſent from thence, in company with Titus, to Jeruſalem, where my life was repeatedly in danger, from the ſecret practices both of the Jews and Romans: for the blame of every miſcarriage was conſtantly imputed to me; nor could the emperor reſt for the importunities of the people to put the traitor, as they ſtyled me, to death. But the virulence of the populace againſt me weighed nothing with Titus, who was then advanced to the imperial dignity, and whoſe extenſive knowledge of mankind, taught him to diſregard the ill-founded clamours of an impetuous multitude: and, ſuch was the eſteem in which he held me, that even after the deſtruction of the city, he generouſly preſſed me to make choice of whatever part I pleaſed of the general wreck. But I availed myſelf no further of this permiſſion, than to requeſt the releaſement of my countrymen and friends, and the privilege of retaining in my poſſeſſion the Holy Bible, which I had fortunately been enabled to preſerve; and my deſire was inſtantly gratified; my brother, and near fifty other perſons of my acquaintance, being, in conſequence, ſet at liberty. I obtained the ſame favour for about one hundred and ninety others of my acquaintance, and friends, whom I found, together with a large number of women and children, ſhut up in the temple: and theſe were all diſcharged without any condition or ranſom.

Titus grants to Joſephus the freedom of many of his captivated friends;

Titus, having determined to form a camp near a village called Thecoa, diſpatched me thither, with Cerealis and one hundred horſe, to take a view of the ground. At my return, I ſaw a number of priſoners crucified by the road ſide, and diſcovered, among the reſt, three perſons with whom I had been intimate ſome years. This ſight affected me to a high degree; and I inſtantly, with tears in my eyes, communicated the matter to Titus. He directly gave orders that the bodies ſhould be taken down, and that every poſſible method ſhould be uſed to recover them. One of the three ſurvived, but the others died under the hands of the operator.

and the releaſe of three perſons who had been crucified.

Titus and Veſpaſian ſhew much kindneſs to Joſephus, which excites the envy and hatred of his countrymen.

As ſoon as Titus had re-eſtabliſhed order and tranquillity in Judæa, he aſſigned me certain lands lying at a diſtance from Jeruſalem, in lieu of others which I had formerly poſſeſſed in the neighbourhood of that city. To this he was influenced by the conſideration, that it would be neither convenient nor agreeable to me to be ſituated in the midſt of the Roman troops, which muſt neceſſarily be ſtationed about Jeruſalem, for the purpoſe of ſecuring the ſafety of the province. I alſo received the diſtinguiſhed honour from the emperor Veſpaſian, of being admitted into his own veſſel, when he was on his return to Rome; and, upon our arrival there, he was pleaſed to treat me in the moſt gracious manner. He not only conferred upon me the privileges of a denizen, and gave me for my reſidence the palace which he had himſelf inhabited, previous to his exaltation to the imperial dignity; but he alſo ſettled upon me a yearly penſion, and continued his favours to me during his life; which expoſed me to the moſt virulent hatred and envy of my own countrymen.

He is falſely accuſed of abetting a tumult at Cyrene, and the author of the calumny put to death.

A tumult happened at Cyrene, in which two thouſand of the rabble were deſtroyed, and their leader, a Jew, named Jonathan, was ſent in chains to the emperor, by the governor of the province. This man charged me with abetting the ſaid tumult, by furniſhing him privately with money and arms; but Veſpaſian, deteſting the calumny, ordered him to be put to death. Several other attempts, of a ſimilar nature, were made to ruin me in the emperor's eſteem; but, by the interpoſition of Providence, they were all defeated; and that prince conferred upon me a conſiderable grant of lands in Judæa.

Account of the wives and children of Joſephus, and the favours conferred on him by three ſucceſſive emperors.

Nearly about this time, a diſagreement which had long ſubſiſted between my wife and me, roſe to ſuch a height, as to occaſion our ſeparating. This woman had borne me three children, of whom Hyrcanus was the only one then alive. Some time after this divorce, I married a third wife, a Candian by birth, of the Jewiſh religion, honourably deſcended, and famed for her excellent qualities. By her I had two ſons: Juſtus the elder, and Simonides, ſurnamed Agrippa. Such

was the ſtate and ſituation of myſelf and family: moreover, I ſtill preſerved the favour of the Cæſars: after the death of Veſpaſian, I experienced the ſame kindneſs from Titus, which had been ſhewn me by his father; and the honours conferred upon me by Domitian, were of a ſtill more diſtinguiſhed nature.

Particular inſtances of kindneſs to him, and his exemption from all taxes.

A number of Jews, who had alledged falſe accuſations again me, were put to death by him, at different times; and he inflicted a very ſevere puniſhment, for a ſimilar offence, on an eunuch ſlave, whom I had employed as a tutor to my ſon. But the moſt honourable teſtimony of his ſingular kindneſs to me is the total exemption which I now enjoy, from all taxes and duties upon my eſtate in Judæa; and my obligations to Domitia, the wife of Cæſar, have not been leſs in proportion, than thoſe which I owe to the emperor himſelf. Thus have I particulariſed the principal incidents of my life, and I ſubmit the abſtract with confidence to the cenſure of the world.

PREDICTIONS

OF THE

PRINCIPAL PROPHETS

WHOSE NAMES OCCUR IN

THE WORKS OF FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

INTRODUCTORY OBSERVATIONS.

WE now offer to the Public, prophecies which not only coincide with, but corroborate the evidences for, the truth of what is called, by way of eminence, Sacred Hiſtory in particular, as well as revealed religion in general; and we preſume that an illuſtration of the paſſages peculiarly alluded to, may be introduced with equal utility and propriety. Many eminent divines, and other learned men, unite in opinion, that nothing tends more effectually to confirm Chriſtians in their moſt holy faith, or obviate the gain-ſayings of infidels, than a diſplay of the time and manner in which events foretold by holy men in ancient days have been fulfilled no leſs remarkably than completely.

Such perſons as admit that the all-pervading mind not only comprehends whatever is preſent and paſt, but with one intuitive view diſcerns whatever is to happen in future, muſt readily acknowledge the power of an omnipotent Jehovah, to communicate his will and pleaſure to ſuch of his creatures, and in ſuch way and manner as ſeemeth meet to his infinite wiſdom. Yet, though it is the ſole prerogative of the Almighty, and it has been his pleaſure to appoint and commiſſion certain choſen agents to propheſy things to come, there have not been wanting in all ages men diſpoſed to carp, cavil, and impiouſly aver their incredibility. But all their efforts combined cannot invalidate demonſtrative evidence, or ſubvert facts founded on the baſis of truth. Such as review with an impartial eye events recorded in hiſtory, both ſacred and profane, which in this inſtance throw great light on each other, muſt diſcover every proof of authenticity, that can be had in points of this kind. They will alſo find things foretold in plain and explicit terms, though the period of accompliſhment was not at thoſe times aſcertained; they will alſo find their completion in ages following, and that in a manner correſponding with their predictions. What clearer evidence, what more demonſtrative proof can be required? Nothing but the moſt perverſe contumacy and hardened infidelity can withſtand them.

During a ſeries of years, the divine prophecies have been fulfilling; ſome are paſt, and others are actually fulfilling at this day; ſo that we have confirmation ſtronger than our progenitors, and are conſequently more unpardonable, if we reject matters

ters of such indisputable veracity, "for many righteous men have desired to see those things which ye see, and have not seen them, and to hear those things which ye hear, and have not heard them." (Matt. xii. 17.) In a word, what served to exercise their faith, now serves to confirm the opinion and judgment of us who live in this latter age. It appears then manifestly that those who deny the authenticity of the prophecies contained in the sacred volume particularly, must have renounced all mental conviction, and the evidence of their very senses, and that they are as grossly stupid as they are flagrantly impious. We flatter ourselves, that our citing the particular prophecies mentioned by our author, placing them in a comparative view with those in holy writ, while we produce and comment on the time and manner of their respective completions; will be attended with advantage to our readers, and answer the main design of our labour in this undertaking, which is calculated to illustrate an important part of profane history, to lead them to a perfect knowledge of those things that pertain to their everlasting interest, to the grand fountain of truth, the infallible word of God, as revealed in the Old Testament.

CHAP. I.

Prediction of NOAH respecting the future State and Condition of his Posterity,

The prophecy of Noah.

JOSEPHUS, as well as the sacred writings, inform us, that as soon as the earth began to recover its former state after the dire effects of the late tremendous deluge, NOAH applied himself to the cultivation of the ground, planting of vineyards, gathering and pressing the grapes, and producing a store of wine. It is farther related, that the patriarch, though a pious and virtuous man, having, after an oblation to the bountiful author of every good and perfect gift, drank too liberally of the liquor, became intoxicated to a degree of insensibility, and laid himself down in a manner that exposed him to shame. His son Ham, seeing the situation of his aged parent, called his brethren, in derision, to sport with a spectacle that could not but shock minds the least susceptible of the emotions of filial tenderness. Out of pious reverence, therefore, the other sons, Shem and Japhet, brought a covering and veiled their father's shame.

Pronounces his blessing on Shem and Japhet.

Noah having recovered his senses and understanding what had passed, pronounced a blessing upon his other childern after the good office they had rendered him, and at the same time a bitter imprecation upon the descendants of Ham; and this prophetic malediction was followed, as will appear hereafter, with a divine vengeance. Ham, indeed, in his own person, escaped the curse from a tender regard in Noah to the ties of consanguinity. The form of the malediction runs thus, "Cursed be Canaan. A servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren. Blessed be the Lord God of Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant. God shall enlarge Japhet. And he shall dwell in the tents of Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant." (Gen. ix. 25, 26, 27.)

His malediction against the posterity of Ham.

On due reflection and attention to future events it will appear that neither blessing or malediction so immediately relate to the children of Noah, as to their posterity, and the nations by them respectively founded; and also that it pleased the Judge of all the earth to display his moral government of the world, his approbation of virtue and aversion to vice, in the reward of the one and punishment of the other; for which wise and equitable purpose he endued Noah with a prophetic spirit to make known his will to succeeding generations. To confine the word and spirit of ancient prophecy to individuals, or even particular persons, argues a total misconception of them: on the contrary, we must allow them a larger latitude, a more extensive scope; we must consider them as referring to numerous bodies collected, even to whole nations, whereby we shall be enabled to form a right judgment of the divine superintendence over human affairs; and reconcile the various dispensations of Providence. On this principle, therefore, we must suppose the curse of servitude pronounced upon Canaan, as well as the blessing of freedom promised to Shem and Japhet, not immediately relating to them personally considered, but as in an enlarged and extensive view, comprehending their whole race. We must judge of scripture prophecy in general in this manner, as before observed.

The patriarch Noah referred, in fact, then, by this prophetical malediction, to the race of Canaan, who, from his name, were called Canaanites, and from whose iniquities the omniscient Being delegated his ancient servant to foretell that curse which was most justly due to their common degeneracy. It was likewise the evident design of the inspired penman (Moses) in relating the same, to encourage the Hebrews, or Israelites, in waging a necessary war against an abandoned race, who had renounced all claims to the favour and protection of Heaven, and were, therefore, doomed to servitude from an early date. Having thus pointed out the purport and meaning of this prophecy, it now remains that we proceed to display the manner in which it was fully accomplished.

The Canaanites punished for their wickedness.

The Canaanites, it is well known, were a most wicked and abandoned people, and it was for their great sins that the Almighty was pleased to inflict a most severe punishment not only on them, but their posterity. They were addicted to practise the worst kinds of idolatry. Their religion was bad, and their morals worse; for corrupt religion and corrupt morals usually generate each other. Was not, therefore, a curse,

curſe, in the nature of things, as well as in the Juſt judgment of God, intailed on ſuch a people and nation as this? It was not for the righteouſneſs of the Iſraelites that the Lord was pleaſed to give them the poſſeſſion of the land of Canaan, but for the wickedneſs of the people did he drive them out of the country (ſee Lev. xviii. 24.); and he would have driven out the Iſraelites in like manner, had they been guilty of the like abominations.

Nature of the curſe pronounced on the deſcendents of Ham.

The malediction denounced on the deſcendents of Ham particularly implies ſervitude and ſubjection. "Curſed be Canaan; a ſervant of ſervants ſhall he be unto his brethren." The deſcendents, therefore, of Canaan were to be ſubject to the deſcendents of Shem and Japhet; and the natural conſequence of vice in communities, as well as in ſingle perſons, is ſubjection, ſlavery, and death. This part of the prophecy, however, was not fulfilled till ſeveral centuries after it was delivered by Noah, when the Iſraelites, who were the deſcendents of Shem, under the command of Joſhua, invaded the country of the Canaanites, ſmote above thirty of their kings, took poſſeſſion of their land, and made the Gibeonites and others ſervants and tributaries; and the reſt were afterwards ſubdued by Solomon.

The Greeks and Romans, who were the deſcendents of Japhet, not only ſubdued Syria and Paleſtine but alſo purſued and conquered ſuch of the Canaanites as were any where remaining; as for inſtance, the Tyrians and Carthaginians, the former of whom were ruined by Alexander and the Grecians, and the latter by Scipio and the Romans. From that period, the miſerable remainder of theſe people have been ſlaves, firſt to the Saracens, who deſcended from Shem, and afterwards to the Turks, who deſcended from Japhet; and great numbers of them at preſent remain under their dominion.

The promiſes made to Shem

The fulfilment of that part of Noah's prophecy, relative to the deſcendents of his ſon Ham, being thus explained, we ſhould now proceed to conſider the promiſes made to Shem and Japhet. And he ſaid, "Bleſſed be the Lord God of Shem; and Canaan ſhall be his ſervant." The wickedneſs of men proceedeth from themſelves, but their good from God; and, therefore, we find the old patriarch, in a ſtrain of devotion, breaketh forth into thankſgiving to God, as the author of all good to Shem. God can certainly beſtow his particular favours according to his good pleaſure, and ſalvation was to be derived to mankind through Shem and his poſterity. By the Lord being called the God of Shem, is plainly intimated that the Lord would be, in a particular manner, his God.

To Japhet.

Japhet had this promiſe made to him: "God ſhall enlarge Japhet, and he ſhall dwell in the tents of Shem; and Canaan ſhall be his ſervant." That Japhet was more enlarged than the reſt is evident, he having much greater poſſeſſions, and a more numerous offspring than either of his brothers. The territortes of Japhet's poſterity were very large, for, beſides all Europe, great and extenſive as it is, they poſſeſſed the leſſer Aſia, Media, part of Armenia, Iberia, Albania, and thoſe great regions towards the north, which were anciently inhabited by the Scythians, and at preſent by the Tartars. That the progeny of Japhet was enlarged as well as his territories, evidently appears from the 10th chapter of Geneſis, wherein we find that Japhet had ſeven ſons, whereas Ham had only four, and Shem only five. The expreſſion, "And he ſhall dwell in the tents of Shem," is capable of a double conſtruction; for thereby may be meant either that God, or that Japhet, ſhall dwell in the tents of Shem. They who prefer the former conſtruction found their authority on the literal ſenſe of the words in the text, there being no other noun to govern the verbs in the period than the word God. The whole ſentence, therefore, according to this, ſhould run thus: "God will enlarge Japhet, and will dwell in the tents of Shem." But let the ſenſe of this expreſſion be taken either way, it is certain that the prophecy hath been moſt punctually fulfilled. In the former ſenſe it was fulfilled literally when the Shechinah, or divine preſence, reſted on the ark, and dwelt in the tabernacle and temple of the Jews. In the latter ſenſe, it was fulfilled firſt, when the Greeks and Romans, who ſprung originally from Japhet, ſubdued and poſſeſſed Judea and other countries of Aſia belonging to Shem; and again ſpiritually, when they were proſelyted to the true religion, and thoſe who were not Iſraelites by birth became Iſraelites by faith in the Meſſiah.

Noah's firſt prophecy is certainly a moſt extraordinary one indeed. It was delivered near four thouſand years ago, and yet hath been fulfilling through the ſeveral periods of time to this day. It is both wonderful and inſtructive; and is, as it were, an epitome of the hiſtory of the world, having reſpect to ſo many nations in the different ages of it.

CHAP. II.

Prophecies concerning ISHMAEL, the Son of ABRAHAM, by HAGAR, his Hand-maid.

Prophecies concerning Iſhmael.

THE next great patriarch we meet with in the Old Teſtament is the pious ABRAHAM, who was favoured with ſeveral divine revelations. From him two very extraordinary nations deſcended, namely, the Iſraelites and Iſhmaelites, concerning each of which people there are ſome very remarkable prophecies.

The firſt ſon of Abraham was Iſhmael, by his hand-maid Hagar, who was an Egyptian; and though he was not properly the child of promiſe, yet he was diſtinguiſhed by ſome expreſs predictions for the comfort and ſatisfaction of both his parents.

After

Hagar flies from her miſtreſs Sarah.

After Hagar had fled from the face of her miſtreſs Sarah, who had dealt hardly with her (ſee Gen. xvi.), the angel of the Lord found her in the wilderneſs, and ſaid unto her, "Return to thy miſtreſs, and ſubmit thyſelf under her hands. And the angel of the Lord ſaid unto her, I will multiply thy ſeed exceedingly, that it ſhall not be numbered for multitude. And the angel of the Lord ſaid unto her, Behold, thou art with child, and ſhalt bear a ſon, and ſhalt call his name Iſhmael, becauſe the Lord hath heard thy affliction. And he will be a wild man; his hand will be againſt every man, and every man's hand againſt him; and he ſhall dwell in the preſence of all his brethren."

In the following chapter, we find, that God promiſes Abraham a ſon by his wife Sarah, whom he ſhould call Iſaac; but notwithſtanding this he ſtill reſerved a bleſſing for Iſhmael: "Behold, (ſaid he) I have bleſſed him, and will make him fruitful, and will multiply him exceedingly: twelve princes ſhall he beget, and I will make him a great nation." After this, when Hagar and Iſhmael were ſent forth into the wilderneſs, God ſaid unto Abraham, "And alſo of the ſon of the bond-woman will I make a nation, becauſe he is thy ſeed," Gen. xxi. 13. And the ſame is repeated to Hagar (ver. 18.), "I will make him a great nation."

Now, if we attend to the particulars mentioned in this prophecy, and trace the courſe of events which afterwards took place, we ſhall find the whole ſtrictly fulfilled, and that a part of it is fulfilling even at this preſent period. "I will multiply thy ſeed exceedingly, and it ſhall not be numbered for multitude." And again, "Behold, I have bleſſed him, and will make him fruitful, and will multiply him exceedingly." From theſe two paſſages, it is manifeſtly evident that the prophecy does not ſo much relate to Iſhmael himſelf as it does to his deſcendents, who it is foretold ſhall be exceeding numerous; and this part of the prediction was fulfilled in the moſt ample manner.

Fulfilment of the prophecies.

With reſpect to Hagar, the mother of Iſhmael, ſhe was an Egyptian, and when her ſon grew to a ſtate of manhood, he married a woman of the ſame country. In the courſe of a few years, his own children and their deſcendents became ſo numerous, that they formed a conſiderable body of people, and were particularly diſtinguiſhed for the great traffic they carried on in different parts of Egypt. After this, Iſhmael's deſcendents were greatly multiplied in the Hagarenes, who were probably ſo called from his mother Hagar: in the Nabatheans, who were ſo denominated from his ſon Nabaioth: in the Itureans, who were ſo called from his ſon Jetur or Itur; and in the Arabs (eſpecially the Scenites and Saracens), who over-run a great part of the world; and his deſcendents the Arabs are a very numerous people at this time.

Of a very particular nature is that part of the prophecy, which ſays, "Twelve princes ſhall he beget;" it was, however, moſt ſtrictly fulfilled. The names of theſe princes are recorded by Moſes, who, after mentioning them, ſays, "Theſe are the ſons of Iſhmael, and theſe are their names, by their towns, and by their caſtles; twelve princes according to their nations." Gen. xxv. 16. We are not, however, to underſtand by this expreſſion, that they were ſo many diſtinct ſovereign princes; but only the heads of ſo many clans, or tribes. Strabo frequently mentions the Arabian *phylarchs* (as he denominates them), or rulers of tribes; and Melo, an heathen hiſtorian, tells us, "that Iſhmael had, by his Egyptian wife, twelve ſons, who, departing into Arabia, divided the region between them, and were the firſt kings of the inhabitants; whence (even to our days, ſays he) the Arabians have had twelve kings of the ſame names as the firſt." After the time of Melo, the Arabs were governed by what were then called *phylarchs*, and lived in tribes; and this they ſtill continue to do, as appears by the teſtimony of Thevenot, Middleton, and other modern travellers.—"And I will make him a great nation." This part of the prophecy is repeated ſeveral times, and, as ſoon as the regular courſe of nature would admit, was fully accompliſhed. The deſcendents of Iſhmael, in proceſs of time, grew up into a great nation; ſuch they continued for ſeveral ages, and, when we conſider the prodigious numbers of them that ſtill inhabit the country, they may be juſtly called "a great nation."—"And he will be a wild man." Iſhmael and his poſterity were to be wild, fierce, ſavage, ranging in the deſerts, and not eaſily ſoftened to ſociety; and whoever has read the accounts given of theſe people by different travellers, muſt know it to be a true and genuine character. It is ſaid of Iſhmael (Gen. xxi. 20.), "that he dwelt in the wilderneſs, and became an archer:" and the ſame is no leſs true of his deſcendents than of himſelf. "He dwelt in the wilderneſs;" and his deſcendents ſtill inhabit the ſame wilderneſs; and many of them, from the beſt accounts we have, both ancient and modern, are total ſtrangers to agriculture, neither ſowing or planting, but living intirely by plunder and rapine. "And he became an archer." Such were the Itureans and mighty men of Keder, mentioned by Iſaiah, chap. xxi. 17; and ſuch the Arabs have been from the beginning to the preſent time. It was very late before they admitted the uſe of fire-arms in their country, and the greater part of them are ſtill ſtrangers to that inſtrument of defence; they conſtantly practiſe the bow and arrow, and are eſteemed the moſt ſkilful archers in the univerſe.—"And he ſhall dwell in the preſence of his brethren;" that is, ſhall dwell in tents, as many of the Arabs do at this day.

This part of the prophecy, on the firſt view, appears very extraordinary, namely, that his hand ſhould be againſt every man, and every man's hand againſt him, and yet that he ſhould be able to "dwell in the preſence of all his brethren." But, extraordinary as it was, this alſo hath been fulfilled,

not only in the perſon of Iſhmael, but likewiſe in his deſcendents. With reſpect to Iſhmael himſelf, the ſacred hiſtorian tells us, that the years of the life of Iſhmael were an hundred and thirty and ſeven years, and he died in the preſence of all his brethren." Gen. xxv. 17, 18. As for his poſterity, they dwelt, likewiſe, in the preſence of all their brethren, and they ſtill ſubſiſt a diſtinct people, and inhabit the country of their progenitors, notwithſtanding the perpetual enmity between them and the reſt of the human race.

Some may be ready to imagine, that the reaſon why theſe people were never ſubdued by any other nation is, that the country was never worth conquering, and that its barrenneſs has ever been its preſervation: but this is a miſtake; for, by all the accounts we have, though the greater part of it is ſandy and barren deſerts, yet here and there are interſperſed beautiful ſpots and fruitful vallies. One part of the country was anciently known and diſtinguiſhed by the name of Arabia the Happy, which appellation it received on account of the natural fertility of the ſoil, in contraſt to the barrenneſs of the other parts.

The whole country of Arabia is, by the oriental writers, generally divided into five provinces, the chief of which is called Yaman, and is thus deſcribed by the learned Mr. Sale, in his preface to the Alcoran. "The province of Yaman (ſays he) has been famous from all antiquity for the wholeſomeneſs of its climate, its fertility and riches. The delightfulneſs and plenty of it are owing to its mountains; for all that part which lies along the Red Sea is a dry, barren deſert, in ſome places ten or twelve leagues over, but in return bounded by thoſe mountains, which, being well watered, enjoy an almoſt continual ſpring, and yield great plenty and variety of fruits, and, in particular, excellent corn, grapes, and ſpices. The ſoil of the other provinces is much more barren than that of Yaman, the greater part being covered with dry ſands, or riſing into rocks, interſperſed here and there with ſome fruitful ſpots, which receive their greateſt advantages from their water and palm-trees." But, how fertile, or barren and deſolate ſoever this country might be, it was certainly the intereſt of the neighbouring princes and ſtates, at all hazards, to endeavour to root out ſuch a peſtilent race of robbers. This, indeed, has ſeveral times been attempted, but never accompliſhed. They have, from firſt to laſt, maintained their independency, and, notwithſtanding the moſt powerful efforts have been made to deſtroy them, they ſtill "dwell in the preſence of all their brethren."

If we take a judicious and exact view of the reſpective particulars contained in this amazing prophecy, with the aſtoniſhing manner in which each article has been fulfilled, we ſhall eaſily perceive that the whole, from beginning to end, was guided by the direction of Providence. The ſacred hiſtorian tells us, that theſe prophecies concerning Iſhmael were delivered partly by the angel of the Lord, and partly by God himſelf: and, indeed, who but God, or one raiſed and commiſſioned by him, could deſcribe ſo particularly the genius and manners, not only of a ſingle perſon before he was born, but of a whole people, from the firſt founder of the race to the preſent time? It was certainly very wonderful, and not to be ſeen by human ſagacity or prudence, that a man's whole poſterity ſhould ſo nearly reſemble him, and retain the ſame inclinations, the ſame habits, and the ſame cuſtoms, throughout all ages. The waters of the pureſt ſpring or fountain are ſoon changed and polluted in their courſe; and the farther ſtill they flow, the more they are incorporated and loſt in other waters. How have the modern Italians degenerated from the courage and virtues of the old Romans! How are the French and Engliſh poliſhed and refined from the barbariſm of the ancient Gauls and Britons! In general, men and manners change with the times: but, in all changes and revolutions the Arabs have continued the ſame from the beginning. They ſtill remain the ſame fierce, ſavage, untractable, unſocial people they were at firſt, following in every thing their great anceſtor, and being intirely different from the reſt of mankind. Diſpoſition of the Arabians.

It will appear evident, from the following circumſtances, how great an affinity ſtill ſubſiſts between the preſent Arabs and their progenitor Iſhmael, from whom they deſcended. Iſhmael was circumciſed, and ſo are his poſterity to this day; and as Iſhmael was circumciſed when he was thirteen years of age, ſo were the Arabs at the ſame time. Iſhmael was born of Hagar, who was a concubine; and the Arabs ſtill indulge themſelves in the uſe of mercenary wives and concubines. He lived in tents in the wilderneſs, ſhifting from place to place; and ſo do his deſcendents, even to the preſent time. He was an archer in the wilderneſs; and ſo are they. He was to be the father of twelve princes, or heads of tribes; and they live in clans or tribes to this day. He was a wild man, "his hand againſt every man, and every man's hand againſt him;" and they ſtill live in the ſame ſtate of war, their hand againſt every man, and every man's hand againſt them. If we reflect on theſe ſtrange particulars, how wonderful muſt it appear to us that the ſame people ſhould retain the ſame diſpoſition for ſo many ages; but ſtill how much more wonderful is it that, with this diſpoſition, and this enmity againſt the whole world, they ſhould ſtill ſubſiſt an independent and free people! It cannot be pretended that no attempts were ever made to ſubdue them, for the greateſt conquerors in the world have almoſt all, in their turns, attempted it, and ſome have been very near effecting it. Neither can it be pretended that the dryneſs or inacceſſibleneſs of their country hath been their preſervation; for their country hath been often penetrated, but could never be intirely ſubdued. Large armies have found the means of ſubſiſtence in their country: none of their powerful invaders ever deſiſted on this account; and, therefore, the reaſon of their having withſtood every effort to con-

conquer them muſt be imputed to ſome other cauſe. This was certainly no leſs than the divine interpoſition; and which will evidently appear, if we attend to the following very extraordinary events:

Hiſtory informs us, that Alexander was preparing an expedition againſt them, when an inflammatory fever cut him off in the flower of his age. Pompey was in the career of his conqueſt, when urgent affairs called him elſewhere. Ælius Gallus had penetrated far into the country, when a fatal diſeaſe deſtroyed great numbers of his men, and obliged him to return. Trajan beſieged their capital city, but was defeated by thunder and lightning, whirlwinds and other prodigies, and that as often as he renewed his aſſaults. Severus beſieged the ſame city twice, and was twice repulſed from before it; and the hiſtorian Dion (a man of rank and character, though an heathen) plainly aſcribes the defeat of theſe two emperors to the interpoſition of a divine Power in behalf of the Arabs.

Upon the whole, if we conſider this matter in its proper light, we cannot fail being of the ſame opinion with this heathen hiſtorian; for, without a divine interpoſition, how could a ſingle nation ſtand out againſt the enmity of the whole world for any length of time, and much more, for near four thouſand years together? The great empires round them have all, in their turns, fallen to ruin, while they have continued the ſame from the beginning, and are likely to continue the ſame to the end of time.

Except the Jews, the Arabs are the only people who have ſubſiſted as a diſtinct people from the beginning; and in ſome reſpects they very much reſemble each other, as will appear by the following compariſons: 1. The Arabs, as well as Jews, are deſcended from Abraham, and both boaſt of their deſcent from that father of the faithful. 2. The Arabs, as well as the Jews, are circumciſed, and both profeſs to have derived that ceremony from Abraham. 3. The Arabs, as well as the Jews, had originally twelve heads of tribes, who were their princes or governors. 4. The Arabs, as well as the Jews, marry among themſelves, and in their own tribes. And, 5. The Arabs, as well as the Jews, are ſingular in ſeveral of their cuſtoms, and are ſtanding monuments, to all ages, of the exactneſs of the divine predictions, and of the veracity of the hiſtory contained in the ſacred ſcriptures.

It may be neceſſary to add only one obſervation more, on the fulfilment of the very ſingular particulars contained in the prophecy relative to Abraham and Iſhmael; and that is, that they are ſo incontrovertible as to defeat every attempt that can be made to place them in a fallacious light. We know the predictions delivered to Iſhmael to be daily verified in his deſcendents, and therefore have, as it were, ocular demonſtration for our faith; which is proving, by plain matter of fact, that "the Moſt High ruleth in the kingdoms of men," that his truth, as well as his mercy, endureth for ever," and his faithfulneſs unto all generations.

CHAP. III.

Account of the Prophecies concerning JACOB and ESAU, the Sons of ISAAC and REBEKAH.

Prophecies concerning Jacob and Eſau.

THE Almighty was pleaſed to diſcloſe unto Abraham the ſtate and condition of his poſterity by Iſhmael, who was the ſon of the bond-woman; he, likewiſe, predicted ſome things of a much more important nature concerning the poſterity of Iſaac, the ſon of his wife Sarah. This ſon was properly the child of promiſe, and the prophecies relating to him and his family are much more numerous than thoſe relating to Iſhmael and his deſcendents. Previous to the birth of Iſhmael, the Almighty was pleaſed to make this promiſe to Abraham, "In thee ſhall all families of the earth be bleſſed," Gen. xii. 3. But after the birth of Iſhmael by Hagar, and Iſaac by Sarah, the promiſe was limited to Iſaac; "for in Iſaac ſhall thy ſeed be called." Gen. xxi. 12. And accordingly to Iſaac was the promiſe repeated, "In thy ſeed ſhall all the nations of the earth be bleſſed;" which plainly intimated, that the Saviour of the world was not to come from the deſcendents of Iſhmael, but from one of Iſaac's deſcendents.

The land of Canaan promiſed to the deſcendents of Abraham.

Canaan was promiſed to Abraham and his deſcendents four hundred years before they obtained poſſeſſion of it, and it was afterwards promiſed to his ſon Iſaac: "Sojourn in this land (ſays the Lord unto Iſaac) and I will be with thee, and will bleſs thee: for unto thee and unto thy ſeed I will give all theſe countries, and I will perform the oath which I ſware unto Abraham thy father." This promiſe was ſtrictly fulfilled ſoon after the death of Moſes, when the Iſraelites obtained poſſeſſion of the land of Canaan through the aſſiſtance and protection of Joſhua, who ſucceeded Moſes in the government of the people. In purſuance of theſe prophecies, they remained in poſſeſſion for ſeveral ages, and afterwards, when for their ſins and iniquities they were to be removed from it, their removal alſo was foretold, both the carrying away of the ten tribes, and the captivity of the two remaining tribes for ſeventy years, as, likewiſe, their final captivity and diſperſion into all nations. Abraham, alſo, received a promiſe from God, (Gen. xxvi. 4.) that his poſterity ſhould be multiplied exceedingly above that of others. Not to mention the great increaſe of the other poſterity of Abraham and Iſaac, how ſoon did their deſcendents by Jacob grow up to a mighty nation, and how numerous were they formerly in the land of Canaan! How numerous were they, likewiſe, in various other parts of the world! And, after innumerable maſſacres and perſecutions which they have undergone, how numerous are they ſtill in their preſent diſperſion among all nations of the earth!

Obtained by means of Joſhua.

Two ſons were born to Iſaac, the one named Jacob, and the other Eſau. The

Jacob and Eſau.

deſcen-

deſcendents of theſe ſons did not incorporate themſelves together as one people, but ſeparated into two different nations; and, therefore, as it had been before ſpecified which of the two, Iſhmael or Iſaac, was to be heir of the promiſes made to Abraham, ſo there was a neceſſity now for the ſame diſtinction to be made between Eſau and Jacob, the ſons of Iſaac. This was accordingly done, and that in the moſt ample and clear manner. When Rebecca, their mother, had conceived, "the children ſtruggled together within her," Gen. xxv. 22. and ſhe received the following divine revelation: "Two nations are in thy womb, and two manner of people ſhall be ſeparated from thy bowels, and the one people ſhall be ſtronger than the other people, and the elder ſhall ſerve the younger." Gen. xxv. 23.

Iſaac's benediction to his ſon Jacob.

The ſame divine Spirit influenced and directed their father to give his final benediction to the like purpoſe; for thus did he bleſs Jacob: "God give thee of the dew of heaven and the fatneſs of the earth, and plenty of corn and wine. Let people ſerve thee, and nations bow down to thee; be lord over thy brethren, and let thy mother's ſons bow down to thee: curſed be every one that curſeth thee, and bleſſed be he that bleſſeth thee." And thus did he bleſs Eſau: "Behold, thy dwelling ſhall be the fatneſs of the earth, and of the dew of heaven from above. And by thy ſword ſhalt thou live, and ſhalt ſerve thy brother; and it ſhall come to paſs when thou ſhalt have the dominion, that thou ſhalt break his yoke from off thy neck." See Gen. xxvii. 28, 29, 39.

Canaan promiſed to Jacob.

To eſtabliſh this matter with a ſtill greater clearneſs and certainty, a more expreſs revelation was afterwards made to Jacob; and the land of Canaan, a numerous progeny, and the bleſſing of all nations, were promiſed to him in particular. "I am the Lord God of Abraham thy father, and the God of Iſrael: the land whereon thou lieſt, to th[illegible] will I give it, and to thy ſeed. And thy ſeed ſhall be as the duſt of the earth; and thou ſhalt ſpread abroad to the weſt, and to the eaſt, and to the north, and to the ſouth; and in thee and in thy ſeed, ſhall the families of the earth be bleſſed," Gen. xxviii. 13, 14. This prophecy, as well as thoſe before mentioned, was not to be verified in the perſons of Eſau and Jacob, but in thoſe of their poſterity. Jacob was ſo far from bearing rule over Eſau, that he was forced to fly his country, for fear of him. He continued abroad ſeveral years, and when he returned, he ſent a ſervant before, with a ſupplicatory meſſage to his brother Eſau, requeſting, "that he might find grace in his ſight." When he heard of Eſau's coming to meet him with four hundred men, he was greatly afraid and diſtreſſed, and cried unto the Lord, "Deliver me, I pray thee, from the hand of my brother, from the hand of Eſau," Gen. xxxii. 11. He ſent a magnificent preſent before him, to appeaſe his brother, calling him *lord*, and himſelf his *ſervant*. When he met him, he "bowed himſelf to the ground ſeven times, until he came near to his brother:" and, after he had found a gracious reception, he made this acknowledgment: "I have ſeen thy face as though I had ſeen the face of God, and thou waſt pleaſed with me." At this time, Jacob had no temporal ſuperiority over his brother Eſau; and, therefore, we muſt look for the completion of the prophecy among their deſcendents. The prophecy itſelf makes plainly "two nations," and "two manner of people," and comprehends theſe ſeveral particulars; that the families of Eſau and Jacob ſhould grow up into two different people and nations; that the family of the elder ſhould be ſubject to that of the younger; that in ſituation and other temporal advantages they ſhould be much alike; that the elder branch ſhould delight more in war and violence, but yet ſhould be ſubdued by the younger; that, however, there ſhould be a time when the elder ſhould have dominion, and ſhake off the yoke of the younger; but in all ſpiritual gifts and graces the younger ſhould be greatly ſuperior, and be the happy inſtrument of conveying the bleſſing to all nations, through the Meſſiah.

The deſcendents of Eſau and Jacob.

It is obſervable, that by the firſt part of the prophecy, "Two nations are in thy womb," &c. we find that they (that is, their poſterity) were not only to grow up into nations, but into two very different nations. And have not the Edomites (who were deſcended from Eſau) and the Iſraelites (who were deſcended from Jacob) been all along two very different people in their manners, cuſtoms, and religions, which made them to be perpetually at variance with each other? "And the children ſtruggled together within her." This was a token of their future diſagreement, and was fully evinced when they grew up to a ſtate of manhood, by their different diſpoſitions and inclinations.

Eſau was "a cunning hunter," and delighted in the ſports of the field; but Jacob was more mild and gentle, "dwelling in tents," and minding his ſheep and cattle. Eſau ſlighted his birth-right, and thoſe ſacred privileges of which Jacob was deſirous, and is, therefore, called the *profane* Eſau, (Heb. xii. 16.) but Jacob was a man of better faith and religion. The like diverſity ran through their poſterity. The deſcendents of Jacob were ſtrict obſervers of the Jewiſh religion; but thoſe of Eſau (whatever they were at firſt) became, in proceſs of time, the groſſeſt idolaters. From theſe religious differences, and on other accounts, there was a continual grudge and enmity between the two nations. The king of Edom would not ſuffer the Iſraelites, in their return out of Egypt, ſo much as to paſs through his territories, and the hiſtory of the Edomites after is little more than the hiſtory of the wars between them and the Jews. "And the one people ſhall be ſtronger than the other people, and the elder ſhall ſerve the younger."

The family of Eſau was the elder, and for ſome time the greater and more powerful of the two, there having been dukes and kings in Edom, "before there reigned any king over the children of Iſrael," Gen. xxxvi. 31. But David and his captains (2 Sam.

(2 Sam. viii. 14.) made an intire conqueſt of the Edomites, ſlew ſeveral thouſands, compelled the reſt to become his tributaries and ſervants, and planted garriſons among them to ſecure their obedience.

The Edomites conquered, and ſubjected to a ſtate of ſervitude.

After the Edomites were reduced to ſubjection by David and his captains, they continued in a ſtate of ſervitude for about an hundred and fifty years, and, inſtead of having a king of their own, were governed by viceroys, or deputies appointed by the kings of Judah. In the days of Jehoram, the ſon of Jehoſhaphat, they revolted, recovered their liberties, "and made a king over themſelves," 2 Kings viii. 20. But after this, they were again reduced by ſeveral of the princes of Judah, at different periods, and moſt of their principal places deſtroyed. Judas Maccabeus attacked and defeated them ſeveral times, killing no leſs than twenty thouſand at one time, and upwards of the like number at another. He likewiſe took their chief city Hebron, and deſtroyed all the towers and fortreſſes about it. At length Hyrcanus, the nephew of Judas Maccabeus, took what few cities they had left, and reduced them to the neceſſity of either embracing the Jewiſh religion, or leaving their country, and ſeeking new habitations elſewhere. They thought proper to chuſe the former, in conſequence of which they ſubmitted to be circumciſed, became proſelytes to the Jewiſh religion, and were ever after incorporated with thoſe very people whom they had before conſidered as their enemies, and whoſe mode of worſhip they had deſpiſed.

In one part of this remarkable prophecy, it is foretold, that, in point of ſituation, and other temporal advantages, Eſau and Jacob ſhould be much alike. It was ſaid to Jacob, "God give thee of the dew of heaven, and of the fatneſs of the earth, and plenty of corn and wine." And much the ſame was ſaid to Eſau, "Behold, thy dwelling ſhall be of the fatneſs of the earth, and of the dew of heaven from above." Jacob's ſituation was in a very fertile and pleaſant country; nor was that of Eſau's leſs ſo. Mount Seir and the adjacent country were at firſt in the poſſeſſion of the Edomites; after which they extended themſelves farther into Arabia, as alſo into the ſouthern parts of Judea. But in whatever part they were ſituated, we find that the Edomites, in temporal advantages, were little inferior to the Iſraelites, having cattle, and beaſts, and ſubſtance in abundance. At the time that the Iſraelites were on their return from Egyptian bondage, the country in which the Edomites then lived abounded with the moſt fruitful fields and vineyards, as evidently appears from the manner of the requeſt then made by the Iſraelites for permiſſion to paſs through thoſe territories: "Let us paſs, I pray thee, through the country; we will not paſs through the fields, or through the vineyards, neither will we drink of the water of the wells."

It was predicted, in another part of the prophecy, that Eſau ſhould delight more in war and violence than his brother, but that he ſhould be ſubdued by Jacob. "And by thy ſword ſhalt thou live, and ſhalt ſerve thy brother." Eſau himſelf might be ſaid to live much by the ſword, for he was "a cunning hunter," a man of the field. He and his poſterity obtained poſſeſſion of Mount Seir by force and violence, by deſtroying and expelling from thence the Horites, who were the former inhabitants. By what means they ſpread themſelves farther into Arabia we are not informed; but it appears that, upon a ſedition among them, which occaſioned a ſeparation, the greater part ſeized upon the ſouth-weſt parts of Judea, during the Babyloniſh captivity, and afterwards fixed their reſidence in that part of the country.

Eſau to be ſubdued by Jacob.

The Edomites, both before and after this, were almoſt continually at war with the Jews, and, upon every occaſion, were ready to join with their enemies. Even long after they were ſubdued by the Jews, they ſtill retained the ſame violent ſpirit, as appears by the character given of them by Joſephus to the following effect:- "They were (ſays he) a turbulent and diſorderly nation, always ready for commotions and rejoicing in changes; at the leaſt requeſt of thoſe who beſought them, beginning war, and haſtening to battles as it were to a feaſt." This character given them by Joſephus appears very juſt, for, a little before the laſt ſiege of Jeruſalem, they went, at the intreaty of the Zealots, to aſſiſt them againſt the prieſts and people, and there, together with the zealots, murdered Ananias the high-prieſt, and committed the moſt unheard-of cruelties. There was, however, to be a time when the elder ſhould have the dominion, and ſhake off the yoke of the younger. "And it ſhall come to paſs when thou ſhalt have dominion, that thou ſhalt break his yoke from off thy neck." It is not here ſaid or meant that the Edomites ſhould have dominion over the ſeed of Jacob, but ſimply have dominion, as they had when they appointed a king of their own.

The Edomites continually at war with the Jews

David impoſed the yoke on the Edomites (at which time the Jewiſh people ſtrictly obſerved the law), and it was very galling from the firſt. Towards the latter end of Solomon's reign, Hadad the Edomite of the blood royal, who had been carried into Egypt in his childhood, returned into his own country, and raiſed ſome diſturbances, but was not able to recover his throne, his ſubjects being over-awed by the garriſon which David had placed among them; and they were totally ſubdued in the reigns of the ſucceeding princes of Judah.

The laſt part of the prophecy predicts, that in all ſpiritual gifts and graces the younger ſhould be greatly ſuperior to the elder, and be the happy inſtrument of conveying the bleſſing to all nations. "In thee and in thy ſeed ſhall all the families of the earth be bleſſed:" and hitherto are to be referred in their full force thoſe expreſſions, "Let people ſerve thee, and nations bow down unto thee; curſed be every one that curſeth thee, and bleſſed be he that

bleſſeth thee." The ſame promiſe was made to Abraham in the name of God, "I will bleſs them that bleſs thee, and curſe him that curſeth thee:" Gen. xii. 3.

Jacob more religious than Eſau.

Jacob was a man of more religion, and believed the divine promiſes more than Eſau. The poſterity of Jacob likewiſe preſerved the true religion and the worſhip of one God, while the Edomites were ſunk into idolatry. Of the ſeed of Jacob was to be born the Saviour of the world; and it was the peculiar privilege and advantage of Jacob, that from him, according to the fleſh, a glorious perſonage ſhould ſpring, in whom all nations ſhould be ſpiritually bleſſed.

This prophecy, if properly traced from the beginning, will appear to have been in every part, moſt ſtrictly fulfilled. We find the nation of the Edomites were ſeveral times conquered by, and made tributary to, the Jews, but never the nation of the Jews to the Edomites; and the Jews have been the more conſiderable people, more known in the world, and more famous in hiſtory. We have, indeed, very little more of the hiſtory of the Edomites than what is connected with that of the Jews: and where is the name or the nation at this time? They were ſwallowed up and loſt, partly among the Nabathæan Arabs, and partly among the Jews; and, at length, the very name of them was aboliſhed and diſuſed. Thus were fulfilled the prophecies of the other inſpired men; namely, that of Jeremiah xlix. 7, &c. &c. Ezekiel xxv. 12, &c. Joel iii, 19. Amos i. 11, &c. and laſtly, the prophet Obadiah. At this very time we ſee the Jews ſubſiſting as a diſtinct people, while the Edomites are no more; and thus are amply fulfilled the words of the latter prophet: "For thy violence againſt thy brother Jacob, ſhame ſhall cover thee, and thou ſhalt be cut off for ever." And again, "there ſhall not be any remaining of the houſe of Eſau, for the Lord hath ſpoken it." See the 10th and 18th verſes of Obadiah.

The Edomites aboliſhed.

CHAP. IV.

The Prophecies of JACOB, relative to his Poſterity, but more particularly to his Son JUDAH.

TWO promiſes are included in the bleſſing beſtowed upon Jacob, one of which is of a temporal, and the other of a ſpiritual nature. The firſt was the promiſe of the land of Canaan, and the ſecond the promiſe of the ſeed in which all the nations of the earth ſhould be bleſſed. Theſe promiſes were firſt made to Abraham, then repeated to Iſaac, afterwards confirmed to Jacob, who, a ſhort time before his death, bequeathed them to his poſterity. The inheritance of the land of Canaan might be ſhared and divided among all his ſons, but the bleſſed ſeed could deſcend only from one. Accordingly Jacob aſſigned to each a portion of the former, but limited the latter to the tribe of Judah, and at the ſame time ſketched out the characters and fortunes of the different tribes into which the people were to be divided and diſtinguiſhed.

The prophecies of Jacob.

The ſacred hiſtorian tells us, that Joſeph being the favourite ſon of Jacob, he adopted his two ſons Manaſſeh and Ephraim for his own, but foretold, that the younger ſhould be the greater of the two. This prediction was fulfilled in a very ample manner, for the tribe of Ephraim grew to be ſo numerous and powerful, that ſometimes all the ten tribes of Iſrael were called by his name.

Joſeph his favourite ſon.

It is ſaid of Reuben, the elder ſon of Jacob, "Unſtable as water, thou ſhalt not excel," Gen. xlix. 4. And what is there recorded great or excellent of the tribe of Reuben? In number and power they were inferior to ſeveral other tribes.—Of Simeon and Levi; "I will divide them in Jacob, and ſcatter them in Iſrael." And was not this eminently fulfilled in the tribe of Levi, who had no portion or inheritance of their own, but were diſperſed among the other tribes? Neither had the tribe of Simeon any inheritance properly of their own, but only a portion in the midſt of the tribes of Judah, from whence ſeveral of them afterwards went in ſearch of new habitations, and were thereby divided from the reſt of their brethren.—Of Zebulun: "He ſhall dwell at the haven of the ſea, and ſhall be for an haven of ſhips." And accordingly the tribe of Zebulun extended from the Sea of Galilee to the Mediterranean, where they had commodious havens for ſhips.—Of Benjamin: "He ſhall raven as a wolf." And was not that a fierce and warlike tribe, as appears in ſeveral inſtances, and particularly in the caſe of the Levite's wife (Judges xx.) when they alone waged war againſt all the other tribes, and overcame them in two battles. In like manner Jacob characteriſes all the other tribes, and foretels their temporal condition, and that of Judah as well as the reſt.

Jacob's prophecy of his ſon Reuben.

Of Simeon and Levi.

Of Zebulun.

Of Benjamin.

To Judah the patriarch particularly bequeaths the ſpiritual bleſſing, and delivers it in much the ſame form of words at it was delivered to him. Iſaac had ſaid to Jacob, "Let people ſerve thee, and nations bow down to thee; be lord over thy brethren, and let thy mother's ſons bow down to thee," Gen. xxvii. 29. And here Jacob ſaith to Judah, "Thou art he whom thy brethren ſhall praiſe; thy hand ſhall be in the neck of thine enemies; thy father's children ſhall bow down before thee." And it is added, "The ſceptre ſhall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come, and unto him ſhall the gathering of the people be." Several things ſhould be attended to in this remarkable prophecy relative to Judah.

Of Judah.

We are told, that Judah's brethren ſhould "praiſe him," and that "his hand ſhould be in the neck of his enemies."

Explanation of that part of Jacob's pro-

This

Prophecies relative to his ſon Judah.

This was remarkably fulfilled in the local ſituation of the tribe of Judah; for their being ſo near the Arabians obliged them to be continually on their guard; and as they were for the moſt part ſucceſsful, ſo it may be juſtly ſaid that "the hand of Judah was in the neck of his enemies," and that his brethren praiſed him for ſtanding up in their defence. It is alſo ſaid, that "his father's children ſhould bow down before him;" and nothing was ever more literally fulfilled. David, in whoſe family the royal ſovereignty was placed, was of the tribe of Judah, and to him all the other tribes bowed down during many centuries.

While Joſhua waged war with the Canaanites, the tribe of Judah was more diſtinguiſhed for its valour than the others; and it appears, from the book of Judges, that they were always the moſt forward to engage with the common enemy. When it is ſaid that "the ſcepter ſhall not depart from Judah," it implies, that it ſhould depart from all thoſe of the other tribes who ſhould enjoy it. Thus it departed from the tribe of Benjamin on the death of Saul; and it is well known, that the ten tribes were carried away captive, and incorporated with other nations, while that of Benjamin put itſelf under the protection of Judah. The expreſſion "until Shiloh come" evidently and inconteſtably means, till the coming of the Meſſiah. "And unto him ſhall the gathering of the people be." If we underſtand this of Judah, that the other tribes ſhould be gathered to that, it was in ſome meaſure fulfilled by the people going up ſo frequently as they did to Jeruſalem, which was in the tribe of Judah, in order to obtain juſtice in difficult caſes, and to worſhip God in the temple erected in that city.

When the kingdoms of Iſrael and Judah were divided, the tribe of Benjamin, and the prieſts and Levites, and ſeveral out of all the other tribes, went over to Judah, and were ſo blended and incorporated together, that they are more than once ſpoken of as one tribe. And it is expreſsly ſaid (1 Kings xii. 20.) "there was none that followed the houſe of David, but the tribe of Judah only;" all the reſt were ſwallowed up in that tribe, and conſidered as parts and members of the ſame. In like manner, when the Iſraelites were carried away captive into Aſſyria, it is ſaid, "there was none left but the tribe of Judah only;" and yet we know that the tribe of Benjamin, and many of the other tribes, then remained, but they are reckoned as one and the ſame tribe with Judah. Nay, at that very time there was a remnant of Iſrael that eſcaped from the Aſſyrians, and went and adhered to Judah; for we find afterwards that in the reign of Joſiah there were ſome of Manaſſeh and Ephraim, and of the remnant of Iſrael, who contributed money towards repairing the temple, as well as Judah and Benjamin, 2 Chron. xxxiv. 9. and at the ſolemn celebration of the paſſover ſome "of Iſrael were preſent" as well as "all Judah and the inhabitants of Jeruſalem."

When the people returned from the Babyloniſh captivity, then again ſeveral of the tribes of Iſrael aſſociated themſelves, and returned with Judah and Benjamin. In ſhort, at ſo many different times, and upon ſuch different occaſions, were the other tribes gathered to that of Judah, that the latter became the general name of the whole nation; and after the Babyloniſh captivity, they were no longer called the "people of Iſrael," but the "Jews, or people of Judah." The government of the tribe of Judah ſubſiſted in ſome form or other from the death of Jacob to the laſt deſtruction of Jeruſalem, but then it was utterly broken and ruined; then the *ſcepter departed*, and hath been departed from that time to the preſent; ſo that their kingdom and government is now extinct.

We ſhall here add a juſt obſervation made on the ſubject by the learned prelate biſhop Sherlock. "As the tribe of Benjamin (ſays he) annexed itſelf to the tribe of Judah as its head, ſo it ran the ſame fortune with it; they went together into captivity, they returned home together, and were both in being when Shiloh came. This alſo was foretold by Jacob, "Benjamin ſhall raven as a wolf; in the morning he ſhall devour the prey, and at night he ſhall divide the ſpoil." The morning and night here can be nothing elſe but the morning and night of the Jewiſh ſtate; for this ſtate is the ſubject of all Jacob's prophecy from one end to the other; and conſequently it is here foretold of Benjamin, that he ſhould continue to the very laſt times of the Jewiſh ſtate. This interpretation is confirmed by Moſes's prophecy; for the prophecy of Moſes is in truth an expoſition of Jacob's. "Benjamin," ſaith Moſes, "ſhall dwell in ſafety; the Lord ſhall cover him all the day long," Deut. xxxiii. 12. What is this "all the day long?" The ſame certainly as "the morning and night." Does not, therefore, this import a promiſe of a longer continuance to Benjamin than to the other tribes? And was it not moſt exactly fulfilled?" Thus far the biſhop.

It will be neceſſary only to obſerve farther, reſpecting his prophecy, that the completion of it furniſhes us with an invincible argument, not only that the Meſſiah has come, but that Our Bleſſed Redeemer is the very perſon. The ſcepter was not to depart from Judah until the Meſſiah ſhould come; but the ſcepter hath long been departed, and conſeqnently the Meſſiah hath been long come. The ſcepter departed at the final deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and hath been departed now more than ſeventeen centuries, and conſequently the Meſſiah came a little before that period; ſo that prejudice itſelf cannot long make any doubt concerning the reality of the perſon.

CHAP. V.

Prophecies of MOSES, concerning the JEWS.

Prophecies of Moſes concerning the Jews.

THIS great lawgiver, a ſhort time before his death, delivered many prophecies to the Jews, in which he predicted the great bleſſings that would be beſtowed upon

upon them, if they paid a proper attention to the laws he had given them, and, on the contrary, the heavy curſes that would unavoidably fall upon them if they became refractory and diſobedient to the divine will. Theſe prophecies are contained in the 28th chapter of Deuteronomy. and the greater part of them relate to the curſes that ſhould fall on the Jews in caſe of their diſobedience, all which have been ſince moſt ſtrictly fulfilled, as will appear from the following obſervations. Theſe prophecies commence at the 49th verſe of the before-mentioned chapter, in which it is ſaid, "The Lord ſhall bring a nation againſt thee from far, from the end of the earth, as ſwift as the eagle that flieth, a nation whoſe tongue thou ſhalt not underſtand." This was fulfilled in the Chaldeans, who may be juſtly ſaid to have come *from far* in compariſon with the Moabites, Philiſtines, and others, who frequently invaded Judea, and committed depredations in various parts of the country. The like deſcription of the Chaldeans is given by the prophet Jeremiah, "Lo, I will bring a nation upon you from far, O houſe of Iſrael, ſaith the Lord: it is a mighty nation, it is an antient nation, a nation whoſe language thou knoweſt not, neither underſtandeſt what they ſay," Jeremiah v. 15. He likewiſe compares the enemies of the Jews to eagles, "Our perſecutors (ſays he, Lam. iv. 9.) are ſwifter than the eagles of the heaven: they purſued us upon the mountains, they laid wait for us in the wilderneſs."

The Chaldeans deſcribed by the prophet Jeremiah.

We read in Deut. xxviii. 50. that the people who were to be the perſecutors of the Jews are thus farther characteriſed. And they ſhall be "a nation of fierce countenance, which ſhall not regard the perſon of the old, nor ſhew favour to the young." Such were the Chaldeans; and the ſacred hiſtorian expreſsly ſaith, (2 Chron. xxxvi. 17.) that for the wickedneſs of the Jews, God "brought upon them the king of the Chaldees, who ſlew their young men with the ſword, in the houſe of their ſanctuary, and had no compaſſion upon young man or maiden, old men, or him that ſtooped for age; he gave them all into his hand."

Moſes alſo predicted, the enemies of the Jews were to beſiege and take their cities. And he ſhall beſiege thee in all thy gates, until thy high and fenced walls come down wherein thou truſtedſt, throughout all thy land." This was accordingly fulfilled, for "Sennacherib, king of Aſſyria, came up againſt all the fenced cities of Judah, and took them," 2 Kings xviii. 13. and Nebuchadnezzar and his captains took and ſpoiled Jeruſalem, burnt the city and temple; and "brake down the walls of Jeruſalem round about," 2 Kings xxv. 10. The Romans likewiſe (as we are informed by Joſephus, in his hiſtory of the Jewiſh wars) demoliſhed ſeveral fortified places before they beſieged and deſtroyed Jeruſalem. And the Jews who inhabited that city may very juſtly be ſaid to have "truſted in their high and fenced walls," for they ſeldom ventured a battle in the open field. They confided in the ſtrength and ſituation of Jeruſalem, as the Jebuſites (the former inhabitants of the place) had done before them; as in Jer. xxi. 13. "Who ſhall come down againſt us? or who ſhall enter into our habitations?"

The city of Jeruſalem was exceeding ſtrong, and wonderfully fortified both by nature and art. And yet, how many times was it taken previous to its final deſtruction by Titus? It was taken by Shiſhak king of Egypt, by Nebuchadnezzar, by Antiochus Epiphanes, by Pompey, by Socius, and, laſtly, by Herod. The Jews, in theſe ſieges, were to ſuffer great hardſhips, but more particularly by famine. Accordingly, when the king of Aſſyria beſieged Samaria, there was a great famine in that city; "and behold they beſieged it, until an aſs's head was ſold for four pieces of ſilver, and the fourth part of a cab of doves dung for five pieces of ſilver." 2 Kings vi. 25. When Nebuchadnezzar beſieged Jeruſalem, "the famine prevailed in the city, and there was no bread for the people of the land," 2 Kings xxv. 3. And in the laſt ſiege of Jeruſalem by the Romans there was a moſt dreadful famine in the city. Thus were literally fulfilled the words of Moſes, who ſays, the man's "eye ſhall be evil towards his brother, and towards the wife of his boſom, and towards his children, becauſe he hath nothing left him in the ſiege, and in the ſtraitneſs wherewith thine enemies ſhall diſtreſs thee in all thy gates;" and, in like manner, Deut xxviii. 54, &c. the woman's "eye ſhall be evil towards the huſband of her boſom, and towards her ſon, and towards her daughter."

Another part of this prophecy mentions, that great numbers of the Jews were to be deſtroyed. "And ye ſhall be left few in number, whereas ye were as the ſtars of heaven for multitude," Deut. xxviii. 62. Not to mention any other of the calamities and ſlaughters which they have undergone, there was, in the ſiege of Jeruſalem, an infinite multitude that periſhed by famine. There certainly is not a nation upon the earth that hath been expoſed to ſo many maſſacres and perſecutions as the Jews. Their hiſtory abounds with them; and if God had not been pleaſed to have given them a promiſe of a continued poſterity, they muſt have been totally extirpated many hundred years ago.

It is farther ſaid in the prophecy, that they ſhould be carried into Egypt, and there ſold for ſlaves. "And the Lord ſhall bring thee into Egypt again, with ſhips: and there ye ſhall be ſold unto your enemies for bond-men and bond-women," Deut. xxviii. 68. They had, indeed, come *out* of Egypt triumphant, but now they were to *return* thither as ſlaves. They had, on their coming *out*, walked through the ſea as on dry land, but now they were to be carried thither in *ſhips*. They might be carried thither in the ſhips of the Tyrian or Sidonian merchants, or by the Romans, who had a fleet in the Mediterranean; and this was certainly a much ſafer way of conveying ſo many priſoners, than ſending them by land. That this part of the prophecy was fulfilled, evidently appears from various accounts. In the reigns of the two firſt Ptolemies, many of the Jews were ſent into Egypt as ſlaves. And when Jeruſalem was taken by Titus, he ſent the greater part of thoſe captives who were upwards

The Jews carried to Egypt, and ſold as ſlaves.

wards of seventeen years of age to the works in Egypt: such as were under that age he sold for slaves; but so little care was taken of them, that no less than eleven thousand perished for want. This is confirmed by St. Jerom, who says, that "after their last overthrow many thousands of them were sold; that those who could not be sold were transported into Egypt, and perished by shipwreck or famine, or were massacred by the inhabitants of the places where they resided."

With respect to their captivity, we read, Deut. xxvii. 63, "And ye shall be plucked from off the land whither thou goest to possess it." This was amply fulfilled when the ten tribes were carried away captives by the king of Assyria, and other nations were planted in their stead: and when the two other tribes were carried away captives to Babylon, besides other captives and transportations of the people at different periods. Afterwards, when the emperor Adrian had subdued the rebellious Jews, he published an edict, in which he not only forbad them, on pain of death, from setting foot in Jerusalem, but prohibited them from even entering into the country of Judea. From that time to the present, Judea has been in the possession of foreign lords and masters, few of the Jews dwelling in it, and those only of a very low and servile condition. This has been clearly proved by several modern travellers, particularly Mr. Sandys, who, in speaking of the Holy Land, says, "it is for the most part now inhabited by Moors and Arabians; the one possessing the vallies, and the other the mountains. Turks there be few: but many Greeks with other Christians of all sects and nations, such as impute to the place an adherent holiness. Here are also some Jews, yet they inherit no part of the land."

But this was not all, for, according to the prophecy, they were to be dispersed into all nations. "And the Lord shall scatter thee among all people, from one end of the earth unto the other," Deut. xxviii. 64. These words were partly fulfilled in the Babylonish captivity; but they have been more amply fulfilled since the great dispersion of the Jews by the Romans. What people, indeed, have been scattered so far and wide as they? and where is the nation which is a stranger to them, or to which they are strangers? They swarm in many parts of the East, and are spread through most of the countries in Europe and Africa. In short, they are to be found in all places where there is a circulation of trade and money, and may, properly speaking, be called the brokers of the whole world. It was likewise foretold by Moses, that though they should be so dispersed, yet they should not be totally destroyed, but should still subsist as a distinct people. "And yet for all that, when they be in the land of their enemies, I will not cast them away, neither will I abhor them, to destroy them utterly, and to break my covenant with them," Levit. xxvi. 44. This part of the prophecy hath been strictly fulfilled, for (as a great writer observes) "the Jewish nation, like the bush of Moses, hath been always burning but never consumed." And what an astonishing thing it is to think, that after so many wars, battles and sieges; and after so many fires, famines and pestilences; after so many rebellions, massacres and persecutions; after so many years of captivity, slavery and misery, they have not been utterly destroyed, but still subsist as a distinct people, scattered among all nations!

The Jews not to rest long in any place.

In their dispersion they were to suffer greatly, and not to rest long in any place. "And among these nations thou shalt find no ease, neither shall the sole of thy foot have rest," Deut. xxxiii. 65. This likewise hath been amply fulfilled; for so far have they been from finding rest, that they have been banished from city to city, and from country to country. In many places they have been banished, and recalled, and then banished again. But they were not only to be banished from their own country, and dispersed into various parts throughout the world, but likewise, wherever they went, were to be "oppressed and spoiled evermore," and their "houses" and "vineyards," their "oxen" and "asses," to be taken from them, Deut. xxviii. 29, &c. That this has been strictly fulfilled, will evidently appear when we consider the very frequent and great seizures that have been made of their effects in almost all countries.

How often have heavy fines been laid on them by the princes of the different nations in which they have dwelt? and how often have they been obliged to secure their lives by the forfeiture of their possessions? Of this there have been innumerable instances, and some even in our own country. King Henry III. of England always laid a heavy tax on the Jews at every low ebb of his fortunes. "One Abraham (says a celebrated writer) who was found a delinquent, was forced to pay seven hundred marks for his redemption. Aaron, another Jew, protested, that the king had taken from him, at times, thirty thousand marks of silver, besides two hundred marks of gold. And in like manner he used many others of the Jews." And when they were banished, all their estates were confiscated to the crown. This was in the reign of Edward I.

The prophecy further tells us, that "their sons and daughters should be given to another people," Deut. xxviii. 32. This has been likewise fulfilled, for, in several countries, but more particularly in Spain and Portugal, their children have been taken from them, by order of the government, to be educated in the popish religion. "And they should be mad for the sight of their eyes which they should see," Deut. xxxviii. 34. That this part of the prophecy has been most amply fulfilled, we have the clearest evidence; for, into what madness, fury and desperation have they repeatedly been driven by the cruel usage, extortions, and oppressions they have undergone at different periods and in different parts of the world! Add to this, that they "should become an astonishment, a proverb, and a by-word to all nations," Deut. xxviii. 37. And do we not hear and see this part of the prophecy fulfilled every day? Is not the avarice, usury, and hard-heartedness of a Jew grown proverbial? and are not their persons generally odious

among all ſorts of people? Mahometans, heathens, and Chriſtians, however they may diſagree in other points, yet generally agree in vilifying, abuſing, and perſecuting the Jews. In moſt places where they are tolerated, they live in a ſeparate quarter by themſelves, and wear ſome badge of diſtinction. Their very countenances commonly diſtinguiſh them from the reſt of mankind, and they are, in all reſpects, treated, as if they were of another ſpecies. Laſtly, "their plagues ſhould be wonderful," even great plagues, and of long continuance," Deut. xxviii. 59. And have not their plagues continued now almoſt eighteen hundred years? What a ſtanding miracle is here exhibited to the view and obſervation of the whole world! For, what nation hath ſuffered ſo much, and yet continued ſo long? What nation hath ſubſiſted as a diſtinct people in their own country ſo long as theſe have done in their diſperſion into all countries?

The prophets foretold theſe aſtoniſhing events upwards of three thouſand years ago; and from the fulfilment of them, which we ſee every day taking place in the world, are the ſtrongeſt proofs that can be given of the divine legation of Moſes. They are truly, as Moſes (Deut. xxviii. 45, 46.) foretold they would be, "a ſign and a wonder for ever. Moreover, all theſe curſes ſhall come upon thee, and ſhall purſue thee and overtake thee, till thou be deſtroyed; becauſe thou hearkenedſt not unto the voice of the Lord thy God, to keep his commandments, and his ſtatutes which he commanded thee: and they ſhall be upon thee for a ſign and for a wonder, and upon thy ſeed for ever."

CHAP. VI.

Predictions of JEREMIAH, ISAIAH, MICAH, EZEKIEL, and other Prophets, relative to the JEWS.

MOSES was not the only perſon who foretold the puniſhments to be inflicted on the Jews for their manifold tranſgreſſions. The like was foretold by many other perſons, who received the ſpirit of inſpiration. Theſe prophecies were delivered at different periods, and were deſigned to reform the Jews from the wicked courſe of life to which they were naturally addicted; but as they continued inflexible, the prophecies denounced againſt them were ſtrictly fulfilled. It was among others of the prophecies foretold, that ten of the tribes of Iſrael ſhould be carried away captives by the king of Aſſyria, and that the two remaining tribes of Judah and Benjamin ſhould be made captives to the king of Babylon: but with this difference, that the two tribes ſhould be reſtored and return from their captivity, but the ten tribes ſhould be totally loſt and obliterated.

The captivity of the tribes foretold.

The prophecy of Jeremiah.

The prophet Jeremiah foretold the time when the captivity of the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin was to take place, as alſo of their reſtoration. "This whole land ſhall be a deſolation, and an aſtoniſhment; and theſe nations ſhall ſerve the king of Babylon ſeventy years," Jer. xxv. 11. And again, "Thus ſaith the Lord, that after ſeventy years be accompliſhed at Babylon, I will viſit you, and perform my good word towards you, in cauſing you to return to this place," Jer. xxix. 10. This prophecy was delivered "in the fourth year of Jehoiakim the ſon of Joſiah king of Judah, which was the firſt year of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon," Jer. xxv. 1. In the ſame year the prophecy began to take place, for Nebuchadnezzar invaded Judea, beſieged and took Jeruſalem, made Jehoiakim his ſubject and tributary, and tranſported the fineſt children of the royal family and of the nobility to Babylon, to be brought up as ſlaves in his palaces. He likewiſe deſtroyed the temple, carried away the ſacred veſſels, and placed them in the temple of his idol Bel at Babylon. The whole number carried into captivity amounted to ten thouſand, there being only a few left to till and cultivate the land, and thoſe of very poor and mean condition.

They remained in this ſituation for the ſpace of ſeventy years, when Cyrus, king of Babylon, iſſued a proclamation for the reſtoration of the Jews, and for rebuilding the temple of Jeruſalem. In conſequence of this, the Jews immediately returned to their own country, and diſperſed themſelves into the reſpective cities they had formerly inhabited. The temple was begun and carried on with great aſſiduity for ſome time, but by the great interruption they met with from the Samaritans, was not finiſhed till the reign of Darius, when all things were again reſtored to their former ſtate. And thus the prophecy of Jeremiah, relative to the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, was fully accompliſhed.

Prophecy againſt the ten tribes.

Jeremiah's prophecy againſt the ten tribes of Iſrael was much more ſevere than that againſt the other two. The tribe of Ephraim, which was the chief of theſe, is often put for the whole ten, and it was predicted that "within threeſcore and four years ſhall Ephraim be broken that it be not a people," Iſaiah vii. 8. This prophecy was delivered in the firſt year of Ahaz king of Judah, when Rezin king of Syria, and Pekah king of Iſrael, formed a conjunction to reduce Jeruſalem; and it was to comfort Ahaz and the houſe of David in theſe difficulties and diſtreſſes that the prophet Iſaiah was commiſſioned to aſſure him, that the kings of Syria and Iſrael ſhould remain only the heads of their reſpective cities; that they ſhould not prevail againſt Jeruſalem, and that within ſixty and five years Iſrael ſhould be ſo broken that it ſhould be no more a people. The fulfilment of this prophecy commenced in the reign of Ahaz, when Tiglath-pileſer took many of the Iſraelites, "even the Reubenites, and the Gadites, and the half tribe of Manaſſeh, and all the tribe of Naphtali, and carried them captive into Aſſyria, and brought them unto Halah, and Habor, and Hara, and to the river Gozan," 1 Chron. v. 26. 2 Kings

xv.

xv. 29. His ſon Salmaneſer, in the reign of Hezekiah, took Samaria, and carried away ſtill greater numbers "unto Aſſyria, and put them in Holah and in Habor by the river of Gozan" (the ſame places where their brethren had been carried before them), "and in the cities of the Medes," 2 Kings xviii. 11. His ſon Sennacherib came up alſo againſt Hezekiah, and all the fenced cities of Judah; but his army was miraculouſly defeated, and he himſelf was forced to return with ſhame and diſgrace into his own country, where he was murdered by two of his ſons, 2 Kings xvii. 19. Another of his ſons, Eſarhaddon, ſucceeded him on the throne, but it was ſome time before he could recover his kingdom from theſe diſorders, and think of reducing Syria and Paleſtine again to his obedience: and then it was, and not till then, that he completed the ruin of the ten tribes, carried away the remains of the people, and, to prevent the land from becoming deſolate, "brought men from Babylon, and from Cuthah, and from Hava, and from Hamath, and from Sepharvaim, and placed them in the cities of Samaria, inſtead of the children of Iſrael," 2 Kings xvii. 24. Ephraim was broken from being a kingdom before, but it was now broken from being a people. And from that time to this, what account can be given of the people of Iſrael, as diſtinct from thoſe of Judah? Where have they ſubſiſted all this time? And what is their preſent condition, or where their ſituation at this time?

The Iſraelites extinct.

The ten tribes, at their firſt diſperſion, were carried into Aſſyria and Media; and if they ſubſiſted any where, it is reaſonable to imagine they might be found there in great abundance. But this is not the caſe, neither are they to be found in any of thoſe parts where it has been aſſerted, by different Jewiſh writers, they took up their reſidence. It is the opinion of ſome, that they returned into their own country, with the other two tribes, after the Babyloniſh captivity. The decree, indeed, of Cyrus, extended to "all the people of God," Ezra i. 3. and that of Artaxerxes to "all the people of Iſrael," vii. 13. and no doubt but many of the Iſraelites took advantage of theſe decrees, and returned with Zerubbabel and Ezra to their own cities: but ſtill the main body of the ten tribes remained behind; and if the whole did not return at this time, they cannot be ſuppoſed to have returned in a body at any time after, for we do not read of any ſuch circumſtance in hiſtory, neither of the time or occaſion of their return.

The celebrated dean Prideaux ſays, "the ten tribes of Iſrael, which had ſeparated from the houſe of David, were brought to a full and utter deſtruction, and never after recovered themſelves again. For thoſe who were thus carried away (excepting only ſome few, who, joining themſelves to the Jews in the land of their captivity, returned with them) ſoon going into the uſages and idolatry of the nations among whom they were planted (to which they were too much addicted while in their own land), after a time became wholly abſorbed, and ſwallowed up in them, and thence utterly loſing their name, their language, and their memorial, were never after ſpoken of." But if the whole race of Iſrael became thus extinct, and periſhed for ever, it may be aſked, how can the numerous prophecies be fulfilled, which promiſe the future converſion and reſtoration of Iſrael as well as Judah? The truth we conceive to lie between theſe two opinions. Neither did they all return to Jeruſalem, nor did all who remained behind comply with the idolatry of the Gentiles, among whom they lived. But whether they remained, or whether they returned, this prophecy of Iſaiah was ſtill fulfilled; the kingdom, the commonwealth, the ſtate of Iſrael was utterly broken; they no longer ſubſiſted as a diſtinct people from Judah, they no longer maintained a ſeparate religion, they joined themſelves to the Jews from whom they had been unhappily divided, they loſt the name of Iſrael as a name of diſtinction, and were called by the general name of Jews from that period.

Great numbers of Jews in Perſia.

From the book of Eſther it appears that there were great numbers of Jews in all the hundred twenty and ſeven provinces of the kingdom of Ahaſuerus, or Artaxerxes Longimanus king of Perſia, and they could not all be the remains of the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, who had refuſed to return to Jeruſalem with their brethren; they muſt, at leaſt many of them, have been the deſcendents of the ten tribes whom the kings of Aſſyria had carried away captive; but yet they are all ſpoken of as one and the ſame people, and all are denominated Jews indiſcriminately.

In the Acts of the Apoſtles, we read, that there went to Jeruſalem, to celebrate the feaſt of Pentecoſt, "Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites, and the dwellers in Meſopotamia," Acts ii. 9. Theſe men came from the countries wherein the ten tribes had been placed, and, in all probability, were therefore ſome of their poſterity; but yet theſe, as well as the reſt, are ſtyled "Jews, devout men, out of every nation under heaven," Acts ii. 5. Thoſe alſo of the ten tribes, who returned to Jeruſalem, united with the ten tribes of Judah and Benjamin, and formed but one nation, one body of Jews. They might, perhaps, for ſome ages, have preſerved their genealogies; but they are now incorporated together, and the diſtinction of tribes and families is, in a great meaſure, loſt among them, and they have all been comprehended under the general name of Jews, from the Babyloniſh captivity to this day.

During the time of St. Paul's miniſtry, there were many perſons of all the ten tribes in being; for he ſpeaks of "the twelve tribes hoping to attain to the promiſe of God," Acts xxxvi. 7. and St. James addreſſes his epiſtle "to the twelve tribes which are ſcattered abroad," James i. 1. And there is no doubt but there are many of the deſcendents of the ten tribes of Iſrael ſtill in being, though they cannot be ſeparated from the reſt. They are all confounded with the other Jews, and there is no difference between them. The Samaritans, indeed (of whom there

there are ſtill ſome remains at Shechem, and the neighbouring towns) pretend to be the deſcendents of the children of Iſrael, but they are really derived from thoſe nations which Eſarhaddon, king of Aſſyria, planted in the country, after he had carried thence the ten tribes into captivity. And for this reaſon, the Jews call them by no other name than Cuthites, which was the name of the principal perſon of thoſe nations. They exclaim againſt them as the worſt of heretics, and have a greater averſion to them than to the Chriſtians, if poſſible.

Diſtinction between the tribes of Iſrael and thoſe of Judah and Benjamin.

Some perſons may probably aſk, What could be the reaſon that ſuch a material difference and diſtinction ſhould be made between the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, and the ten tribes of Iſrael? Why the latter ſhould be, as it were, loſt in their captivity, and the former reſtored, and preſerved ſeveral ages after? To this it is anſwered, that the ten tribes had totally revolted from God, and that for a long ſeaſon, to the worſhip of the golden calves in Dan and Bethel; and for this, and their idolatry and wickedneſs, they were ſuffered to remain in the land of their captivity. The Jews were reſtored, not ſo much for their own ſakes, as for the ſake of the promiſes made unto their forefathers, namely, the promiſe to Judah that the Meſſiah ſhould come of his tribe; and the promiſe to David, that the Meſſiah ſhould be born of his family. It was, therefore, neceſſary for the tribe of Judah, and the families of that tribe, to be kept diſtinct until the divine diſpenſation ſhould be accompliſhed. But, ſince theſe ends have been fully anſwered, the tribes of Judah and Benjamin are as much confounded as any of the reſt: all diſtinction of families and genealogies is loſt among them; and (as biſhop Chandler obſerves) the Jews themſelves acknowledge as much, in ſaying, that "to ſort their families, reſtore their genealogies, and ſet aſide ſtrangers," will be part of the Meſſiah's office, when he ſhall come.

Preſent ſtate of the Jews.

We do not find, either in ancient or modern hiſtory, any circumſtance ſo remarkably ſingular as that of the preſervation of the Jews to the preſent period of time. They have been diſperſed among all nations, and yet they are not confounded with any. They ſtill live as a diſtinct people, and yet they do not live any where according to their own laws: they neither elect their own magiſtrates, or enjoy the full exerciſe of their religion. Their ſolemn feaſts and ſacrifices are limited to one certain place, and that hath been now, for many ages, in the hands of ſtrangers and aliens, who will not ſuffer them to come thither. No people on the whole face of the earth have continued unmixed ſo long as they have.

The northern nations have come in great multitudes into the more ſouthern parts of Europe; but where are they now to be diſcerned and diſtinguiſhed? The Gauls went forth in great bodies, to ſeek their fortunes in foreign parts; but what traces or footſteps of them are now remaining any where? In France, who can ſeparate the race of the ancient Gauls from the various other people, who, from time to time, have ſettled there? In Spain, who can diſtinguiſh exactly between the firſt poſſeſſors the Spaniards, and the Goths and Moors, who conquered and kept poſſeſſion of the country for ſome time? In England, who can pretend to ſay with certainty which families are derived from the ancient Britons, and which from the Romans, or Saxons, or Danes, or Normans? The moſt ancient and honourable pedigrees can be traced up only to a certain period, and beyond that there is nothing but conjecture and uncertainty, obſcurity and ignorance. But the Jews can go up higher than any nation: they can even deduce their pedigree from the beginning of the world. They may not know from what particular tribe or family they are deſcended, but they know certainly that they all ſprung from the ſtock of Abraham. And yet the contempt with which they have been treated, and the hardſhips which they have undergone in almoſt all countries, ſhould, one would think, have made them deſirous to forget or renounce their original; but they profeſs it, they glory in it: and, after ſo many wars, maſſacres, and perſecutions, they ſtill ſubſiſt, they ſtill are very numerous: and what but a ſupernatural power could have preſerved them in ſuch a manner as none other nation upon earth hath been preſerved? This is certainly a moſt extraordinary inſtance of the wiſe diſpenſations of Providence.

We cannot, without equal aſtoniſhment, reflect on the circumſtance of its having likewiſe pleaſed the Almighty utterly to deſtroy their enemies. The firſt oppreſſors of the Jews were the Egyptians, who detained them from their own land, compelled them into captivity, treated them with great cruelty, and kept them for many years in bondage. The Aſſyrians carried away captives the ten tribes of Iſrael, and the Babylonians afterwards the two remaining tribes of Judah and Benjamin. The Syro-Macedonians, eſpecially Antiochus Epiphanes, cruelly perſecuted them: and the Romans utterly diſſolved the Jewiſh ſtate, and diſperſed the people, ſo that they have never been able to recover their city and country from that time to the preſent. And where are now thoſe great and famous monarchies, which, in their time, ſubdued and oppreſſed the people of God? Are they not vaniſhed, and not only their power, but almoſt even their very names loſt on the earth? The Egyptians, Aſſyrians, and Babylonians, were overthrown, and intirely ſubjugated by the Perſians: and the Perſians (it is remarkable) were the reſtorers of the Jews, as well as the deſtroyers of their enemies. The Syro-Macedonians were ſwallowed up by the Romans: and the Roman empire, great and powerful as it was, was broken into pieces by the repeated incurſions of the northern nations; while the Jews are ſubſiſting as a diſtinct people to this day. And how wonderful is it to think that the vanquiſhed ſhould ſo many ages ſurvive the victors,

Different oppreſſors of the Jews.

and

and the former be ſpread all over the world, while the latter are annihilated.

The oppreſſors of the Jews puniſhed

We alſo learn, from authentic hiſtory, that the divine vengeance hath not only puniſhed nations for their cruelties to the Jews, but hath likewiſe purſued even ſingle perſons who have been their perſecutors and oppreſſors. The firſt-born of Pharaoh were deſtroyed; and himſelf, with his hoſt, drowned in the Red Sea. Moſt of thoſe who oppreſſed Iſrael in the days of the Judges, came to an untimely end. Nebuchadnezzar was ſtricken with madneſs, and the crown was ſoon tranſferred from his family to ſtrangers. Antiochus Epiphanes died in great agonies, with ulcers and vermin iſſuing from his body, ſo that the filthineſs of him not only became intolerable to his attendants, but even to himſelf. Herod, who was a cruel tyrant to the Jews, died in the like miſerable manner. Flaccus, governor of Egypt, who barbarouſly plundered and oppreſſed the Jews of Alexandria, was afterwards baniſhed and ſlain. And Caligula, who perſecuted the Jews, for refuſing to pay divine honours to his ſtatues, was murdered, after a ſhort and wicked reign, and in the flower of his age.

Deſolation of Judea.

The deſolation of Judea is another moſt diſtinguiſhed and memorable inſtance of the truth of prophecy. This prophecy was delivered ſo long ago as the time of Moſes, "I will ſcatter you among the heathen, and will draw out a ſword after you; and your land ſhall be deſolate, and your cities waſte," Levit. xxvi. 33. It was likewiſe foretold by the prophet Iſaiah, who (ſpeaking as prophets frequently did, of things future as preſent) ſays, "Your country is deſolate, your cities are burnt with fire; your land, ſtrangers devour it in your preſence, and it is deſolate as overthrown by ſtrangers. And the daughter of Zion is left as a cottage in a vineyard, as a lodge in a garden of cucumbers, in a beſieged city," Iſaiah i. 7, 8, 9. This laſt paſſage may immediately relate to the times of Ahaz and Hezekiah; but it muſt have a farther reference to the devaſtations made by the Chaldeans, and eſpecially by the Romans. In this ſenſe it is underſtood by moſt ancient interpreters; and the following words imply no leſs than a general deſtruction, and almoſt total extinction of the people, ſuch as they ſuffered under the Chaldeans, but more fully under the Romans; "Except the Lord of Hoſts had left unto us a very ſmall remnant, we ſhould have been as Sodom, and we ſhould have been like unto Gomorrah:" and, in other places, the ſame thing is either expreſſed or implied.

The ſtate of Judea has now for many ages been exactly anſwerable to this deſcription. That a country ſhould be depopulated, and deſolated by the incurſions and depredations of foreign armies, is nothing wonderful; but that it ſhould lie ſo many ages in this miſerable condition, is more than man can foreſee, and could be revealed only by the wiſdom of the Almighty.

Much controverſy has ariſen reſpecting the long wretched ſtate of the land of Judea, in being forſaken by its original inhabitants, and left deſolate and uncultivated. It has been ſaid, ſo barren a country could never have been "a land flowing with milk and honey," nor have ſupplied and maintained ſuch multitudes as it is repreſented to have done. But thoſe who make this obſervation do not ſee or conſider, that hereby the prophecies are fulfilled. But, from the concurrent teſtimonies of thoſe who beſt knew it (namely, the people who inhabited it), the land of Judea was formerly a good and fertile country.

The land of Judea a fertile country.

Both Ariſteus and Joſephus ſpeak largely in commendation of its fruitfulneſs: and though ſomething may be allowed to national prejudices, yet they would hardly have had the confidence to aſſert a thing which all the world could eaſily contradict and diſprove. Nay, there are even heathen authors who bear teſtimony to the fruitfulneſs of the land: though we preſume, that after the Babyloniſh captivity it never recovered to be again what it was before. Strabo, indeed, deſcribes the country about Jeruſalem as rocky and barren; but he commends other parts, particularly about Jordan and Jericho. Hecataeus gives it the character of one of the beſt and moſt fertile countries. And Tacitus ſaith, "it raineth ſeldom, the ſoil is fruitful, fruits abound as with us, and beſides them the balſam and palm-trees." And, notwithſtanding the long deſolation of the land, there are ſtill viſible ſuch marks and tokens of fruitfulneſs as may convince any one that it once deſerved the character the ſacred writings give to it.

Dr. Shaw obſerves, that the barrenneſs, or rather ſcarcity, which ſome authors may either ignorantly or maliciouſly complain of, does not proceed from the natural unfruitfulneſs of the country, but from the want of inhabitants, and the great averſion there is to labour and induſtry in thoſe few who poſſeſs it. There are, beſides, ſuch perpetual diſcords and depredations among the governors, who ſhare this fine country, that, allowing it was better peopled, yet there would be ſmall encouragement to ſow, when it was uncertain who ſhould gather in the harveſt. Otherwiſe the land is ſtill capable of affording its neighbours the like ſupplies of corn and oil which it is known to have done in the time of Solomon. The parts particularly about Jeruſalem, being deſcribed to be rocky and mountainous, have been, therefore, ſuppoſed to be barren and unfruitful. Yet, granting this concluſion, which is far from being juſt, a kingdom is not to be denominated barren, or unfruitful, from one part of it only, but from the whole. Nay, farther, the bleſſing that was given to Judah was not of the ſame kind with the bleſſing of Aſher or of Iſſachar, that "his bread ſhould be fat," or "his land ſhould be pleaſant," but that "his eyes ſhould be red with wine, and his teeth ſhould be white with milk," Gen. xliv. 12. Moſes alſo maketh milk and ho-

ney (the chief dainties and ſubſiſtence of the earlier ages, as they continue to be of the Bedoween Arabs) to be "the glory of all lands:" all which productions are either actually enjoyed, or at leaſt might be, by proper care and application. The plenty of wine alone is wanting at preſent; yet, from the goodneſs of that little which is ſtill made at Jeruſalem and Hebron, we find that theſe barren rocks (as they are called) might yield a much greater quantity, if the abſtemious Turk and Arab would permit a further increaſe and improvement to be made of the vine.

Infidelity of the Jews.

JEREMIAH, Iſaiah, and other prophets, not only foretold the deſolation of the country of the Jews, and their diſperſion through all parts of the world, but likewiſe their infidelity in diſbelieving the Meſſiah, and what would be the conſequences that would reſult therefrom. Of this there are numerous inſtances; but it will be ſufficient to produce one or two paſſages from the prophet Iſaiah. "Who hath believed our report? and to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed?" Iſaiah liii. 1. Theſe words both St. John and St. Paul have expreſsly applied to the unbelieving Jews of their time. The prophet likewiſe aſſigns the reaſon why they would not receive the Meſſiah, namely, becauſe of his low and afflicted condition; and it is certain they rejected him on this account, having all along expected him to come as a temporal prince and deliverer, in great power, glory, and dignity.

ISAIAH is commiſſioned to declare the divine judgments to the people, for their infidelity and diſobedience.

ISAIAH was commiſſioned to declare to the people the judgments of God for their infidelity and diſobedience. And he ſaid (Iſa. vi. 9, &c.) "Go ye and tell this people, Hear ye, indeed, but underſtand not; and ſee ye indeed, but perceive not. Make the hearts of this people fat, and make their ears heavy, and ſhut their eyes; leſt they ſee with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and underſtand with their heart, and convert, and be healed."

In the ſtyle of ſcripture, the prophets are ſaid to do what they declare will be done: and in like manner Jeremiah is ſaid to be "ſet over the nations, and over the kingdoms, to root out, and to pull down, and to deſtroy, and to throw down, to build and to plant," Jer. i. 10. becauſe he was authoriſed to make known the purpoſes and decrees of God, and becauſe theſe events would follow in conſequence of his prophecies. "Make the hearts of this people fat," is, therefore, as much as to ſay, "Denounce my judgments upon this people, that their hearts ſhall be fat, and their ears heavy, and their eyes ſhut; leſt they ſee with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and underſtand with their hearts, and convert, and be healed." This prophecy might relate, in ſome meaſure, to the ſtate of the Jews before the Babyloniſh captivity; but it did not receive its full completion till the days of our Saviour: and in this ſenſe it is underſtood and applied by our Saviour and the writers of the New Teſtament.

The infidelity and obſtinacy of the Jews to be of long duration.

After the above predictions and denunciations, Jeremiah is informed, that the infidelity and obſtinacy of his countrymen ſhould be of long duration. "Then, ſaid I, Lord, how long?" And he anſwered, "Until the cities be waſted without inhabitant, and the houſes without man, and the land be utterly deſolate; and the Lord have removed men far away, and there be a great forſaking in the midſt of the land." What a remarkable gradation is here in the denouncing of theſe judgments! Not only Jeruſalem and "the cities ſhould be waſted without inhabitants," but even the ſingle "houſes ſhould be without man;" and not only the "houſes" of the cities ſhould be "without man," but even the country ſhould be "utterly deſolate;" and not only the people ſhould be removed out of the "land," but the Lord ſhould "remove them far away;" and they ſhould not be removed for a ſhort period, but there ſhould be "a great" or rather "a long forſaking in the midſt of the land." And have not we ſeen all theſe particulars exactly fulfilled? Have not the Jews laboured under a ſpiritual blindneſs and infatuation, in "hearing but not underſtanding," in "ſeeing but not perceiving," the Meſſiah, after the accompliſhment of ſo many prophecies, after the performance of ſo many miracles? And in conſequence of their refuſing to "convert and be healed," have not "their cities been waſted without inhabitant, and their houſes without man?" Hath not their "land been utterly deſolate?" Have they not been "removed far away," even into the moſt diſtant parts of the earth? And hath not their removal or baniſhment been now upwards of 1700 years duration? Do they not ſtill continue deaf and blind, unbelieving and obſtinate, notwithſtanding the moſt convincing evidence.

The Jews gloried in being the peculiar people of God, when this prophecy was delivered; and would any Jew of himſelf have either thought, or ſaid, that his nation would, in proceſs of time, become an infidel and reprobate for many ages, oppreſſed by man, and forſaken by God? It was more than 750 years before Chriſt that the prophet Iſaiah predicted theſe things: and how could he have ſo done, unleſs he had been illuminated by the divine viſion; or how could they have ſucceeded accordingly, unleſs the ſpirit of prophecy had been the Spirit of God, and which has in all ages manifeſted itſelf to be the Spirit of truth?

Prophecies concerning the calling and converſion of the Gentiles.

The prophecies concerning the calling and converſion of the Gentiles are all of the like nature. How could ſuch an event be foreſeen hundreds of years before it happened? But the prophets are full of the glorious ſubject, and ſpeak with delight and rapture of the univerſal kingdom of the Meſſiah: that "God would give unto him the heathen for

for his inheritance, and the uttermoſt parts of the earth for his poſſeſſion," Pſalm ii. 8. That "all the ends of the world ſhould remember and turn unto the Lord, and all the kindreds of the nations ſhould worſhip before him," Pſalm xxii. 27. That in the laſt days the mountain of the houſe of the Lord ſhould be eſtabliſhed on the top of the mountains, and ſhould be exalted above the hills, and all people ſhould flow unto it," Micah iv. 1. (which paſſage is alſo to be found in Iſaiah ii. 2.). That "from the riſing of the ſun even unto the going down of the ſame, my name ſhall be great among the Gentiles, and in every place incenſe ſhall be offered unto my name, and a pure offering; for my name ſhall be great among the heathen, ſaith the Lord of hoſts," Malachi i. 11. But the prophet Iſaiah is more copious upon this, as well as other evangelical ſubjects: and his 49th and 60th chapters treat particularly of the glory of the church in the abundant acceſs of the Gentiles. "It is a light thing that thou ſhouldeſt be my ſervant to raiſe up the tribes of Jacob, and to reſtore the preſerved of Iſrael: I will alſo give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayeſt be my ſalvation unto the end of the earth," Iſaiah xlix. 6. And again, Iſaiah lx. 1, 3, 5, &c. "Ariſe, ſhine, for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is riſen upon thee. The Gentiles ſhall come to thy light, and kings to the brightneſs of thy riſing. The abundance of the ſea ſhall be converted unto thee, the forces of the Gentiles ſhall come unto thee." &c.

The glory of the church in the acceſs of the Gentiles.

It is true, indeed, that the Jews have applied theſe prophecies to the proſelytes whom they have gained in the different nations unto which they have been diſperſed: but this is no leſs abſurd than vain. The number of their proſelytes was very inconſiderable, and nothing to anſwer theſe pompous deſcriptions. Neither was their religion ever deſigned by its founder for an univerſal religion, their worſhip and ſacrifices being confined to one certain place, whither all the males were obliged to repair thrice every year; ſo that it was plainly calculated for a particular people, and could never become the religion of the whole world. There was, indeed, to be a religion, which was to be deſigned for all nations, to be preached in all, and to be received in all: but what proſpect or probability was there that ſuch a generous inſtitution ſhould proceed from ſuch a narrow-minded people as the Jews, or that the Gentiles ſhould ever receive a religion from the very people whom they moſt hated and deſpiſed? Was it not much more likely that the Jews would be corrupted by the idolatrous nations around them, and be induced to comply with the maxims of their powerful neighbours, than that they ſhould be the happy inſtruments of reforming the world, and converting ſome of all nations to the worſhip of the true God? The prophet further intimates, ch. lx. 22. that this revolution (the greateſt that ever happened in the religious world) ſhould be effected by a few people of low rank and education. "A little one ſhall become a thouſand, and a ſmall one a ſtrong nation."

Our bleſſed Saviour's commiſſion to his apoſtles was, "Go, teach all nations." And who were the perſons to whom this commiſſion was given? Was it to thoſe who might have been thought beſt qualified to carry it into execution, ſuch as the rich, the wiſe, the mighty of this world? No: they were chiefly a few poor fiſhermen, of low parentage and education, of no learning or eloquence, of no policy or addreſs, of no worldly repute or authority, deſpiſed as Jews by the reſt of mankind, and as the meaneſt and worſt of Jews by the Jews themſelves. Theſe were the perſons (ſtrange and wonderful as it may appear) who were to contend with the prejudices of all the world, the ſuperſtitions of the people, the intereſts of the prieſts, the vanity of the philoſophers, the pride of rulers, the malice of Jews, the learning of Greece, and the power of the Roman empire. This great revolution was not only to be brought about by a few perſons of mean birth, but it was likewiſe to be effected in a very ſhort ſpace of time. "I the Lord will haſten it in his time."

The number of the diſciples, after our Lord's aſcenſion, amounted to about "an hundred and twenty," Acts i. 15. but they ſoon increaſed and multiplied. The firſt ſermon preached by St. Peter added unto them "about three thouſand ſouls," Acts ii. 41. and the ſecond made up the number "about five thouſand," Acts iv. 4. Previous to the final deſtruction of Jeruſalem (for about the ſpace of forty years), the goſpel had been ſo ſpread that it was preached in almoſt every region of the then known world. In the reign of Conſtantine the Great, Chriſtianity became the religion of the empire; and, after having ſuffered a little under Julian, it intirely prevailed and triumphed over Paganiſm and idolatry, and ſtill does prevail in the moſt civiliſed and improved parts of the earth. All this was more than man could foreſee, and much more than man could execute: and we experience the good effects of theſe prophecies to this day.

Number of our Saviour's diſciples after his aſcenſion

Perſons ſo unequal to the taſk, as were the apoſtles, could never have effected ſuch a ſpeedy propagation of the goſpel, if the ſame divine Spirit who foretold it had not likewiſe aſſiſted them in it, according to the promiſe, "I the Lord will haſten it in his time." In ſhort, we may be as certain as if we had beheld it with our own eyes, that the matter really was as repreſented by the Evangeliſt, "They went forth and preached every where, the Lord working with them, and confirming the word with ſigns following," Mark xvi. 20. But neither the prophecies concerning the Gentiles, nor thoſe concerning the Jews, have yet received their full and intire completion. Our Saviour hath not yet had "the uttermoſt parts of the earth for his poſſeſſion," Pſalm ii. 8. "All the ends of the earth" have not yet "turned unto the Lord," xxii. 27. "All people, nations,

The prophecies yet to be fully completed.

nations, and languages," have not yet "ſerved him," Dan. vii. 14.

Theſe things have hitherto been only partially, but they will, in time, be even literally fulfilled. Neither are the Jews yet made "an eternal excellency, a joy of many generations," Iſaiah lx. 15. The time is not yet come, when "violence ſhall no more be heard in the land, waſting nor deſtruction within their borders," ver. 18. God's promiſes to them are not yet fulfilled to the extent. "Behold, I will take the children of Iſrael from among the heathen, whither they be gone, and will gather them on every ſide, and bring them into their own land. And they ſhall dwell in the land that I have given unto Jacob my ſervant, even they and their children, and their childrens' children for ever, and my ſervant David ſhall be their prince for ever," Ezek. xxxvii. 21, 25. "Then ſhall they know that I am the Lord their God, who cauſed them to be led into captivity among the heathen; but I have gathered them unto their own land, and have left none of them any more there. Neither will I hide my face any more from them, for I have poured out my Spirit upon the houſe of Iſrael, ſaith the Lord God," Ezek. xxxix. 28, 29. However, what hath already been accompliſhed is a ſufficient pledge and earneſt of what is yet to come: and we have all imaginable reaſon to believe, ſince ſo many of theſe prophecies have been fulfilled, that the remaining ones will be fulfilled alſo: that there will be yet a greater harveſt of the nations, and the yet unconverted parts of the earth will be enlightened with the knowledge of the Lord; and that the Jews will, in God's good time, be converted to Chriſtianity, and be again reſtored to their native country, upon their converſion.

Prophecy of Hoſea.

HOSEA ſays, ch. iii. 4, 5. "The children of Iſrael ſhall abide many days without a king, and without a prince, and without a ſacrifice, and without an image (or altar), and without an ephod (or prieſt to wear an ephod), and without teraphim (or divine manifeſtations). Afterward ſhall the children of Iſrael return, and ſeek the Lord their God, and ſhall fear the Lord and his goodneſs in the latter days."

It is very evident that the Jews were once the peculiar people of God: and (as St. Paul ſaith) "Hath God caſt away his people? God forbid," Rom. xi. 1. We ſee that after ſo many ages they are ſtill preſerved, by a miraculous Providence, a diſtinct people; and why is ſuch a continued miracle exerted but for the greater illuſtration of the divine truth, and the better accompliſhment of the divine promiſes, as well thoſe which are yet to be, as thoſe which are already fulfilled. The great empires and powers which have heretofore, in their turns, ſubdued and oppreſſed the people of God, are all come to ruin; becauſe, though they executed the divine purpoſes in oppreſſing the Jews, yet that was more than they knew; and their intentions in acting as they did, were only to gratify their own pride and ambition, their own cruelty and revenge. And ſince ſuch hath been the fatal end of the enemies and oppreſſors of the Jews, in former times, it ſhould ſerve as a warning to all thoſe who may, at any time, or upon any occaſion hereafter, be inclined to raiſe a clamour and perſecution againſt this people.

The Jews not to be injured or oppreſſed.

The Jews appear, to our conceptions, exceeding blameable, for ſtill perſiſting in their infidelity, after ſo many means have been taken to bring them to a ſenſe of conviction: but this does not authoriſe us to proſcribe, abuſe, injure, and oppreſs them, as Chriſtians of more zeal than either knowledge or charity have, in all ages, been inclined to do. "Charity is greater than faith;" and it is worſe in us to be cruel and uncharitable, than it is in them to be obſtinate and unbelieving. And though it may be obſerved by ſome, that ſhewing compaſſion to thoſe unhappy people would be a means of defeating the fulfilment of the prophecies; yet this is far from being the caſe: they were to be harraſſed and oppreſſed only by wicked nations; the good were to ſhew mercy on them; and we ſhould chuſe rather to be the diſpenſers of God's mercies, than the executioners of his judgments. If we read the eleventh chapter of St. Paul's Epiſtle to the Romans, we ſhall there ſee what that great apoſtle of the Gentiles (who certainly underſtood the prophecies better than any of us can pretend to do) ſaith of the infidelity of the Jews. Some of the Gentiles of his time valued themſelves upon their ſuperior advantages, and he reproves them for it, that they who "were cut out of the olive-tree, which is wild by nature, and were grafted contrary to nature, into a good olive-tree," ſhould preſume to "boaſt againſt the natural branches," Rom. xi. 18, 24. But what would he have ſaid, if they had made religion an inſtrument of faction, and had been for ſtirring up a perſecution againſt them? It becomes Chriſtians of all denominations to conſider and reflect, that it is to the Jews we owe the oracles of God, the ſcriptures of the New Teſtament as well as the Old. We ſhould conſider, that "the glorious company of the apoſtles," as well as "the goodly fellowſhip of the prophets," were all Jews. We ſhould conſider, that "of them as concerning the fleſh Chriſt came," the Saviour of the world: and ſurely ſomething of kindneſs and gratitude is due for ſuch infinite favours, which we inſtrumentally derive from them.

The Jews not utterly caſt away.

But though the Jews for a ſeaſon are broken off, yet they are not utterly caſt away. "Becauſe of unbelief," as St. Paul argueth, they "were broken off, and" thou "ſtandeſt by faith; be not high-minded, but fear," Rom. xi. 20. There will be a time when they will be grafted in again, and again become the people of God; for, as the apoſtle proceeds, ver. 25, 26, "I would not, brethren, that ye ſhould be ignorant of this myſtery, leſt ye ſhould be wiſe in your

your own conceits; that blindneſs in part is happened to Iſrael, until the fulneſs of the Gentiles be come in, and ſo all Iſrael ſhall be ſaved."

It may now be aſked, which is the moſt likely method to contribute to the converſion of theſe unhappy people? which are the moſt natural means of reconciling them to us and to our religion? Is it to be effected by prayer, argument, long-ſuffering, gentleneſs, and goodneſs; or by noiſe, invective, injury, and outrage, the malice of ſome, and the folly and madneſs of more? They certainly cannot be worſe now than when they crucified the Son of God, and perſecuted his apoſtles. But what ſaith our bleſſed Saviour himſelf? "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do," Luke xxiii. 34. And what ſaith his apoſtle St. Paul? "Brethren, my heart's deſire and prayer to God for Iſrael is, that they might be ſaved," Rom. x. 1. In conformity to theſe bleſſed examples, we are alſo taught to pray for them: and how can prayer and perſecution conſiſt and agree together? Thoſe who encourage perſecution of any kind are only pretended friends to the church, but real enemies to religion. All true members of the church, all true Proteſtants, all true Chriſtians will, as the apoſtle adviſeth, "put away all bitterneſs, and wrath, and anger, and clamour, and evil ſpeaking, with all malice," Epheſ. iv. 31. And then will they all join, heart and voice, their addreſſes to the throne of grace, "that they may be ſaved among the remnant of the true Iſraelites, and be made one fold, under one ſhepherd, even Jeſus Chriſt the righteous."

CHAP. VII.

Prophecies relating to the City of NINEVEH.

The fate of other nations foretold, as well as that of the Jews.

THE Jews, who were once the peculiar people of God, are more immediately intereſted in the firſt great prophecies contained in the Old Teſtament, and the principal ſubjects of thoſe prophecies are the various changes and revolutions that were to happen in the Jewiſh church and ſtate. But the ſpirit of prophecy is not confined to the Jews alone: there are other ſubjects occaſionally introduced; and, for the greater manifeſtation of divine Providence, the fate of other nations is alſo foretold, and more eſpecially thoſe which lay in the neighbourhood of Judea, and had intercourſe and connection with the Jews. It is much to be lamented, that of theſe eaſtern nations, and of theſe early times we have no regular hiſtories, but only a few fragments which have eſcaped the general ſhipwreck of time. From theſe, however, we ſee enough to make us admire the great works of Providence; and from theſe are clearly ſhown that the revolutions of cities and kingdoms have been ſuch as were foretold by the prophets many centuries ago.

We ſhall, on this ſubject, firſt take notice of thoſe prophecies which relate to the ancient city of Nineveh, once the metropolis of the Aſſyrian empire, and whoſe inhabitants not only deſtroyed the kingdom of Iſrael, but likewiſe greatly oppreſſed the kingdom of Judah. The prophet Iſaiah, in denouncing the judgments of God againſt the Aſſyrians, ſays, "O Aſſyrian, the rod of mine anger, and the ſtaff in their hand is my indignation," Iſaiah x. 3. It was the will of Providence that thoſe people ſhould be employed as the miniſters of his wrath, and executioners of his vengeance againſt the perverſe and obſtinate Jews. "I will ſend him againſt an hypocritical nation, and againſt the people of my wrath will I give him a charge to take the ſpoil, and to take the prey, and to tread them down like the mire in the ſtreets," ver. 6. But it was far from any intent of the Aſſyrians to execute the divine will, or to chaſtiſe the vices of mankind; they only meant to extend their conqueſts, and eſtabliſh their own dominion upon the ruins of others: "Howbeit he meaneth not ſo, neither doth his heart think ſo, but it is in his heart to deſtroy, and cut off nations not a few," ver. 7. Wherefore when they ſhall have ſerved the purpoſes of divine Providence, they ſhall be ſeverely puniſhed for their pride and ambition, their tyranny and cruelty to their neighbonrs: "Wherefore it ſhall come to paſs, that when the Lord hath performed his whole work upon Mount Zion, and on Jeruſalem, I will puniſh the fruit of the ſtout heart of the king of Aſſyria, and the glory of his high looks," ver. 12. There was no proſpect of ſuch an event as this, while the Aſſyrians were in the midſt of their ſucceſſes and triumphs: but ſtill the word of the prophet prevailed: and it was not long after the calamities they brought upon the Jews, when the Aſſyrian empire (properly ſo called) was overthrown, and the deſtruction of Nineveh enſued.

Iſaiah denounceth the judgments of God againſt the Aſſyrians.

We learn, from the moſt intelligent authors, that the city of Nineveh was one of the largeſt and moſt ancient cities in the world. According to the beſt chronologers, it was built not long after the flood, and very ſoon after the tower of Babel, by Nimrod; but being afterwards greatly enlarged by Ninus, from him it received its name. It was ſituated on the banks of the Tigris, and (according to the deſcription given of it by Diodorus Siculus) was, in length, an hundred and fifty ſtadia; in breadth, fourſcore and ten; and in circumference, four hundred and ſeventy; which, being reduced to our meaſure, make it about twenty-one miles long, nine broad, and fifty-four round. How great the number of its inhabitants was, we may learn from the ſix ſcore thouſand children who could not diſcern between their right hands and their left," Jonah iv. 11. And, acord-

Situation and deſcription of the city of Nineveh.

Number of its inhabitants.

ing to a proportionate computation there muſt have been in the whole not leſs than ſix hundred thouſand perſons. The inhabitants of Nineveh, like thoſe of other great cities, abounding in wealth and luxury, became very corrupt in their morals. In conſequence of this God was pleaſed to commiſſion the prophet Jonah to preach unto them the neceſſity of repentance, as the only means of averting their impending deſtruction: and ſuch was the ſucceſs of his preaching, that both the king and people repented and turned from their evil ways, and thereby, for a time, eſcaped the executions of the divine judgments. But this repentance of the Ninevites, we may reaſonably preſume, was of no long continuance, for not many years after we find the prophet Nahum foretelling the total and entire deſtruction of the city. Indeed, the whole of his prophecy relates to this ſingle event; and the city was accordingly deſtroyed by the Medes and Babylonians, who, uniting together, ſubverted the whole Aſſyrian empire, and ſubjected it to their dominion.

The prophet Jonah is ordered to preach to them the neceſſity of repentance.

Nahum foretells the deſtruction of Nineveh.

The prophet Nahum not only foretold the deſtruction of Nineveh, but likewiſe the manner in which it was to be effected. He foretold that the Aſſyrians would be taken while they were drunken. "For while they be folden together as thorns, and while they are drunken as drunkards, they ſhall be devoured as ſtubble full dry," Nahum i. 10. And Diodorus Siculus ſays, it was while the Aſſyrian army were feaſting for their former victories that thoſe about Arbaces (the general of the Median forces) being informed by ſome deſerters of the negligence and drunkenneſs in the camp of the enemy, aſſaulted them unexpectedly by night, and falling on them while they were in the utmoſt diſorder, and unprepared, became maſters of the camp, ſlew many of the ſoldiers, and drove the reſt into the city." The ſame prophet likewiſe foretells, that "the gates of the rivers ſhall be opened, and the palace ſhall be diſſolved," Nahum ii. 6. And Diodorus tells us, "there was an old prophecy, that Nineveh ſhould not be taken till the river became an enemy to the city; and in the third year of the ſiege, the river being ſwoln with continual rains overflowed part of the city, and broke down the wall for twenty furlongs: that the king, thinking the oracle was fulfilled, and the river became an enemy to the city, built a large funeral pile in the palace, and collecting together all his wealth, and his concubines and eunuchs, burnt himſelf and them in the palace; and the enemy entered the breach that the waters had made, and took the city." Thus we find that what the prophet had predicted was literally fulfilled, "With an overflowing flood he will make an utter end of the place thereof," Nahum i. 8. He likewiſe promiſes the enemy much ſpoil of gold and ſilver, "Take ye the ſpoil of ſilver, take the ſpoil of gold; for there is no end to the ſtore, and glory out of all the pleaſant furniture," Nahum ii. 9. And we read in Diodorus Siculus, that Arbaces carried many talents of gold and ſilver to Ecbatane, the royal city.

Nahum foretells, that the city was to be deſtroyed partly by water and partly by fire, "Behold, the gates of thy land ſhall be ſet wide upen unto thine enemies: the fire ſhall devour thy bars," Nahum iii. 13. And we find by Diodorus that this literally took place, for after the Medes and Babylonians had poſſeſſed themſelves of the city, they ſet fire to it, and reduced the greater part to aſhes. The prophet Nahum was alſo the principal perſon who foretold the total and entire deſtruction of the antient city of Nineveh. "The Lord" (ſaith he, ch. i. 8, 9.) with an over-running flood will make an utter end of the place thereof; he will make an utter end; affliction ſhall not riſe up the ſecond time." Again (ch. ii. 11, 13.) "Where is the dwelling of the lions?" (meaning Nineveh, whoſe princes ravaged like lions:) "behold, I am againſt thee, ſaith the Lord of hoſts, and I will cut off thy prey from the earth, and the voice of thy meſſengers ſhall no more be heard." And again (ch. iii. 17, 18, 19). Thy crowned are as the locuſts, and thy captains as the graſhoppers, which camp in the hedges in the cold day; but when the ſun ariſeth, they flee away, and their place is not known. Thy ſhepherds ſlumber, O king of Aſſyria; thy nobles ſhall dwell in the duſt; thy people is ſcattered upon the mountains, and no man gathereth them: there is no healing of thy bruiſe; thy wound is grievous; all that hear the bruit of thee ſhall clap their hands over thee; for upon whom hath not thy wickedneſs paſſed continually?"

Zephaniah likewiſe, in the days of Joſiah king of Judah, foretold the ſame melancholy event. "The Lord will ſtretch out his hand againſt the north, and deſtroy Aſſyria, and will make Nineveh a deſolation, and dry like a wilderneſs: and flocks ſhall lie down in the midſt of her, all the beaſts of the nations; both the cormorant and bittern ſhall lodge in the upper lintels of it, their voice ſhall ſing in the windows; deſolation ſhall be in the threſholds; for he ſhall uncover the cedar work: this is the rejoicing city that dwelt careleſly, that ſaid in her heart, I am, and there is none beſide me; how is ſhe become a deſolation, a place for beaſts to lie down in! every one that paſſeth by her ſhall hiſs and wag his hand." Zeph. ii. 13, &c. It is not to be wondered at that when the above quoted prophecies were at firſt delivered, the people ſhould think it very unlikely they would ever be fulfilled. What probability, indeed, was there to think that ſo great a city, and which contained ſo many thouſand inhabitants, ſhould ever be totally deſtroyed? And yet even the ſpot where it once ſtood is now ſcarcely known, ſo totally was this famous city deſtroyed.

Zephaniah foretells the deſtruction of Nineveh.

Nineveh, as before obſerved, was taken and deſtroyed by the Medes and Babylonians; and what we may reaſonably ſuppoſe contributed to complete its ruin and devaſtation was, Nebuchadnezzar's ſoon after enlarging and beautifying of Babylon. From that time no mention is made of Nineveh by any of the ſacred writers; and the moſt antient of the profane authors, who have occaſion to ſay any thing about it, ſpeak of it as a city that once was great and flouriſhing

flouriſhing, but now deſtroyed and deſolate. The ſame accounts are given of it by all our modern travellers, and particularly by Thevenot, on whoſe authority Dean Prideaux relates, that "Moſul is ſituated on the weſt ſide of the river Tigris, where was antiently only a ſuburb of the Old Nineveh, for the city itſelf ſtood on the eaſt ſide of the river, where are to be ſeen ſome of its rubbiſh of great extent even to this day." Another modern traveller ſays, "In this country the famous city of Nineveh once ſtood, on the eaſtern bank of the river Tigris, oppoſite to the place where Moſul now ſtands. There is nothing now to be ſeen but heaps of rubbiſh, almoſt a league along the river Tigris, oppoſite to Moſul, which people imagine to be the remains of this vaſt city." Such hath been the fate of the once great city of Nineveh; in the deſtruction of which the great truths of the divine predictions are moſt amply proved and manifeſted.

CHAP. VIII.

Prophecies reſpecting the City of BABYLON.

Prophecies concerning the city of Babylon.

THIS great city (after the deſtruction of Nineveh) became not only the greteſt and moſt magnificent metropolis in the eaſt, but in the whole world. It is ſaid by ſome to have been firſt built by Semiramis, queen of Aſſyria, while others aſſert that it was built by Balus the ſucceſſor of Nimrod. But whoever was the firſt founder, we may reaſonably ſuppoſe it received very great improvements afterwards, and Nebuchadnezzar, in particular, enlarged and beautified it to ſuch a degree, that he may in a manner (as himſelf boaſts) be ſaid to have built it. "Is not this (ſays he) great Babylon that I have built for the houſe of the kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majeſty?" Dan. iv. 30. By one means or other Babylon became ſo great and famous a city as to give name to a very large empire. It is called in ſcripture, "great Babylon; the glory of kingdoms; the beauty of the Chaldees excellency; the praiſe of the whole earth, &c." And its beauty, ſtrength and grandeur, its walls, temples and palaces, are deſcribed with ſuch pomp and magnificence by profane authors, that it muſt deſervedly have been reputed one of the wonders of the world. It might naturally have been imagined that ſuch a city as this was in no danger of ever being abandoned, and much more of its coming to deſtruction. Such a city as this might ſurely, with leſs vanity than any other, boaſt that ſhe ſhould continue for ever; but, alas! great as it once was, the time did come when all its ſplendor was laid aſide, and the whole became one continued ſcene of ruins, and a ſtriking memorial of the inevitable decay of all earthly grandeur.

The Babylonians enemies to the Jews.

The Babylonians were no leſs enemies to the Jews than the inhabitants of Nineveh. The one ſubverted the kingdom of Iſrael, and the other the kingdom of Judah: It is therefore not to be wondered at that there ſhould be ſeveral prophecies relative to theſe two cities, and that the fate of Babylon ſhould be foretold as well as that of Nineveh. Jeremiah, Lam. i. 17, 18. ſays, "Iſrael is a ſcattered ſheep, the lions have driven him away; firſt the king of Aſſyria hath devoured him, and laſt this Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon hath broken his bones: Therefore thus ſaith the Lord of hoſts, the God of Iſrael, Behold, I will puniſh the king of Babylon and his land, as I have puniſhed the king of Aſſyria."

The prophets Iſaiah and Jeremiah foretell the deſtruction of Babylon.

Iſaiah and Jeremiah very plainly, and in a particular manner, foretold the deſtruction of this great city. They both lived during the declenſion of the kingdom of Judah. As they predicted the captivity of the Jews, ſo they likewiſe foretold the downfall of their enemies: and they ſpeak with ſuch aſſurance of the event, that they deſcribe a thing future as if it were already paſt. In Jer. li. 8. it is thus recorded: "Babylon is fallen, is fallen; and all the graven images of her gods he hath broken unto the ground," Iſaiah xxi. 9. "Babylon is ſuddenly fallen and deſtroyed; howl for her, take balm for her pain, if ſo ſhe may be healed."

Prophecies relative to Cyrus.

The conqueror of Babylon, namely Cyrus, who transferred the empire of the Babylonians to the Medes and Perſians, was particularly propheſied of by name many years before he was born, Iſaiah xliv. 28. xlv. 1. He is honoured with the appellation of the "Lord's anointed," and the Lord is ſaid to "have holden his right hand," and to have "girded him." He was certainly a perſon of very extraordinary abilities, and was raiſed up to be the inſtrument of Providence in executing great and wiſe purpoſes.

It was foretold that Cyrus ſhould be a great conqueror, that he ſhould "ſubdue nations before him: and I will looſe the loins of kings to open before him the two-leaved gates, and the gates ſhall not be ſhut," Iſaiah xlv. 1. This was ſtrictly fulfilled, for Cyrus ſubdued ſeveral kings, and took ſeveral cities, particularly Sardes and Babylon, and extended his conqueſts all over Aſia, from the river Indus to the Ægean Sea. It was likewiſe foretold, that this Cyrus ſhould find great ſpoil and treaſure among the nations he ſhould conquer. "I will give thee treaſures of darkneſs, and hidden riches of ſecret places." Iſaiah xlv. 3. And the riches which Cyrus found in his conqueſts were of prodigious value, as appears from the accounts given us by Pliny. Nor can we wonder at it, when we conſider that thoſe parts of Aſia at that time, abounded in wealth and luxury. Babylon had been heaping up treaſures many years; and the riches of Crœſus king of Lydia, whom Cyrus conquered and took priſoner, are almoſt remarkable to a proverb.

Jeremiah not only foretells the deſtruction of the great city of Babylon, but likewiſe points out the time when it is to be effected. "Theſe nations (ſays he, ſpeaking of the Jews) ſhall ſerve the king of Babylon

Babylon ſeventy years: And it ſhall come to paſs when ſeventy years are accompliſhed, that I will puniſh the king of Babylon, and that nation ſaith the Lord," Jer. xxv. 11, 12. This prophecy was delivered, as appears from the firſt verſe of the chapter, "in the fourth year of Jehoiakim the ſon of Joſiah king of Judah, that was the firſt year of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon;" from which time there were ſeventy years to the taking of Babylon, and the reſtoration of the Jews from captivity. Nebuchadnezzar, after taking Jeruſalem, tranſplanted the Jews to Babylon in order to ſtrengthen the place: their removal from thence muſt, therefore, have greatly weakened it: after which it became more and more diſtreſſed, till at length it was finally deſtroyed. It was alſo foretold that various nations ſhould unite againſt Babylon. "The noiſe of a multitude in the mountains, like as of a great people; a tumultuous noiſe of the kingdom of nations gathered together; the Lord of hoſts muſtereth the hoſt of the battle." Iſaiah xiii. 4. And particularly it was foretold, that the kingdoms of Ararat, Minni, and Aſhchenaz (that is, the Armenians, Phrygians and other nations) ſhould compoſe part of his army. "Set ye up a ſtandard in the land, blow the trumpet among the nations, prepare the nations againſt her, call together againſt her the kingdoms of Ararat, Minni, and Aſhchenaz," Jer. ii. 27. And accordingly Cyrus's army conſiſted of various nations; and among them were thoſe very people whom he had conquered before, and now obliged to attend him in this expedition againſt Babylon.

Many nations to unite againſt Babylon.

The prophet Jeremiah foretold, that the Babylonians ſhould be terrified, and hide themſelves within their walls. The mighty men of Babylon have forborn to fight, they have remained in their holds, their might hath failed, they became as women," Jer. li. 30. And accordingly we find that, after a battle or two, the Babylonians never recovered their courage to face the enemy in the field again: they retired within their wall, and the firſt time that Cyrus came with his army before the place, he could not provoke them to venture forth and try the fortune of arms, even though he ſent a challenge to the king to fight with him in ſingle combat: and the laſt time that he went, he conſulted with his officers about the beſt method of carrying on the ſiege, "ſince, ſaith he, they do not come forth and fight." It was likewiſe foretold, that the river ſhould be dried up before the city ſhould be taken. This appeared very extraordinary indeed, the river being more than two furlongs broad, and deeper than the height of two men ſtanding one upon another; ſo that the city was thought to be ſtronger and better fortified by the river than by the walls. Notwithſtanding this the prophets predicted that the waters ſhould be dried up, (Iſaiah xliv. 27. Jer. li. 36.) And accordingly Cyrus turned the courſe of the river Euphrates which ran through the midſt of Babylon, and, by means of deep trenches and the canals, ſo drained the waters that the river became eaſily fordable for his ſoldiers to enter the city; and by thoſe means Babylon (which was otherwiſe impregnable) was taken.

The Babylonians to hide themſelves.

The river to be dried up.

Again, it was foretold, that the city ſhould be taken by ſurpriſe during the time of a feaſt. "I have laid a ſnare for thee, and thou art alſo taken, O Babylon, and thou waſt not aware, thou art found and alſo caught," Jer. l. 24. "In their heat I will make their feaſts, and I will make them drunken, that they may rejoice, and ſleep a perpetual ſleep, and not wake, ſaith the Lord," Jer. li. 57. And accordingly the city was taken in the night of a great annual feaſt, while the inhabitants were dancing, drinking, and revelling, and not having the leaſt ſuſpicion, that any immediate danger was at hand, or to be feared.

The city to be taken by ſurpriſe.

We have now recounted the very extraordinary circumſtances that attended the reduction of Babylon; and how could any man foreſee or foretell ſuch ſingular events, ſuch remarkable circumſtances, without revelation and inſpiration from God! But if we examine ſtill farther into theſe myſterious affairs, we ſhall ſee how theſe and other prophecies have, by degrees, been fulfilled, for, in the very nature of the thing, they could not be fulfilled all at once. As the prophets often ſpeak of things to be in future as if they were already effected, ſo they ſpeak often of things to be brought about in proceſs of time, as if they were to ſucceed immediately. The paſt, preſent, and to come, are all alike known to Infinite Wiſdom; but it is probable that the intermediate time was not revealed to the minds of the prophets, who ſpoke as they were moved by the divine Spirit.

The manner in which theſe prophecies were fulfilled.

Iſaiah addreſſes Babylon by the name of a *virgin*, as having never before been taken by an enemy. "Come down, and ſit in the duſt, O virgin daughter of Babylon, ſit on the ground," Iſaiah xlvii. 1. And Herodotus ſaith expreſsly, that this was the firſt time Babylon was taken. After this it never more recovered its ancient ſplendor: from an imperial, it became a tributary city; from being governed by its own kings, and governing ſtrangers, it became itſelf to be governed by ſtrangers; and the ſeat of empire being tranſplanted to Shuſhan, it decayed, by degrees, till it was, at length, reduced to utter deſolation.

At the time when Xerxes returned from his unfortunate and diſgraceful expedition into Greece, partly out of religious zeal (being a profeſſed enemy to image worſhip) and partly to reimburſe himſelf after his immenſe expences, he ſeized upon the treaſures, and plundered or deſtroyed the temples and idols in Babylon, thereby accompliſhing the prophecies of Iſaiah and Jeremiah: "Babylon is fallen, is fallen; and all the graven images of her gods he hath broken unto the ground: Bel boweth down, Nebo ſtoopeth," Iſaiah xxi. 9. lxvi. 1. "Babylon is taken, Bel is con-

The treaſure, ſeized, and the temple of the Babyloniaus deſtroyed by Xerxes.

confounded, Merodach is broken in pieces. And I will punish Bel in Babylon, and I will bring forth out of his mouth that which he hath swallowed up," Jer. l. 2. li. 44, &c. This part of the prophecy was most literally fulfilled, when the vessels of the house of God which Nebuchadnezzar had brought from Jerusalem, and placed in the temple of Bel, were restored, and carried back to Jerusalem, by order of Cyrus.

Alexander, after the destruction of Babylon by the Persians, intended to have made it the seat of his empire, and actually set men at work to rebuild the temple of Belus, to repair the banks of the river, and to bring back the waters into their own channel. But if these designs had taken effect, how could the prophecies have been fulfilled? But death soon after put an end to this and all his other projects; and none of his successors ever attempted it. Seleucia being built a few years after in the neighbourhood, Babylon, in a little time, became *wholly desolate*, Seleucia not only robbing it of its inhabitants, but even of its name, as Pliny relates.

Babylon becomes wholly desolate.

It appears, from accounts given of it by a variety of authors, both ancient and modern, that the prophecies relative to the fate of this ancient and once magnificent city, have, in the most strict manner, been fulfilled. Among the former, Diodorus Siculus describes the buildings as ruined or decayed in his time, and says, that only a small part of the city was then inhabited, the greatest part within the walls being tilled. Strabo (who wrote not long after Diodorus) says, that one part of the city was demolished by the Persians, and the other by time and the neglect of the Macedonians, and especially after Seleucus Nicanor had built Seleucia on the Tigris, in the neighbourhood of Babylon, and he and his successors removed their court thither: and now (saith he) Seleucia is greater than Babylon, and Babylon is much deserted, so that one may apply to this what the poet said of Megalopolis in Arcadia, "the great city is now become a great desert." Pliny, in like manner, affirms, that it was reduced to solitude, being exhausted by the neighbourhood of Seleucia, built for that purpose by Seleucus Nicanor. Maximus Tyrius mentions it as lying neglected and forsaken; and Lucian intimates, that in a little time it would be sought for, and not found. In the time of Jerom (who lived in the fourth century after Christ), it was converted into a chace to keep wild beasts within the compass of its walls for the hunting of the latter kings of Persia. "We have learned (saith he) from a certain Elamite brother, who coming out of those parts, now liveth as a monk at Jerusalem, that the royal huntings are in Babylon, and wild beasts of every kind are confined within the circuit of the walls."

Confirmation of various authors, relative to the fulfilment of the prophecies concerning Babylon.

The first of later authors, who mentions any thing concerning Babylon, is Benjamin of Tudela, a Jew, who lived in the twelfth century. In his Itinerary, he says, "Ancient Babylon is now laid waste, but some ruins are still to be seen of Nebuchadnezzar's palace, and men fear to enter them, on account of the serpents and scorpions which are in the midst of it." And Taxeira, a Portuguese, in the description of his travels from India to Italy, says, "Of this great famous city there is nothing but only a few vestiges remaining, nor is any place less frequented in the whole region."

Benjamin Tudela's account of Babylon.

The above are the accounts given us by ancient authors of the state of Babylon; and let us see what relation is given of it by the writers and travellers of modern date. The first we shall quote of these is one Rauwolf, a German traveller, who passed that way in the year 1574, and whose account of these ruins of this once famous city is as follows: "The village (says he) of Eulogo now lieth on the place where formerly old Babylon, the metropolis of Chaldæa, was situated. The harbour is a quarter of a league's distance from it, where people go ashore in order to proceed by land to the celebrated city of Bagdat, which is a day and a half's journey from thence eastward on the Tigris. This country is so dry and barren, that it cannot be tilled, and so bare, that I could never have believed that this powerful city, once the most stately and renowned in all the world, and situated in the pleasant and fruitful country of Shinar, could have ever stood there, if I had not known it by its situation, and many antiquities of great beauty, which are still standing hereabout in great desolation; chiefly by the old bridge, which was laid over the Euphrates, whereof there are some pieces and arches still remaining, built of burnt brick, and so strong that it is admirable. Just before the village of Eulogo is the hill whereon the castle stood, and the ruins of its fortification are still visible, though demolished and uninhabited. Behind it, at a small distance, stood the tower of Babylon. It is still to be seen, and is half a league in diameter; but so ruinous, so low, and so full of venemous creatures, which lodge in holes made by them in the rubbish, that no one durst approach nearer to it than within half a league, except during two months in the winter, when these animals never stir out of their holes. There is one sort particularly, which the inhabitants, in the language of the country (which is Persian), call Eglo. They are larger than our lizard, and their poison is very searching."

Rauwolf a German's account.

In the year 1616, Petrus Vallensis (a noble Roman), who was then at Bagdat, and went to see the ruins (as they are thought to be) of ancient Babylon, informs us, that "in the middle of a vast and level plain, about a quarter of a league from the Euphrates, which in that place runs westward, appears an heap of ruined buildings like a huge mountain, the materials of which are so confounded together, that one knows not what to make of it. Its situation and form correspond with that pyramid which Strabo calls the tower of Belus; and it is, in all

Petrus Vallensis's account of the ruins of Babylon.

all likelihood, the tower of Nimrod, in Babylon, or Babel, as that place is ſtill called. There appear no marks of ruins, without the compaſs of that huge maſs, to convince one ſo great a city as Babylon had ever ſtood there: all one diſcovers, within fifty or ſixty paces of it, are only the remains, here and there, of ſome foundations of buildings; and the country round about it is ſo flat and level, that one can hardly believe it ſhould be choſen for the ſituation of ſo great and noble a city as Babylon, or that there were ever any remarkable buildings on it: but, for my part, I am aſtoniſhed there appears ſo much as there does, conſidering it is at leaſt four thouſand years ſince that city was built, and that Diodorus Siculus informs us, that in his time it was reduced almoſt to nothing."

The predictions concerning Babylon fulfilled.

From all theſe accounts, it evidently appears with what great punctuality time hath fulfilled the predictions of the prophets concerning Babylon! When it was converted into a chace, for wild beaſts to breed and feed there, then were exactly accompliſhed the words of the prophets, that "the wild beaſts of the deſert with the wild beaſts of the iſlands ſhould dwell there, and cry in their deſolate houſes." One part of the country was overflowed by the river having been turned out of its courſe and never reſtored to its former channel, and thence became boggy and marſhy, ſo that it might literally be ſaid to be "a poſſeſſion for the bittern and pools of water," Iſaiah xiv. 23. Another part is deſcribed as dry and naked, and barren of every thing, ſo that thereby was alſo fulfilled another prophecy, "Her cities are a deſolation, a dry land and a wilderneſs, a land wherein no man dwelleth, neither doth any ſon of man paſs thereby," Jer. li. 43. The place thereabout is repreſented as over-run with ſerpents, ſcorpions, and all ſorts of venemous and unclean creatures, ſo that "their houſes are full of doleful creatures, and dragons cry in their pleaſant places; and Babylon is become heaps, a dwelling-place for dragons, an aſtoniſhment and an hiſſing without an inhabitant." For all theſe reaſons, "neither can the Arabian pitch his tent there, neither can the ſhepherds make their folds there." And when we find that modern travellers cannot now certainly diſcover the ſpot of ground whereon this renowned city once was ſituated, we may very properly ſay, "How is Babylon become a deſolation among the nations? Every purpoſe of the Lord hath he performed againſt Babylon, to make the land of Babylon a deſolation without an inhabitant:" and the expreſſion is no leſs true than ſublime, that "the Lord of hoſts hath ſwept it with the beſom of deſtruction."

CHAP. IX.

Prophecies concerning the City of TYRE.

Prophecies concerning the deſtruction of Tyre.

IN the deſtruction of Tyre, we have another memorable inſtance of the great truth of prophecy. The inhabitants of this city, as well as thoſe of Nineveh and Babylon, were great enemies to the Jews; but it was not altogether on this account that they were puniſhed with the divine vengeance. It was owing to their pride and ſelf-ſufficiency, both of which were founded on their great riches obtained by traffic, and for which they were more famous than any other nation whatever. Its ruin was predicted by the prophets many years before it happened, and particularly by Iſaiah and Ezekiel. But it hath been a matter of doubt among the learned which of the Tyres was the ſubject of the prophecies, whether Palætyrus, or Old Tyre, that was ſeated on the continent; or New Tyre, that was built on an iſland nearly oppoſite. But the beſt anſwer to be given to this, and the moſt inconteſtable obſervation is, that the prophecies manifeſtly appertain to both, ſome expreſſions being applicable only to the former, and others only to the latter.

The pride and luxury of the Tyrians the cauſe of their deſtruction.

Iſaiah mentions the pride of the Tyrians as the principal occaſion of their fall, "The Lord of hoſts (ſaith he) hath propoſed it, to ſtain the pride of all glory, and to bring into contempt all the honourable of the earth," Iſ. xxiii. 9. Ezekiel deſcribes at large their luxury, and particularly cenſures the pride of the king of Tyre, in arrogating to himſelf divine honours: ch. xxviii. 6, &c. "Becauſe thou haſt ſet thine heart as the heart of God, Behold, therefore, I will bring ſtrangers upon thee, the terrible of the nations: and they ſhall draw their ſwords againſt the beauty of thy wiſdom, and they ſhall defile thy brightneſs."

Judgments on the Tyrians denounced by the prophets Joel and Amos.

Joel and Amos had before denounced the divine judgments on the Tyrians for their wickedneſs in general, and in particular for their cruelty to the children of Iſrael, and for buying and ſelling them like cattle in the markets. Thus ſaith the Lord by the prophet Joel, ch. iii. 5, &c. "Becauſe ye have taken my ſilver and my gold, and have carried into your temples my goodly pleaſant things: the children alſo of Judah, and the children of Jeruſalem have ye ſold unto the Grecians, that ye might remove them far from their border: behold, I will raiſe them out of the place whither ye have ſold them, and will return your recompence upon your own head."

Amos ſpeaks to the ſame purpoſe, "Thus ſaith the Lord, for three tranſgreſſions of Tyrus, and for four I will not turn away the puniſhment thereof; becauſe they delivered up the whole captivity to Edom, and remembered not the brotherly covenant," Amos i. 9. By the latter part of theſe words, the prophet means the league and alliance between Hiram king of Tyre on the one part, and David and Solomon on the other. The royal pſalmiſt (Pſ. lxxxiii. 6, 7.) reckons the Tyrians among the moſt inveterate and implacable enemies of the Jewiſh name and nation, "The tabernacles of Edom (ſays he) and the Iſhmaelites of Moab, and the Hagarenes,

garenes, Gabal, and Ammon, and Amalek, the Philiſtines, with the inhabitants of Tyre.

Prophecy of Ezekiel againſt the Tyrians.

The prophecy of Ezekiel alſo againſt the Tyrians begins with a declaration that the judgments denounced againſt them were occaſioned by their domineering over the Jews, and inſulting them, after the taking of Jeruſalem by Nebuchadnezzar: ch. xxvi. 2, 3. "Son of man, becauſe that Tyrus hath ſaid againſt Jeruſalem, Aha, ſhe is broken that was the gates of the people; ſhe is turned unto me, I ſhall be repleniſhed, now ſhe is laid waſte: Therefore thus ſaith the Lord God, Behold, I am againſt thee, O Tyrus, and will cauſe many nations to come up againſt thee, as the ſea cauſeth his waves to come up."

The following circumſtances occaſioned the prophecies againſt Tyre; and by carefully conſidering and comparing them together, we ſhall find that they include the following particulars, viz. 1. That the city ſhould be taken and deſtroyed by the Chaldeans, or Babylonians. 2. That the inhabitants ſhould paſs the Mediterranean into the iſlands and countries adjoining, and even there ſhould not find a quiet ſettlement. 3. That the city ſhould be reſtored after ſeventy years, and return to her gain and her merchandiſe. 4. That it ſhould be taken and deſtroyed again. 5. That the people ſhould, in time, forſake their idolatry, and become converts to the true religion and worſhip of God. And, 6. That the city ſhould be totally deſtroyed, and become a place only whereon fiſhermen ſpread their nets. If we narrowly examine into theſe reſpective particulars, we ſhall find that they were not only diſtinctly foretold, but likewiſe exactly fulfilled.

Iſaiah (ch. xxiii. 6.) propheſied, that the city ſhould be taken and deſtroyed again. "Howl, ye inhabitants of the iſle." Ezekiel alſo, (ch. xxvii. 32.) ſays, "What city is like Tyrus, like the deſtroyed in the midſt of the ſea?" and, "They ſhall bring thee down to the pit, and thou ſhalt die the deaths of them that are ſlain in the midſt of the ſeas," xxviii. 8. Theſe expreſſions can imply no leſs than that the inſular Tyre ſhould be deſtroyed as well as that upon the continent; and as the one was accompliſhed by Nebuchadnezzar, ſo was the other by Alexander the Great. But the ſame thing may be inferred more directly from the words of Zechariah, who propheſied in the reign of Darius (probably Darius Hyſtaſpis) many years after the former deſtruction of the city, and conſequently he muſt be underſtood to ſpeak of this latter. His words are theſe: "And Tyrus did build herſelf a ſtrong hold, and heaped up ſilver as the duſt, and fine gold as the mire of the ſtreets. Behold the Lord will caſt her out, and he will ſmite her power in the ſea, and ſhe ſhall be devoured with fire," Zech. ix. 3, 4. That Tyrus did build herſelf a ſtrong hold is very certain; for her ſituation was exceeding ſtrong in an iſland, and, beſides the ſea to defend her, ſhe was fortified with a wall of 150 feet in height, and of a proportionable thickneſs. "She heaped up ſilver as the duſt, and fine gold as the mire of the ſtreets," being the moſt celebrated place in the world for trade and riches, "the mart of nations" as ſhe is called, conveying the commodities of the eaſt to the weſt, and of the weſt to the eaſt. But yet "Behold the Lord will caſt her out, and he will ſmite her power in the ſea, and ſhe ſhall be devoured with fire." Ezekiel had likewiſe foretold that the city ſhould be conſumed with fire, "I will bring forth a fire from the midſt of thee, it ſhall devour thee, and I will bring thee to aſhes upon the earth, in the ſight of all them that behold thee," Ezek. xxviii. 18. And accordingly Alexander beſieged, and took, and ſet the city on fire.

Tyre taken and burnt by Alexander.

The ruins of old Tyre contributed much to the taking of the new city: for with the ſtones and timber and rubbiſh of the old city Alexander made a bank, or cauſeway from the continent to the iſland, thereby litterally fulfilling the words of the prophet, "They ſhall lay the ſtones, and thy timber, and thy duſt in the midſt of the water," Ezek. xxvi. 12. Alexander was ſeven months in completing this work, but the time and labour were well employed, for by means thereof he was enabled to ſtorm the city and take it.

When Alexander reduced Tyre, great numbers of the inhabitants, as in the former ſiege, paſſed over the Mediterranean to the iſlands and countries adjoining. Both Diodorus Siculus and Quintus Curtius teſtify that they ſent their wives and children to Carthage; and upon the taking of the place the Sidonians ſecretly conveyed away fifteen thouſand more in their ſhips. Happy were they who thus eſcaped, for of thoſe who remained behind the conqueror ſlew eight thouſand in ſtorming and taking the city, cauſed two thouſand afterwards to be crucified, and thirty thouſand he ſold for ſlaves. They had before ſold ſome of the captive Jews, and now it was returned upon them according to the prediction of Joel, ch. iii. 6, 7, 8. "The children alſo of Judah, and the children of Jeruſalem have ye ſold; behold I will return your recompence upon your own head, and will ſell your ſons and your daughters."

Two thouſand Tyrians crucified.

The Tyrians, after the old city was taken, received their kings from Babylon; but when the new one was conquered by Alexander, their king held the ſovereignty by his appointment. The caſes are, in many reſpects, alike; but the city recovered much ſooner from the calamities of the laſt ſiege than the firſt. In the ſpace of nineteen years it was able to withſtand the fleets and armies of Antigonus, and ſuſtained a ſiege of fifteen months before it was taken: a plain proof (as Dean Prideaux obſerves) "of the great advantage of trade: for this city being the grand mart where moſt of the trade both of the eaſt and weſt did center, by virtue hereof its priſtine vigour ſoon after revived.

It was foretold, that there ſhould come a time when the Tyrians would forſake their idolatry, and become converts to the true religion and worſhip of God.

God. The Pſalmiſt is thought to have hinted as much in ſaying, "The daughter of Tyre ſhall be there with a gift," Pſal. xlv. 12. And again, "The kings of Tarſhiſh and of the iſles ſhall bring preſents," lxxii. 10. Zechariah, when he foretels the calamities which the Tyrians and neighbouring nations ſhould ſuffer from Alexander, at the ſame time predicts their converſion to the true God; "but he that remaineth, even he ſhall be for our God," Zech. ix. 7. This prediction is more fully expreſſed by the prophet Iſaiah, who ſays, ch. xxiii. 18. "And her merchandiſe and her hire ſhall be holineſs to the Lord: it ſhall not be treaſured, not laid up: for her merchandiſe ſhall be for them that dwell before the Lord, to eat ſufficiently, and for durable clothing."

The Tyrians addicted to worſhip Hercules.

We learn from hiſtory, that the Tyrians were greatly addicted to the worſhip of Hercules, as he was called by the Greeks; or of Baal, as he is denominated in ſcripture. But in proceſs of time, by means of ſome Jews and proſelytes living and converſing among them, many were converted to the Jewiſh religion; ſo that "a great multitude of people from the ſea coaſt of Tyre and Sidon came to hear our Saviour, and to be healed of their diſeaſes," Luke vi. 17. And when St. Paul, in his way to Jeruſalem, came to Tyre, he found diſciples there who were inſpired and propheſied; and "he tarried ſeven days with them."

The Tyrians become converts to Chriſtianity.

In the time of Diocleſian's perſecution, the Tyrians were ſuch ſincere converts to chriſtianity, that many of them ſuffered the moſt horrid deaths, and died martyrs to the religion they then profeſſed. After the ſtorm of perſecution was blown over, they (under the biſhop Paulinus) built an oratory, or rather a temple, for the public worſhip of God, the moſt magnificent and ſumptuous in all Paleſtine and Phœnicia. On this occaſion, Euſebius, on commenting on the paſſage of Iſaiah, "And her merchandiſe and her hire ſhall be holineſs to the Lord," ſays, "Since a church of God hath been founded in Tyre, as well as in other nations, many of its goods gotten by merchandiſe are conſecrated to the Lord, being offered to his church (as he afterwards explains himſelf) for the uſe of the miniſters of the altar or goſpel, according to the inſtitution of our Lord, that they who wait at the altar ſhould live of the altar." In like manner ſpeaks St. Jerom, "We may behold churches in Tyre built to Chriſt, we may ſee their riches that they are not laid up, nor treaſured, but given to thoſe who dwell before the Lord. For the Lord hath appointed, that they who preach the goſpel ſhould live by the goſpel." To theſe proofs we ſhall only add, that as Tyre conſecrated its merchandiſe and hire unto the Lord, ſo it had the honour not only of being created into an archbiſhopric, but was the firſt archbiſhopric under the patriarchate of Jeruſalem, having fourteen biſhops under its primacy; and in this ſtate it continued ſeveral years.

Tyre created into an archbiſhopric.

In the above particulars is deſcribed the fate of the once famous city of Tyre, on which the divine vengeance was denounced for the great pride of its inhabitants; and in the deſtruction of which we have an additional inſtance to thoſe already mentioned of the great truth of the divine predictions, as ſpoken by the prophets, in the Old Teſtament.

CHAP. X.

Prophecies relating to EGYPT.

Prophecies concerning Egypt.

THIS is one of the moſt antient kingdoms in the world, it having been in a very flouriſhing ſtate even in the days of Abraham; and the inhabitants of it were diſtinguiſhed for having more wiſdom than any other people at that time on the face of the earth.

The conqueſt of Egypt foretold by Jeremiah and Ezekiel.

The firſt remarkable revolution that happened in Egypt (after the prophecies denounced againſt it) was the conqueſt of it by Nebuchadnezzar, which was expreſsly foretold by Jeremiah and Ezekiel. Theſe two prophets have employed ſeveral ſections or chapters upon this occaſion. Jeremiah was carried into Egypt, where he predictid the conqueſt of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon: and ſome of his prophecies are intituled, "The word that the Lord ſpake to Jeremiah the prophet, how Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon ſhould come and ſmite the land of Egypt," Jer. xxvi. 13. Ezekiel alſo declares, "Thus ſaith the Lord God, I will alſo make the multitude of Egypt to ceaſe by the hand of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon: he and his people with him, the terrible of the nations ſhall be brought to deſtroy the land; and they ſhall draw their ſwords againſt Egypt, and fill the land with the ſlain," Ezekiel xxx. 10, 11. The conqueſt of this kingdom was promiſed to Nebuchadnezzar as a reward for his ſervices againſt Tyre, which after a long ſiege he took and deſtroyed, but was diſappointed of the ſpoil, as we have already obſerved in the foregoing chapter. That this prophecy was ſtrictly fulfilled appears from the teſtimonies of Megaſthenes and Beroſus, two heathen hiſtorians, one of whom expreſsly affirms that Nebuchadnezzar conquered the greateſt part of Africa; and the other affirms it in effect, by ſaying, that when Nebuchadnezzar heard of the death of his father, having ſettled his affairs in Egypt, and committed the captives whom he took there to the care of ſome of his friends to bring them after him, he haſted directly to Babylon. The teſtimonies of theſe two are confirmed by Joſephus, who ſays, that Nebuchadnezzar, having ſubdued Cœlo-Syria, waged war againſt the Ammonites and Moabites; and having conquered them he invaded Egypt, ſlew Pharaoh-Hophra their king, and appointed another in his ſtead. This monarch is repreſented be Ezekiel as an arrogant,

Teſtimonies concerning the fulfilment of the prophecy.

rogant, impious prince: he calls him "the great dragon (or crocodile) that lieth in the midſt of his rivers, which hath ſaid, My river is my own, and I have made it for myſelf," Ezek. xxix. 4. Agreeable to this, Herodotus informs us, that he proudly and wickedly boaſted of having eſtabliſhed his kingdom ſo ſurely, that it was not in the power of God himſelf to diſpoſſeſs him of it. For this preſumption, he was juſtly cut off, and the prediction foretold by Jeremiah (ch. xliv. 30.) was fully accompliſhed, "Thus ſaith the Lord, Behold, I will give Pharaoh-Hophra king of Egypt into the hand of his enemies, and into the hand of them that ſeek his life."

The prophet Ezekiel alſo foretold, ch. xxix. 12. that the country ſhould be deſolate forty years, and the people carried captives into other countries, "I will make the land of Egypt deſolate forty years; and I will ſcatter the Egyptians among the nations, and will diſperſe them through the countries." Tho' it cannot, indeed, be proved from heathen authors that this deſolation of the country continued exactly forty years, yet there is not the leaſt doubt but this, as well as the other conquered countries, laboured under the Babyloniſh yoke till the time of Cyrus. We are aſſured, by Beroſus, that Nebuchadnezzar took ſeveral captives from Egypt, and carried them to Babylon; and from Megaſthenes we learn, that he tranſplanted, and ſettled others in Pontus. So true it is that they were "ſcattered among the nations, and diſperſed through the countries;" and the greater part of them might probably return to their native country, after the diſſolution of the Babyloniſh empire.

Egypt ſubdued by the Perſians.

Egypt's next memorable revolution was, the invaſion and ſubduction of it by Cambyſes and the Perſians, which is the principal ſubject of the 19th chapter of the prophet Iſaiah. Some parts, indeed, of this prophecy have a near affinity with thoſe of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, concerning the conqueſt of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar: but this prophecy, as well as ſeveral others, might admit of a double completion, and be fulfilled at both thoſe periods. This prophecy of Iſaiah is a general repreſentation of the calamities that ſhould befal the nation: it includes various particulars, and is applicable to Nebuchadnezzar and the Babylonians, as well as to Cambyſes and the Perſians. They might, therefore, be both intended and comprehended in it; but the latter, it is moſt reaſonable to imagine, were principally meant, and for this reaſon; becauſe the deliverance of the Egyptians by ſome great conqueror, and their converſion afterwards to the true religion, which are foretold in the latter part of this chapter, were events conſequent not to the dominion of the Babylonians, but to that of the Perſians.

The conqueſt of Egypt to be ſwift and ſudden.

The prophecy of Iſaiah againſt Egypt begins with declaring, that the conqueſt of it ſhould be ſwift and ſudden, and that the idols of Egypt ſhould be deſtroyed. "Behold (ſays he), the Lord rideth upon a ſwift cloud, and ſhall come into Egypt, and the idols of Egypt ſhall be moved at his preſence, and the heart of Egypt ſhall melt in the midſt of it," Iſaiah xix. 1. The ſame thing is foretold of Nebuchadnezzar by the prophet Jeremiah, "And when he cometh, he ſhall ſmite the land of Egypt. And I will kindle a fire in the houſes of the gods of Egypt, and he ſhall burn them, and carry them away captives. He ſhall break alſo the images of Bethſhemeſh, that is in the land of Egypt; and the houſes of the gods of the Egyptians ſhall he burn with fire," Jer. xliii. 11, &c. And again the prophet Ezekiel (ch. xxx. 13.), "Thus ſaith the Lord God, I will alſo deſtroy the idols, and I will cauſe their images to ceaſe out of Noph, or Memphis."

Cambyſes made his firſt attempt upon Peluſium, a ſtrong town at the entrance of Egypt, and key of the kingdom: and he ſucceeded by the ſtratagem of placing before his army a great number of dogs, ſheep, cats, and other animals, which being held ſacred by the Egyptians, not one of them would caſt a javelin, or ſhoot an arrow that way; and ſo the town was ſtormed and taken in a manner without reſiſtance. He treated the gods of Egypt with great contempt, laughed at the people, and chaſtiſed the prieſts for worſhipping ſuch deities. He ſlew Apis, or the ſacred ox (which the Egyptians worſhipped), with his own hand; and burnt and demoliſhed their other idols and temples; and would, likewiſe, if he had not been prevented, have deſtroyed the famous temple of Jupiter Hammon. Ochus too, who was another king of Perſia, and ſubdued the Egyptians again, after they had revolted, plundered their temples, and cauſed another Apis to be ſlain and ſerved up at a banquet appointed by him in conſequence of the victories he had obtained.

Egypt to be diſtracted with civil wars.

Iſaiah alſo foretold (ch. xix. 2.), that this nation ſhould be miſerably diſtracted with civil wars, "And I will ſet the Egyptians againſt the Egyptians; and they ſhall fight every one againſt his brother, and every one againſt his neighbour, city againſt city, and kingdom againſt kingdom." Egypt was divided into twelve prefectures, or provinces, over each of which preſided a petty prince, or governor. Theſe diſagreeing with each other, civil wars took place, and, for a conſiderable time, the whole kingdom was one continued ſcene of anarchy and confuſion. It is, therefore, little to be wondered at that, in ſuch diſtractions as theſe, the Egyptians, who were naturally a cowardly people, ſhould be deſtitute of *counſel*, and that "the ſpirit of Egypt ſhould fail in the midſt thereof," as is foretold by the prophet in ver. 3. and that, being alſo a very ſuperſtitious people, "they ſhould ſeek to the idols, and to the charmers, and to them that have familiar ſpirits, and to the wizards." But their divination was all in vain; it was their fate to be ſubdued and oppreſſed by cruel lords and tyrants: "And the Egyptians will I give over unto the hand of a cruel lord; and a fierce king ſhall rule over them, ſaith the Lord, the Lord of hoſts," ver. 4. This is a very eſſential part of the

prophecy, and may, with the greateſt propriety and juſtice, be applied to the Perſians, and eſpecially to Cambyſes and Ochus, the former of whom put the yoke on the neck of the Egyptians, and the latter rivetted it.

Revolution in Egypt by Alexander the Great.

A third memorable revolution was effected by Alexander the Great, who ſubverted the Perſian empire in Egypt, as well as in other places; and this event is particularly pointed out in the ſame 19th chapter of the prophet Iſaiah. It is alſo foretold, that about the ſame time ſeveral of the Egyptians ſhould lay aſide their idolatry, and be converted to the worſhip of the true God. "In that day ſhall there be an altar to the Lord in the midſt of the land of Egypt, and a pillar at the border thereof to the Lord. And it ſhall be for a ſign, and for a witneſs unto the Lord of hoſts in the land of Egypt: for they ſhall cry unto the Lord becauſe of the oppreſſor, and he ſhall ſend them a Saviour, and a great one, and he ſhall deliver them. And the Lord ſhall be known to Egypt, and the Egyptians ſhall know the Lord in that day, and ſhall do ſacrifice and oblation, yea, they ſhall vow a vow unto the Lord, and perform it."

The Egyptians and Aſſyrians unite in the ſame worſhip.

Iſaiah then proceeds to ſhew, that Aſſyria and Egypt, which uſed to be at great enmity with each other, ſhould be united in the ſame worſhip by the intermediation of Iſrael, and that thoſe three ſhould be a bleſſing on the earth. "In that day ſhall there be a highway out of Egypt to Aſſyria, and the Aſſyrian ſhall come into Egypt, and the Egyptian in Aſſyria, and the Egyptians ſhall ſerve with the Aſſyrians. In that day ſhall Iſrael be the third with Egypt and with Aſſyria, even a bleſſing in the midſt of the land: whom the Lord ſhall bleſs, ſaying, Bleſſed be Egypt my people, and Aſſyria the work of my hands, and Iſrael mine inheritance," ver. 23, &c. It is

The Egyptians to be delivered from their Perſian oppreſſors.

clearly foretold by the prophet, that a *great prince*, from a foreign country, ſhould *deliver* the Egyptians from their Perſian *oppreſſors*, and *heal* their country, which was *ſmitten of God*, and afflicted. And who could this be but Alexander, who is always diſtinguiſhed by the additional epithet *the Great*, and whoſe firſt ſucceſſor in Egypt was called the *great Ptolemy* and Ptolemy Soter, or *the Saviour?* When Alexander went firſt into Egypt, the people all chearfully ſubmitted to him, out of hatred to the Perſians, ſo that he became maſter of the country without any oppoſition. For this reaſon, he treated them with great humanity and kindneſs, built a city there, which, after his own name, he called Alexandria, appointed one of his own country for their civil governor, and permitted them to be governed by their own laws and cuſtoms. By theſe changes and regulations, and by the prudent and gentle adminiſtration of ſome of the firſt Ptolemies, Egypt revived, trade and learning flouriſhed, and, for a time, the land was bleſſed with peace and plenty. The prophet likewiſe foretells, that, about the ſame time, the true religion, and the true worſhip of the God of Iſrael, ſhould begin to ſpread, and prevail in the land of Egypt: and what event was ever more unlikely to happen than the converſion of a people ſo loſt in ſuperſtition and idolatry of the worſt and groſſeſt kind? But that it did happen, will appear from the following obſervations:

The true religion to be ſpread in Egypt.

Many Jews reſided in Egypt, and though they were, in general, very wicked men, and diſobedient to the word of God, yet, no doubt, ſome good people were mingled among them, who might relate to them the prophecies of Jeremiah, and they themſelves, when they ſaw them fulfilled, might embrace the Jewiſh religion. This, however, is not to be underſtood of all the inhabitants of thoſe places, but only of ſome, which is ſufficient to juſtify the expreſſion of "five cities ſpeaking the language of Canaan, and ſwearing by the Lord of hoſts." The prediction of the prophet Zephaniah (ch. iii. 9.) is to the ſame effect: "Then will I turn to the people a pure language, that they may call upon the name of the Lord to ſerve him with one conſent."

Alexander the Great ſends many Jews to Alexandria.

Alexander the Great having made a conqueſt of Egypt, he tranſplanted many of the Jews into his new city of Alexandria, and allowed them many privileges and immunities equal to thoſe enjoyed by the Macedonians. Ptolemy Soter carried more of them into Egypt, and they received ſuch indulgences that many others followed them of their own accord. Ptolemy Philadelphus redeemed and releaſed the captive Jews; and in his reign, or his father's, the books of Moſes were tranſlated into Greek, and afterwards the other parts of the Old Teſtament. The third Ptolemy, called Euergetes, having ſubdued all Syria, did not ſacrifice to the idols of Egypt in acknowledgment of his victory; but, going to Jeruſalem, made his oblations to God, after the manner of the Jews, and his example, no doubt was followed by many of his ſubjects. The ſixth Ptolemy, called Philometor, committed the whole management of his kingdom to two Jews, Onias and Doſitheus, weo were his chief miniſters and generals, and had the principal direction of all affairs, both civil and military.

A temple built for the Jews in Egypt.

Onias obtained a licence from the king to build a temple for the Jews in Egypt, like that at Jeruſalem, alledging, for the purpoſe, this very prophecy of Iſaiah, that there ſhould "be an altar to the Lord in the midſt of the land of Egypt:" and the king and queen in their edict make honourable mention of the law and of the prophet Iſaiah, and expreſs a dread of ſinning againſt God. The place choſen for the building of this temple was in the prefecture of Heliopolis, or "the city of the ſun," which place is likewiſe mentioned in the prophecy. It was built after the model of the temple at Jeruſalem, but not ſo ſumptuous and magnificent. Philometor himſelf was made high-

high-prieſt; other prieſts and Levites were appointed for the miniſtration; and divine ſervice was daily performed there in the ſame manner as at Jeruſalem. By theſe means "the Egyptians muſt have known the Lord;" and, without doubt, there muſt have been many proſelytes among them. Amidſt thoſe who came up to the feaſt of Pentecoſt, there are particularly mentioned "the dwellers in Egypt and in the parts of Lybia about Cyrene, Jews and proſelytes," Acts ii. 10. Thus were the Jews ſettled and encouraged in Egypt.

The Jews favoured by the kings of Syria.

Nor were they leſs favoured by the kings of Syria. Seleucus Nicanor made them free of the cities which he built in Aſia and the Lower Syria, and even of Antioch, the capital of his kingdom; and granted the ſame rights and privileges to them as to the Greeks and Macedonians. Antiochus the Great publiſhed ſeveral decrees in favour of the Jews, both of thoſe who inhabited Jeruſalem, and of thoſe who dwelt in Meſopotamia and Babylon. And thus, by means of the Jews and proſelytes, dwelling in Egypt and Syria, Iſrael, Egypt, and Syria, were, in ſome meaſure, united in the ſame worſhip. But this was more fully accompliſhed when the inhabitants of theſe countries became Chriſtians, and were made members of the church of Chriſt. And it is to be ſeriouſly hoped and believed, that the prophecy will ſtill receive its moſt perfect completion in the latter days, when Mahometaniſm ſhall be rooted out, and Chriſtianity ſhall flouriſh in theſe countries, when "the fulneſs of the Gentiles ſhall come in, and all Iſrael ſhall be ſaved."

Ezekiel's prophecy concerning Egypt

From the days of Nebuchadnezzar to the preſent period, the fate of Egypt is predicted in a moſt remarkable manner, by the prophet Ezekiel. He foretells, that after the deſolation of the land, it "ſhould be a baſe kingdom: it ſhall be the baſeſt of the kingdoms, neither ſhall it exalt itſelf any more above the nations: for I will diminiſh them, that they ſhall no more rule over the nations," Ezek. xxix. 14, 15. And again, ch. xxx. 12, 13. "I will ſell the land into the hand of the wicked, and I will make the land waſte, and all that is therein, by the hand of ſtrangers: and there ſhall be no more a prince of the land of Egypt."

The more clearly to point out the great truth of the fulfilment of this remarkable prophecy, we muſt advert to, and make a ſhort deduction from, the Egyptian hiſtory, at leaſt that part of it which contains the various circumſtances that took place from the ſubduction of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar, to the preſent time.

Nebuchadnezzar having conquered the Egyptians, he appointed Amaſis for their king; and as he held his crown by the permiſſion and allowance of the Babylonians, there is not the leaſt doubt but he paid them tribute for it. Beroſus, the Chaldean hiſtorian, ſpeaketh of Nebuchadnezzar's reducing Egypt to his obedience, and afterwards of his ſettling the affairs of the country, and carrying away captives from thence to Babylon. By his ſettling the affairs of Egypt, nothing leſs could be meant than his appointing the governors, and the tribute they ſhould pay to him: and, by carrying ſome Egyptians captives to Babylon, he certainly intended not only to weaken the country, but alſo to have them as hoſtages to ſecure the obedience of the reſt, and the payment of the tribute he exacted from the people.

Various revolutions in the Egyptian empire.

Cyrus, after the fall of the Babyloniſh empire, eſtabliſhed the Perſian on its ruins; and it is affirmed, by that faithful and elegant hiſtorian Xenophon, that Cyrus alſo conquered Egypt, and made it part of his empire. The Egyptians revolted towards the latter end of the reign of Darius the ſon of Hyſtaſpes; but his ſon and ſucceſſor Xerxes, in the ſecond year of his reign, ſubdued them again, and reduced them to a worſe condition of ſervitude than they had been in under Darius, and appointed his brother Achæmenes governor of Egypt.

About twenty-four years after this (when the Egyptians heard of the troubles in Perſia, about the ſucceſſion to the throne after the death of Xerxes), they revolted again, at the inſtigation of Inarus king of Lybia; and having driven away the Perſian tribute-collectors, they conſtituted Inarus their king. Six years were employed in reducing them to obedience, and all Egypt ſubmitted again to king Artaxerxes Longimanus, except Amyrtæus, who reigned in the fens, whither the Perſians could not approach to take him. Inarus, who was the author of theſe evils, being betrayed to the Perſians, was taken and crucified. They, however, permitted his ſon Thannyra to ſucceed his father in the kingdom of Lybia; and Egypt continued in ſubjection all the remaining part of the long reign of Artaxerxes. In the tenth year of Darius Nothus, they revolted again, under the conduct of Amyrtæus, who ſallied out of the fens, drove the Perſians from Egypt, and made himſelf maſter of the country. Amyrtæus was ſucceeded by his ſon Pauſiris, who (according to Herodotus) obtained the kingdom by the favour of the Perſians, from whence it appears that the Perſians had again ſubdued Egypt, or, at leaſt, that the king was not eſtabliſhed without their conſent and approbation. It is certain, however, that after this the Egyptians gave much trouble to the Perſians. Artaxerxes Mnemon made ſeveral efforts to reconquer the country, but they all proved ineffectual. It was not totally and finally ſubdued till the ninth year of the following reign of Ochus, about 350 years before Chriſt; when Nectanebus the laſt king fled into Ethiopia, and Ochus became abſolute maſter of the country, and having appointed one of his nobles, named Pherendates, to be his viceroy and governor of Egypt, he returned with great glory, and with immenſe treaſures, to Babylon. Egypt from that time hath never been able to recover its liberties: it hath always been ſubject to ſtrangers, and never governed by a king of its own, whereby hath been amply fulfilled that part of Ezekiel's

kiel's prophecy, in which it is ſaid, "there ſhall be no more a prince of the land of Egypt."

Egypt, after being ſubject to the Perſians, came into the hands of the Macedonians. It ſubmitted to Alexander the Great, without attempting the leaſt reſiſtance; and on his death it fell to the ſhare of Ptolemy, one of his four famous captains, and was governed by his family for ſeveral generations. The two or three firſt of the Ptolemies were wiſe and potent princes, but moſt of the reſt (of which there were eleven in number) were prodigies of luxury and wickedneſs. It is obſerved by Strabo, that all after the third Ptolemy governed very ill; but thoſe who governed worſt of all were the fourth, the ſeventh, and the laſt, called Auletes. The perſons here alluded to by Strabo were, Ptolemy Philopater, or "the lover of his father," ſo called by way of irony, becauſe he was a parricide, and murdered both his father and mother: Ptolemy Phyſcon, who affected the title of *Euergetes*, or the *benefactor*, but the Alexandrians more juſtly named him Kakergetes, or *the malefactor*, on account of his diſtinguiſhed wickedneſs; and Ptolemy Auletes, or *the piper*, ſo denominated becauſe he ſpent much of his time in playing on the pipe, and uſed to contend for the prize in the public ſhows. This kingdom of the Macedonians continued from the death of Alexander 294 years, and ended in the famous Cleopatra, who was one of the moſt ambitious and wicked princeſſes that ever ſat upon a throne. Egypt, after the downfall of the Macedonians, fell under the dominion of the Romans. They had, indeed, either by virtue of treaties, or by force of arms, obtained great authority there, and were, in a manner, arbiters of the kingdom before. But after the death of Cleopatra, Octavius Cæſar reduced it into the form of a Roman province, and appointed Cornelius Gallus the firſt prefect or governor. It remained in this ſtate, with little variation, till the year 641 after Chriſt, that is, 670 years in the whole, from the reign of Auguſtus Cæſar to that of the emperor Heraclius.

Egypt falls under the dominion of the Romans.

At that period the Saracens, in the reign of Omar their third emperor, and under the command of Amrou, invaded and conquered Egypt, took Miſrah (formerly called Memphis, but now Cairo) by ſtorm, and alſo Alexandria, after they had beſieged it fourteen months, and had loſt no leſs than 23,000 men. But the greateſt loſs in the deſtruction of the latter place was the famous library, founded by the firſt Ptolemies, and ſo much enlarged and improved by their ſucceſſors, that the books contained in it amounted to 700,000 volumes, all of which were committed to the flames. Before this event, Egypt was frequented by learned foreigners from almoſt all parts, and it produced ſeveral learned natives; but afterwards it became more and more *a baſe kingdom*, and ſunk into the greateſt ignorance and ſuperſtition. Mahometaniſm was eſtabliſhed there, inſtead of Chriſtianity, and the government of the caliphs and ſultans continued till about the year after Chriſt, 1250.

About this time the Mamalucs uſurped the royal authority. Their government began with the Sultan Ibeg, in the 648th year of the Hegira, and the year of Chriſt 1250; and continued through a ſeries of twenty-four Turkiſh and twenty-three Circaſſian Mamaluc Sultans, ending with Tumanbai, in the year of Chriſt 1517. At that time Selim, the ninth emperor of the Turks, conquered the Mamalucs, hanged their laſt ſultan Tumanbai before one of the gates of Cairo, and put an end to their government. He cauſed five hundred of the chiefeſt Egyptian families to be tranſplanted to Conſtantinople, as likewiſe great numbers of the wives and children of the Mamalucs, beſides the Sultan's treaſure and other immenſe riches; and annexed Egypt to the Ottoman empire, whereof it hath continued a province from that day to this. It is governed by a Turkiſh Baſha with twenty-four *begs* or princes under him, who are advanced from ſervitude to the adminiſtration of public affairs; a ſuperſtitious notion poſſeſſing the Egyptians, that it is decreed by fate that captives ſhall reign, and the natives be ſubject to them. But it is not merely a ſuperſtitious notion, but a notion in all probability at firſt derived from ſome tradition of theſe prophecies, that "Egypt ſhould be a baſe kingdom," and that "there ſhould be no more a prince of the land of Egypt." Such are the events which have taken place in Egypt, and ſuch has been the fulfilment of the prophecy of Ezekiel, relative to the deſtruction of this once flouriſhing and important kingdom.

The Mamalucs uſurp the royal authority.

Egypt a province to the Turkiſh empire.

CHAP. XI.

The Prophecies of DANIEL.

ON Nebuchadnezzar's dream, and the interpretation of it, were founded the firſt and all the ſucceeding prophecies of Daniel. This dream was of "a great image. This great image, whoſe brightneſs was excellent, ſtood before him, and the form thereof was terrible." It appears, from ancient coins, that cities and people were often repreſented by figures of men and women. A great terrible figure was, therefore, not an improper emblem of human power and dominion; and the various metals of which it was compoſed, not unfitly typify the various kingdoms which ſhould ariſe. It conſiſted of four different metals, gold and ſilver, and braſs and iron, with clay; and theſe four metals, according to Daniel's own interpretation, mean ſo many kingdoms: and the order of their ſucceſſion is clearly denoted by the order of the parts, the head and higher parts ſignifying the earlier times, and the lower parts the latter times. From hence, it is conjectured, by Calvin,

Subſtance of Nebuchadnezzar's dream.

vin, the poets drew their fables of the four ages of the world, namely, the golden, the ſilver, the braſen, and the iron age.

Theſe different kingdoms will naturally conſtitute the different heads of our diſcourſe on Daniel's prophecy and interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream; in the explanation of which we ſhall follow the beſt commentators on the ſubject, but at the ſame time ſhall not regard any commentator ſo much as the truth of hiſtory, the evidence of reaſon, and the analogy of ſcripture.

Daniel addreſſes Nebuchadnezzar as a very powerful king, "Thou, O king, art a king of kings," ver. 37. Nebuchadnezzar might, perhaps, think, like ſome of his predeceſſors, that his conqueſts were owing to his own fortitude and prudence: but the prophet aſſures him his ſucceſſes muſt be primarily aſcribed to the God of heaven, "For the God of heaven (ſaith he) hath given thee a kingdom, power, and ſtrength, and glory." But Nebuchadnezzar's empire, though of great extent, was yet of no long duration; for it ended in his grandſon Belſhazzar, not ſeventy years after the delivery of this prophecy: and this may be the reaſon of Daniel's ſpeaking of him as the only king, "thou art this head of gold (on account of his great riches), and after thee ſhall riſe," &c. Dan. ii. 38, 39.

"His breaſt and his arms of ſilver," which Daniel thus interprets, "And after thee ſhall ariſe another kingdom inferior to thee." It is very well known that the kingdom which aroſe after the Babylonian was the Medo-Perſian. The two hands and the ſhoulders ſignify that the empire of the Babylonians ſhould be diſſolved by two kings. The two kings were, the kings of the Medes and Perſians, whoſe powers were united under Cyrus, who beſieged and took Babylon, put an end to that empire, and on its ruins erected the Medo-Perſian, or the Perſian (as it is more uſually called), the Perſians having ſoon gained the aſcendancy over the Medes. This empire, from its firſt eſtabliſhment by Cyrus, to the death of the laſt king Darius Codomannus, laſted not much above two hundred years. And thus far it is agreed by all commentators, that the two firſt kingdoms repreſented in Nebuchadnezzar's dream, were the Babylonian and the Perſian.

That the third kingdom was the Macedonian, there is not the leaſt doubt. St. Jerom ſaith expreſsly, "The third kingdom ſignifies Alexander, and the kingdom of the Macedonians, and of the ſucceſſors of Alexander. Which is rightly named braſen, ſaith he: for among all metals braſs is moſt vocal, and tinkles louder, and its ſound is diffuſed far and wide, that it portended not only the fame and power of the kingdom, but alſo the eloquence of the Greek language." After the death of Alexander, the kingdoms of the eaſt were divided among his ſucceſſors, but the whole ſtill retained the name of the Macedonian empire; and Juſtin reckons Alexander the ſame to the Macedonians, as Cyrus was to the Perſians, and Romulus to the Romans. See Dan. ii. 40, &c.

This fourth kingdom is deſcribed as ſtronger than the three preceding. As iron breaketh and bruiſeth all other metals, ſo this was to break and ſubdue all the former kingdoms. The metal here is different, and conſequently the nation was to be different from the preceding. The four different metals muſt ſignify the four different nations: and as the gold ſignified the Babylonians, the ſilver the Perſians, and the braſs the Macedonians, ſo the iron muſt neceſſarily denote ſome other nation; and that this nation was no other than that of the Romans will evidently appear from what follows.

The Roman empire was ſtronger and larger than any of the preceding. The Romans brake in pieces, and ſubdued, all the former kingdoms. Joſephus ſays, that as the two arms of ſilver denoted the kings of the Medes and Perſians, ſo we might ſay, in like manner, that the two legs of iron ſignified the two Roman conſuls. The iron was "mixed with miry clay," and the Romans were defiled with a mixture of barbarous nations. The Roman empire was at length divided into ten leſſer kingdoms, anſwering to the ten toes of the image. Theſe kingdoms retained much of the old Roman ſtrength, and manifeſted it upon ſeveral occaſions; ſo that the "kingdom was partly ſtrong and partly broken." They "mingled themſelves with the ſeed of men." They made marriages and alliances one with another; but no hearty union enſued.

Excluſive of this wonderful image, Nebuchadnezzar ſaw in his dream "a ſtone cut out without hands, which ſmote the image upon his feet that were of iron and clay, and broke them to pieces: then was the iron, the clay, the braſs, the ſilver, and the gold, broken in pieces together, and became like the chaff of the threſhing-floors, and the wind carried them away, that no place was found for them; and the ſtone that ſmote the image became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth:" which is thus interpreted and explained by Daniel; "And in the days of theſe kings ſhall the God of heaven ſet up a kingdom, which ſhall never be deſtroyed; and the kingdom ſhall not be left to other people, but it ſhall break in pieces, and conſume all theſe kingdoms, and it ſhall ſtand for ever: foraſmuch as thou ſaweſt that the ſtone was cut out of the mountain without hands, and that it brake in pieces the iron, the braſs, the clay, the ſilver, and the gold," ver. 44, 45. By this was evidently meant the kingdom of Chriſt, which was ſet up during the days of the laſt of the beforementioned kingdoms. The *ſtone* was totally a very different thing from the *image*, and the kingdom of Chriſt is totally different from the kingdoms of the world. "The ſtone was cut out of the mountain without hands," and was to be "a building of God, an houſe not made with hands." This the fathers generally apply to Chriſt himſelf, who was miraculouſly born of a virgin without the concurrence of a man: but it ſhould rather be underſtood of the

Interpretation of that part of Nebuchadnezzar's dream which relates to the kingdom of Chriſt.

kingdom of Chriſt, which was formed out of the Roman empire, not by number of hands, or ſtrength of armies, but without human means, and the aſſiſtance of ſecond cauſes. This kingdom was "ſet up by the God of heaven;" and from thence the phraſe of "the kingdom of heaven" came to ſignify the coming of the Meſſiah; and ſo it was uſed and underſtood by the Jews, and ſo it is applied by our Saviour in the New Teſtament. Other kingdoms were raiſed by human ambition and worldly power: but this was the work not of man, but of God; this was truly, as it is called, "the kingdom of heaven," and "a kingdom not of this world;" its laws, its powers, were all divine. This kingdom was "never to be deſtroyed," as the Babylonian, the Perſian, and the Macedonian empires have been, and, in a great meaſure, alſo the Roman. This kingdom of Chriſt was to "break in pieces and conſume all the kingdoms," to ſpread and enlarge itſelf, ſo that it ſhould comprehend within itſelf all the former kingdoms. In ſhort, it was to "fill the whole earth," to become univerſal, and to "ſtand for ever."

This fifth kingdom, or the kingdom of Chriſt, is deſcribed, like the Roman, in a twofold ſtate, which Mr. Mede very juſtly diſtinguiſhes by the names of "the kingdom of the ſtone," and "the kingdom of the mountain;" the firſt, when "the ſtone was cut out of the mountain without hands;" that is, the kingdom of Chriſt was firſt ſet up while the Roman empire was in its full ſtrength with "legs of iron." The Roman empire was afterwards divided into ten leſſer kingdoms, the remains of which are ſtill ſubſiſting. The image is ſtill ſtanding upon his feet and toes of iron and clay; the kingdom of Chriſt is ſtill "the ſtone cut out of the mountain;" this ſtone will one day ſmite the image upon the feet and toes, and deſtroy it utterly, and will itſelf "become a great mountain and fill the whole earth;" or, in other words, "the kingdoms of this world ſhall become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Chriſt, and he ſhall reign for ever and ever," Rev. xi. 15. We have, therefore, ſeen the kingdom of the *ſtone*, but we have not yet ſeen the kingdom of the *mountain*. Some parts of this prophecy ſtill remain to be fulfilled; and, from the exact completion of the other part, there is not the leaſt doubt but that the reſt, in due ſeaſon, will be fully accompliſhed. This interpretation of the fifth kingdom is conſonant to the ſenſe of all ancient writers, both Jews and Chriſtians.

Thus did it pleaſe God to reveal unto Daniel, and, by Daniel, unto Nebuchadnezzar, the great and moſt ſignal events of this world, as Daniel ſaid unto Nebuchadnezzar at the time he interpreted his dream, "The great God hath made known to the king what ſhall come to paſs hereafter; and the dream is certain, and the interpretation thereof is ſure," Dan. ii. 45. The king, hearing his dream related with ſuch exactneſs, might be better aſſured of the truth of the interpretation, and of the great events which ſhould follow.

We muſt allow, that the great Arbiter of kingdoms, and Governor of the univerſe, can reveal as much of their future revolutions as he pleaſeth: and he hath revealed enough to manifeſt his providence, and to confirm the truth of religion. What Daniel, therefore, ſaid, on the firſt diſcovery of theſe things, may be very juſtly applied after the completion of ſo many particulars: "Bleſſed be the name of God for ever and ever; for wiſdom and might are his. And he changeth the times and the ſeaſons: he removeth kings, and ſetteth up kings: he giveth wiſdom unto the wiſe, and knowledge to them that know knowledge. He revealeth the deep and ſecret things: he knoweth what is in the darkneſs, and the light dwelleth with him," Dan. ii. 20, &c.

CHAP. XII.

Of DANIEL's Viſion concerning the four great Empires.

IN Daniel's viſion the firſt kingdom is repreſented by a beaſt, that was "like a lion, and had eagle's wings: and I beheld till the wings thereof were plucked, and it was lifted up from the earth, and made to ſtand upon the feet as a man, and a man's heart was given to it," Dan. vii. 4. This is the kingdom of the Babylonians: and the king of Babylon is, in like manner, compared to a lion by the prophet Jeremiah, "the lion is come up from his thicket, and the deſtroyer of the Gentiles is on his way," Jer. iv. 7. and he is ſaid to fly as an eagle, "Behold, he ſhall fly as an eagle, and ſhall ſpread his wings over Moab," xlviii. 40. And he is alſo compared to an eagle by the prophet Ezekiel, "Thus ſaith the Lord God, "A great eagle with great wings," &c. Ezek. xvii. 3. Emblem of the firſt kingdom.

The lion is the king of beaſts, and the eagle the king of birds; and therefore the kingdom of Babylon which is deſcribed as the firſt and nobleſt kingdom, and was the kingdom then in being, is ſaid to partake of the nature of both. The eagle's wings denote its ſwiftneſs and rapidity: and the conqueſts of Babylon were very rapid, that empire being advanced to its height within a few years by a ſingle perſon, namely, by the conduct and arms of Nebuchadnezzar. It is farther ſaid that "the wings thereof were plucked." Its wings were beginning to be plucked when Daniel's prophecy was firſt delivered, for at that time the Medes and Perſians were incroaching upon it: Belſhazzar, the then reigning king, was the laſt of his race; and in the ſeventeenth year of his reign Babylon was taken, and the kingdom was transferred to the Medes and Perſians. "And it was made to ſtand upon the feet as a man, and a man's heart was given to it." The meaning of this paſſage is ſuppoſed to be an alluſion to the caſe of Nebuchadnezzar, when, in his madneſs, "a beaſt's Explanation of it.

beaſt's heart was given to him," and after he was reſtored to his ſenſes, "a man's heart was given him" again.

Emblem of the ſecond kingdom.

The ſecond kingdom is repreſented by "another beaſt like to a bear, and it raiſed up itſelf on one ſide, and it had three ribs in the mouth of it between the teeth of it: and they ſaid thus unto it, Ariſe, devour much fleſh," Dan. vii.

Explanation.

5. This is the kingdom of the Medes and Perſians: and for their cruelty and greedineſs after blood they are compared to a *bear*, which is a ſavage and voracious animal. The learned Bochart recounts ſeveral particulars wherein the Perſians reſembled bears; but the chief likeneſs conſiſted in what has been already mentioned; and this likeneſs was principally intended by the prophet, as evidently appears from the words of the text itſelf, "Ariſe, devour much fleſh." "And it raiſed up itſelf on one ſide," or, "it raiſed up one dominion." The Perſians were ſubject to the Medes at the conqueſt of Babylon, but ſoon after raiſed themſelves above them. "And it had three ribs in the mouth of it between the teeth of it." By theſe are meant the three kingdoms of the Babylonians, Medes, and Perſians, which were reduced into one kingdom. They might properly be called *ribs*, as the conqueſt of them much ſtrengthened the Perſian empire; and they might be ſaid to be between "the teeth of the bear," as they were much grinded and oppreſſed by the Perſians. "And they ſaid thus unto it, Ariſe, devour much fleſh." This, as we have before obſerved, was ſaid, to denote the natural cruelty of the Medes and Perſians. They are alſo repreſented as very cruel by the prophet Iſaiah, chap. xiii. 18. Cambyſes, Ochus, and others of their princes, were, indeed, more like bears than men. Inſtances of their cruelty abound in almoſt all the hiſtorians who have written of their affairs.

Natural cruelty of the Medes and Perſians.

Emblem of the third kingdom.

Explanation.

The third kingdom is repreſented by "another beaſt like a leopard, which had upon the back of it four wings of a fowl; the beaſt had alſo four heads; and dominion was given to it." This is the kingdom of the Macedonians or Grecians, who, under the command of Alexander the Great, overcame the Perſians, and reigned next after them: and it is fitly compared to a leopard on ſeveral accounts. The leopard is remarkable for ſwiftneſs; and Alexander and the Macedonians were amazingly ſwift and rapid in their conqueſts. The leopard is a ſpotted animal; and was therefore a proper emblem (according to Bochart) of the different manners of the nations which Alexander commanded, or (according to Grotius) of the various manners of Alexander himſelf, who was ſometimes merciful, and ſometimes cruel; ſometimes temperate, and ſometimes drunken; ſometimes abſtemious, and ſometimes incontinent. The leopard (as Bochart obſerves) is of ſmall ſtature, but of great courage, ſo as not to be afraid to engage with the lion and the largeſt beaſts; and ſo Alexander, a little king in compariſon, of ſmall ſtature too, and with a ſmall army, dared to attack Darius, whoſe kingdom was extended from the Ægean ſea to the Indies.

The beaſt had upon the back of it four wings "of a fowl." The Babylonian empire was repreſented with *two* wings, but this is deſcribed with *four*. For (as St. Jerome ſaith) nothing could be ſwifter than the victories of Alexander, who ran through all the countries from Illyricum and the Adriatic ſea, to the Indian ocean and the river Ganges, not ſo much fighting as conquering, and in twelve years ſubjugated part of Europe, and all Aſia to himſelf. "The beaſt had alſo four heads;" to denote the four kingdoms into which this ſame third kingdom ſhould be divided, as it was divided, after the death of Alexander, into four kingdoms, Caſſander reigning over Macedon and Greece, Lyſimachus over Thrace and Bithynia, Ptolemy over Egypt, and Seleucus over Syria. "And dominion was given to it." This (as St. Jerom ſays) ſheweth, that it was not owing to the fortitude of Alexander, but proceeded from the will of the Lord. And, indeed, unleſs he had been directed, preſerved, and aſſiſted by the ſupreme power how could Alexander with 30,000 men have overcome Darius with 600,000, and, in ſo ſhort a time, have brought all the countries into ſubjection, from Greece as far as to India?

Emblem of the fourth kingdom.

The fourth kingdom is repreſented (Dan. vii.) by a "fourth beaſt, dreadful and terrible; and ſtrong exceedingly; and it had great iron teeth; it devoured, and brake in pieces, and ſtamped the reſidue with the feet of it, and it was diverſe from all the beaſts that were before." Daniel was particularly deſirous to know what this might mean; upon which he was thus anſwered by the angel, who had explained to him the former part of his viſion: "The fourth beaſt ſhall be the fourth kingdom upon the earth, which ſhall be diverſe from all kingdoms, and ſhall devour the whole earth and ſhall tread it down, and break it in pieces."

Explanation.

This fourth kingdom can be none other than the Roman empire. The fourth beaſt was ſo great and horrible, that it was not eaſy to find an adequate name for it: and the Roman empire was "dreadful, and terrible, and ſtrong exceedingly," beyond any of the former kingdoms. It was "diverſe from all kingdoms," not only in its republican form of government, but likewiſe in ſtrength and power, and greatneſs, length of duration, and extent of dominion. "It devoured and brake it in pieces, and ſtamped the reſidue with the feet of it." It reduced Macedon into a Roman province about 168 years, the kingdom of Pergamus about 133 years, Syria about 65 years, and Egypt about 30 years, before Chriſt. And beſides the remains of the Macedonian empire, it ſubdued many other provinces and kingdoms; ſo that it might very juſtly be ſaid to "devour the whole earth, and to tread it down, and break it in pieces;" and it became, in a manner, what the Roman writers delighted to call it, namely, "the empire of the whole world."

Beſides theſe ten horns or kingdoms of the fourth empire

empire, there was to ſpring up among them another little horn. "I conſidered the horns (ſaith Daniel) and behold, there came up among them another little horn, before whom there were three of the firſt horns plucked up by the roots." Daniel was eager to know the meaning of this part of the viſion; upon which the angel informed him, that as "the ten horns out of this kingdom were "ten kings," or kingdoms, "that ſhould ariſe," ſo likewiſe that "another ſhall riſe after them, and he ſhall ſubdue three kings," or kingdoms.

Obſervations by Machiavel.

The celebrated Machiavel (in his hiſtory of Florence) after having ſhewn how the Roman empire was divided by the incurſions of the northern nations, ſays, "About this time the biſhops of Rome began to take upon them, and to exerciſe greater authority than they had formerly done. At firſt the ſucceſſors of St. Peter were venerable and eminent for their miracles, and the holineſs of their lives; and their examples added daily ſuch numbers to the Chriſtian church, that to obviate or remove the confuſions which were then in the world, many princes turned Chriſtians, and the emperor of Rome being converted among the reſt, and quitting Rome, to hold his reſidence at Conſtantinople, the Roman empire began to decline, but the church of Rome augmented as faſt."

Here is a little horn ſpringing up among the other ten horns. The biſhop of Rome was reſpectable as a biſhop long before, but he did not become an *horn* properly (which is an emblem of ſtrength and power) till he became a temporal prince. He was to *riſe after* the others, that is, *behind them;* ſo that the ten kings were not aware of the growing up of the little horn, till it had overpowered them. "Three of the firſt horns (that is, three of the firſt kings or kingdoms) were to be plucked up by the roots," and to "fall before him." Theſe three are very fully explained both by Mr. Mede and Sir Iſaac Newton; but, as there is very little variation between them, we ſhall only quote the words of the latter. "Kings (ſaith he) are put for kingdoms, and therefore the little horn is a little kingdom. It was an horn of the fourth beaſt, and rooted up three of his firſt horns, therefore we are to look for it among the nations of the Latin empire, after the riſe of the ten horns.—In the eighth century, by rooting up and ſubduing the exarchate of Ravenna, the kingdom of the Lombards, and the ſenate and dukedom of Rome, the biſhop acquired Peter's patrimony out of their dominions; and thereby roſe up as a temporal prince or king, or horn of the fourth beaſt."

Explanation by Mr. Mede and Sir Iſaac Newton.

The exarchate of Ravenna, the kingdom of Lombardy, and the ſtate of Rome, were "the three horns, three of the firſt horns," which fell before the little horn: and the pope hath, in a manner, pointed himſelf out for the perſon by wearing the *triple crown.* In other reſpects too the pope fully anſwers the character of the little horn; ſo that if exquiſite fitneſs of application may aſſure us of the true ſenſe of the prophecy, we can no longer doubt concerning the perſon. He is "a little horn:" and the power of the popes was originally very ſmall, and their temporal dominions were little and inconſiderable in compariſon with others of the ten horns.

Nature of the Pope's power.

1. "He ſhall be diverſe from the firſt:" that is, his kingdom ſhall be of a different nature and conſtitution: and the power of the pope differs greatly from that of all other princes, he having not only an eccleſiaſtical, but likewiſe a civil and temporal authority. 2. "And behold in this horn were eyes like the eyes of a man." This denotes his cunning and foreſight, his looking out and watching all opportunities to promote his own intereſts: and the policy of the Roman hierarchy had almoſt paſſed into a proverb. 3. "He had a mouth ſpeaking very great things." And who hath been more noiſy and bluſtering than the pope, eſpecially in former ages, boaſting of his ſupremacy, thundering out his bulls and anathemas, excommunicating princes, and abſolving ſubjects from their allegiance? 4. "His look was more ſtout than his fellows." And the pope aſſumes a ſuperiority, not only over his fellow biſhops, but even over crowned heads, and requires greater honours to be paid to him than are expected even by kings and emperors themſelves. 5. "And he ſhall ſpeak great words againſt the Moſt High; *or*, he ſhall ſpeak great words as the Moſt High." And has he not ſet himſelf up above all laws, divine and human, arrogating to himſelf godlike attributes and titles of *holineſs* and *infallibility*, exacting obedience to his ordinances and decrees in preference to, and in open violation of reaſon and ſcripture? 6. And he ſhall wear out the ſaints of the Moſt High." This he has done by wars, maſſacres and inquiſitions, perſecuting and deſtroying the faithful ſervants of Chriſt, and the true worſhippers of God, who have proteſted againſt his innovations, and refuſed to comply with the idolatry practiſed in the church of Rome. 7. "And he ſhall think to change times and laws." This he has done by appointing faſts and feaſts, canonizing ſaints, granting pardons and indulgences for ſins, inſtituting new modes of worſhip, impoſing new articles of faith, enjoining new rules of practice, and, in ſhort, reverſing at pleaſure the laws both of God and man. Such has been the power of the pope even for many centuries, and ſuch is the little horn that was to ariſe out of the ten horns, or kingdoms, into which the Roman empire was divided.

His perſecuting diſpoſition.

But the four kingdoms repreſented in Daniel's viſion, were to be followed by a fifth, namely, the kingdom of the Meſſiah. "I beheld (ſaith Daniel) till the thrones were caſt down, and the Antient of days did ſit, whoſe garment was white as ſnow, and the hair of his head like the pure wool; his throne was like the fiery flame, and his wheels as burning fire. A fiery ſtream iſſued and came forth from before him; thouſand thouſands miniſtered unto him: and ten thouſand times ten thouſand ſtood before him: the judgment

Daniel's viſion of the kingdom of the Meſſiah.

was ſet, and the books were opened," Dan. vii. 9, 10. Theſe metaphors and figures are taken from the ſolemnities of earthly judicatories, and particularly of the great Sanhedrim of the Jews, where the father of the conſiſtory ſat, with his aſſeſſors ſeated on each ſide of him, in the form of a ſemicircle, and the people ſtanding before him: and from this was taken the deſcription of the day of judgment as given in the New Teſtament.

"I beheld then, becauſe of the voice of the great words which the horn ſpoke; I beheld, even till the beaſt was ſlain, and his body deſtroyed, and given to the burning flame," ver 11. The beaſt will be deſtroyed "becauſe of the great words which the horn ſpoke," and the deſtruction of the beaſt will alſo be the deſtruction of the horn; and conſequently the horn is a part of the fourth beaſt, or of the Roman empire. "As concerning the reſt of the beaſts, they had their dominion taken away, yet their lives were prolonged for a ſeaſon and a time." When the dominion was taken away from the other beaſts, their bodies were not deſtroyed, they were ſuffered to continue ſtill in being: but when the dominion ſhall be taken away from the fourth beaſt, his body ſhall be totally deſtroyed; the other kingdoms ſucceeded each other, but none other earthly kingdom ſhall ſucceed to this. "I ſaw in the night viſions, and behold, one like the Son of Man came in the clouds of heaven, and came to the antient of days, and they brought him near before him." Here was evidently diſplayed the coming of the Meſſiah. From hence "the Son of Man" came to be a known term for Meſſiah among the Jews. From hence it was taken and uſed ſo frequently in the goſpel; Our Saviour intimates himſelf to be this very Son of Man: "Hereafter (ſays he) ſhall ye ſee the Son of Man ſitting at the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven," Matt. xxvi. 64, 65. And for ſaying this he was charged by the high-prieſt with having "ſpoken blaſphemy." "And there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages ſhould ſerve him: his dominion is an everlaſting dominion, which ſhall not paſs away, and his kingdom that which ſhall not be deſtroyed," Dan. vii. 14. All theſe kingdoms ſhall, in time, be deſtroyed, but the kingdom of the Meſſiah ſhall ſtand for ever: and it was in alluſion to this part of the prophecy that the angel ſaid of Chriſt before he was born, "He ſhall reign over the houſe of Jacob for ever, and of his kingdom there ſhall be no end," Luke i. 33.

In what manner theſe great changes will be effected, we cannot pretend to ſay, as God hath not been pleaſed to reveal it unto us. We ſee, however, the remains of the ten horns which aroſe out of the Roman empire. We ſee the little horn ſtill ſubſiſting, but, it is to be hoped, on the decline, and tending towards a diſſolution. And having ſeen ſo many of theſe particulars accompliſhed, we can have no reaſon to doubt but that the reſt alſo will, in due ſeaſon, be amply fulfilled.

CHAP. XIII.

The Viſion of the Prophet DANIEL, relative to the Ram and He-Goat.

"THEN I lifted up mine eyes, and ſaw, and behold, there ſtood before the river a ram which had two horns, and the two horns were high; but one was higher than the other, and the higher came up laſt," Dan. viii. 3. This ram with two horns, according to the explication of the angel Gabriel, was the empire of the Medes and Perſians. "The ram which thou ſaweſt having two horns, are the kings (or kingdoms) of Media and Perſia," ver. 20. This empire was a coalition of two very formidable powers, and therefore it is ſaid, that "the two horns were high: but one," it is added, "was higher than the other, and the higher came up laſt." The kingdom of Media was the more antient of the two, and more famous in hiſtory. Perſia was of little note or account till the time of Cyrus; but under him the Perſians gained and preſerved the aſcendency.

Cyrus unites the kingdoms of Media and Perſia.

The great exploits of the ram are afterwards recapitulated by the prophet, who ſays, "I ſaw the ram puſhing weſtward, and northward, and ſouthward, ſo that no beaſts might ſtand before him, neither was there any that could deliver out of his hand, but he did according to his will, and became great," Dan. viii. 4. Under Cyrus himſelf the Perſians puſhed their conqueſts *weſtward* as far as the Ægean Sea and the bounds of Aſia: *northward* they ſubdued the Armenians, Cappadocians, and various other nations: and *ſouthward* they conquered Egypt, if not under Cyrus, yet moſt certainly under his ſon Cambyſes.

Explanation of the ram in Daniel's viſion.

The ram was ſtrong and powerful, "ſo that no beaſts might ſtand before him, neither was there any that could deliver out of his hand;" that is, none of the neighbouring kingdoms were able to contend with the Perſians, but all fell under their dominion. "He did according to his will, and became great:" and the Perſian empire was increaſed and enlarged to ſuch a degree, that it extended "from India even unto Ethiopia, over an hundred and ſeven and twenty provinces," Eſther i. 1. So that ſeven provinces were added to the hundred and twenty which it contained in the time of Cyrus, Dan. vi. 1.

Great extent of the Perſian empire.

After the ram appears the he-goat. "And as I was conſidering (ſaith Daniel) behold, an he-goat came from the weſt on the face of the whole earth, and touched not the ground: and the goat had a notable horn between his eyes;" which is thus interpreted by the angel Gabriel: "The rough goat is the king of Grecia, and the great horn that is between his eyes is the firſt king," or kingdom. A *goat* is very properly made the type of the Grecian or Macedonian empire, becauſe the Ma-

Of the he-goat.

cedonians at firſt, about two hundred years before Daniel, were denominated *Ægeadæ*, or "the goat's people;" and the reaſon of their being ſo called is thus accounted for by heathen authors. Caranus, their firſt king, going with a great multitude of Greeks to ſeek new habitations in Macedonia, was commanded by the oracle to take the goats for his guides to empire: and afterwards ſeeing an herd of goats flying from a violent ſtorm, he followed them to Edeſſa, and there fixed the ſeat of his empire, made the goats his enſign, or ſtandards, and called the city *Egeæ*, or "the goat's town," and the people *Egeadæ*, or "the goat's people."

This he-goat "came on the weſt from the face of the whole earth;" that is, he carried every thing before him in all the three parts of the then known world. "And he touched not the ground:" his marches were ſo ſwift, and his conqueſts ſo rapid, that he might be ſaid, in a manner, to paſs over the ground without touching it. For the ſame reaſon the ſame empire in the former viſion was likened to a *leopard*, which is a very ſwift and active animal; and, to denote the greater quickneſs and impetuoſity, to "a leopard with four wings."

"And the goat had a notable horn between his eyes." This horn, ſaith the angel, "is the firſt king," or kingdom of the Greeks in Aſia, which was erected by Alexander the Great, and continued for ſome years under his brother Philip Aridæus, and his two ſons Alexander Ægus and Hercules. Dean Prideaux, in ſpeaking of the ſwiftneſs of Alexander's marches, hath a paſſage which is very pertinent to our preſent purpoſe. "He flew (ſays he) with victory ſwifter than others can travel, often with his horſe purſuing his enemies upon the ſpur whole days and nights, and ſometimes making long marches for ſeveral days one after the other, as once he did in purſuit of Darius, going near forty miles a day for eleven days together. So that by the ſpeed of his marches he came upon the enemy before they were aware of him, and conquered them before they could be in a poſture to reſiſt him."

Prideaux's deſcription of Alexander the Great's ſwiftneſs in purſuing his conqueſts.

In the next part of this viſion we have an account of the Perſian empire being overthrown by the Grecians, ſee Dan. viii. 6, 7. The ram had before *puſhed weſtward*, and the Perſians, in the reigns of Darius Hyſtaſpis and Xerxes, had poured down with great armies into Greece: but now the Grecians, in return, carried their arms into Aſia, and the he-goat invaded the ram that had invaded him.

The Perſian empire overthrown by the Grecians.

"And he came to the ram that had two horns, which I had ſeen ſtanding before the river, and ran unto him in the fury of his power." Theſe words ſtrongly point to our imagination the army of Darius ſtanding and guarding the river Granicus, and that of Alexander's on the other ſide plunging in, ſwimming acroſs the ſtream, and ruſhing on the enemy with all the fire and fury that can be conceived.

"And I ſaw him come cloſe unto the ram." He had ſeveral cloſe engagements, or ſet battles, with the king of Perſia, and particularly at the river Granicus in Phrygia, at the Straits of Iſſus in Cilicia, and in the plains of Arbela in Aſſyria. "And he was moved with choler againſt him." That was for the cruelties which the Perſians had exerciſed towards the Grecians; and for Darius's attempting to corrupt ſometimes the ſoldiers of Alexander to betray him, and ſometimes his friends to deſtroy him; ſo that he would not liſten to the moſt advantageous offers of peace, but he determined to purſue the Perſian king till he fought his deſtruction. "And he ſmote the ram, and brake his two horns." He ſubdued Perſia and Media, with the other provinces and kingdoms of the Perſian empire; and it is remarkable that in Perſia he barbarouſly ſacked and burned the royal city of Perſepolis, the capital of the empire; and in Media, Darius was ſeized and made a priſoner by ſome of his own traitor-ſubjects, who, not long after, baſely murdered him. "And there was no power in the ram to ſtand before him, but he caſt him down to the ground, and ſtamped upon him." He conquered where-ever he went, routed all the forces, took all the cities and caſtles, and entirely ſubverted and ruined the Perſian empire. "And there was none that could deliver the ram out of his hand." Not even the numerous armies of the king of Perſia could defend him; though his forces at the battle of Iſſus amounted to 600,000 men, and at that of Arbela to 10 or 11,00,000, whereas the whole number of Alexander's was not more than 40,000 in either battle.

The Perſian empire totally ruined.

The empire of the goat was in its full ſtrength when Alexander died at Babylon. He was ſucceeded on the throne by his natural brother Philip Aridæus, and by his own two ſons Alexander Ægus and Hercules: but in the ſpace of about fifteen years they were all murdered, and then the firſt *horn*, or kingdom, was entirely *broken*. The royal family being thus extinct, the governors of provinces, who had uſurped the power, aſſumed the title of kings: and by the defeat and death of Antigonus, they were reduced to four, namely, Caſſander, Lyſimachus, Ptolemy, and Seleucus, who parted Alexander's dominions between them, and divided and ſettled them into four kingdoms, and in the partition of the empire, Caſſander held Macedon, and Greece, and the *weſtern* parts; Lyſimachus had Thrace, Bithynia, and the *northern* regions; Ptolemy poſſeſſed Egypt, and the *ſouthern* countries; and Seleucus obtained Syria, and the *eaſtern* provinces. Thus were they divided "toward the four winds of heaven." Theſe four kingdoms are the "notable horns," which came up in the room of the firſt great horn; and are the ſame as the "four heads of the leopard" in the former viſion.

Death of Alexander, and untimely ends of his ſucceſſors.

As, in the former viſion, a little horn ſprang up among the ten horns of the Roman empire, ſo here a little horn is deſcribed as riſing among the four horns of the Grecian empire. "And out of one of them came forth a little horn, which waxed exceeding

ing great, toward the ſouth, and toward the eaſt, and toward the pleaſant land," Dan. viii. 9. This little horn is thought to be Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria, who was a great enemy and cruel perſecutor of the Jews.

The remainder of this prophecy chiefly relates to the perſecution and oppreſſing the people of God; ſince it is farther added, that "he ſhall alſo ſtand up againſt the Prince of princes." By the "prince of princes" is undoubtedly meant the Meſſiah. It was by the malice of the Jews, and the authority of the Romans, that he was put to death; and he ſuffered the puniſhment of the Roman malefactors and ſlaves. The Romans not only crucified our Saviour, but alſo perſecuted his diſciples for above three centuries: and when at length they embraced the Chriſtian religion, they ſoon corrupted it; ſo that it may be queſtioned whether their favour was not as hurtful to the church as their enmity. As the power of the Roman emperors declined, that of the Roman pontiffs increaſed: and may it not with equal truth and juſtice be ſaid of the latter, as of the former, that they "caſt down the truth to the ground, and practiſed, and proſpered?" The perſecuting power of Rome, whether exerciſed towards the Jews, or towards the Chriſtians, or by the emperors or popes, is ſtill "the little horn." The tyranny is the ſame; but exerted in Greece and the eaſt it is the little horn of the he-goat, or third empire; as exerted in Italy and the weſt, it is the little horn of the fourth beaſt, or fourth empire. But the little horn, like other tyrannical powers, was to come to a remarkable end: "he ſhall be broken without hand." As the ſtone in Nebuchadnezzar's dream was "cut out of the mountain without hands," that is, not by human, but by ſupernatural means; ſo the little horn "ſhall be broken without hand," that is, not fall by the hands of man, but periſh by a ſtroke from heaven. And this agrees perfectly with the former predictions of the fatal cataſtrophe of the Romans.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Prophecy of MOSES, concerning a Prophet like unto himſelf.

Prophecies of Moſes concerning a prophet like unto himſelf.

AT the time of this prediction Moſes was about to leave his people, and therefore, to give them ſome comfort, he promiſes them another prophet. "The Lord thy God (ſays he) will raiſe up unto thee a prophet from the midſt of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me; unto him ſhall ye hearken." Deut. xviii. 15. The ſame is repeated in the name of God, "I will raiſe them up a prophet from among their brethren, like unto thee, and will put my words into his mouth, and he ſhall ſpeak unto them all that I ſhall command him," ver. 18. It is likewiſe farther added in the next verſe, "And it ſhall come to paſs, that whoſoever will not hearken unto my words which ye ſhall ſpeak in my name, I will require it of him."

In order to explain the meaning of this amazing prophecy, as well as to point out the full and ample completion of it, it is neceſſary to conſider three things. Firſt, who the prophet was that is here particularly meant. Secondly, that this prophet reſembled Moſes in a much greater degree than any other perſon ever did. And, Thirdly, that the people have been, and ſtill are, ſeverely puniſhed for their infidelity and diſobedience to this prophet predicted by Moſes.

It is undeniably evident, from the declaration which God was pleaſed to make on occaſion of the ſedition raiſed by Miriam and Aaron, that there was not to be any prophet in the Jewiſh church, much leſs a ſucceſſion of prophets, like unto Moſes. Miriam and Aaron grew jealous of Moſes, and mutinied againſt him, ſaying, "Hath the Lord, indeed, ſpoken only by Moſes? hath he not ſpoken alſo by us?" Numb. xii. 2. The controverſy, indeed, was of ſuch importance, that God himſelf was pleaſed to interpoſe and put an end to it.

Miriam and Aaron mutiny againſt Moſes

Hence we may clearly ſee not only the great difference which God was pleaſed to make between Moſes and other prophets, but likewiſe in what reſpect that difference lay. God revealed himſelf unto other prophets in dreams and viſions, but with Moſes he converſed more openly, that is, "face to face." Theſe were privileges and prerogatives of the moſt ſingular nature, and which evidently diſtinguiſhed Moſes from all the other prophets of the Jewiſh diſpenſation. And yet there was a prophet to be raiſed up like unto Moſes: but who ever reſembled him in thoſe ſuperior advantages, except the Meſſiah?

Difference between Moſes and other prophets.

It is, moreover, implied, that this prophet ſhould be a law-giver. "A prophet like unto thee;" not ſimply a prophet, but a prophet like unto Moſes; that is, (as Euſebius explains it) a ſecond law-giver. The reaſon, too, that is aſſigned for ſending this prophet, will evince that he was to be veſted with this character. The people had requeſted that the divine laws might not be delivered to them in ſo terrible and awful a manner as they were in Horeb. God was pleaſed to approve of their requeſt, and, therefore, promiſed that he would raiſe up unto them a prophet like unto Moſes, a law-giver, who ſhould ſpeak unto them his commands in a familiar and gentle way. The prophet, therefore, here meant, was to be a law-giver: but there were not any of the Jewiſh prophets law-givers in all the intermediate time between Moſes and Chriſt.

Chriſt the prophet meant like unto Moſes.

If we take a farther view of this matter, we ſhall find, from the moſt indubitable authority, that there never was any prophet, and much leſs a ſucceſſion of prophets, whom the Jews eſteemed like unto Moſes, from his death to the coming of the Meſſiah. The higheſt degree of inſpiration is termed by them Moſaical, and they enumerate ſeveral particulars, in which *that* hath the pre-eminence and advantage above all others. There was, indeed, in conſequence

quence of this prophecy, a general expectation of ſome extraordinary prophet to ariſe, which particularly prevailed about the time of our Saviour's coming on the earth. The Jews then, as well as ſince, underſtood and applied this prophecy to the Meſſiah, the only prophet whom they will ever allow to be as great, or greater, than Moſes.

When our Saviour had fed five thouſand men, by a miracle like that of Moſes, who fed the Iſraelites in the wilderneſs, then thoſe men ſaid, "This is of a truth that prophet that ſhould come into the world," John vi. 14. St. Peter and St. Stephen, likewiſe, directly apply the prophecy to him, Acts iii. 22, 23. viii. 37. and they may very well be juſtified for ſo doing; for he fully anſwers all the marks and characters which are here given of the prophet like unto Moſes. He had immediate communication with the Deity, and God ſpake to him *face to face*, as he did to Moſes. He performed *ſigns and wonders* as great or greater than thoſe of Moſes. "I will raiſe them up a prophet," ſaith God; and the people glorified God, ſaying, that "A great prophet is riſen up among us," Luke viii. 16. "I will put my words in his mouth," ſaith God; and our Saviour ſaith, "I have given unto them the words which thou gaveſt me," John xviii. 8. "He ſhall ſpeak unto them all that I ſhall command him," ſaith God; and our Saviour ſaith, "I have not ſpoken of myſelf; but the Father which ſent me, he gave me a commandment, what I ſhould ſay, and what I ſhould ſpeak. And I know that his commandment is life everlaſting: whatſoever I ſpeak, therefore, even as the Father ſaid unto me, ſo I ſpeak," John xii. 49, 50.

Having thus clearly pointed out who the perſon was meant in Moſes's prophecy, we are now to take ſome notice of the great and ſtriking likeneſs between Moſes and Chriſt, and how far the latter reſembled the former in more reſpects than any other perſon ever did.

Great likeneſs between Moſes and Chriſt

We have already given ſome inſtances wherein they reſemble each other; namely, of God's ſpeaking to both *face to face*, of both performing *ſigns and wonders*, of both being *lawgivers*; and in theſe reſpects none of the ancient prophets were like unto Moſes. None of them were lawgivers: they only interpreted and enforced the laws of Moſes. None of them performed ſo many and ſuch great wonders. None of them had ſuch clear communications with God: they all ſaw viſions, and dreamed dreams. Moſes and Chriſt are the only two who perfectly reſembled each other in theſe reſpects.

Obſervations made on the ſubject by Dr. Jortin.

"Moſes fled from his country to eſcape the hands of the king of Egypt; ſo did Chriſt, when his parents went into Egypt. "The Lord ſaid unto Moſes, in Midian, Go, return into Egypt; for all the men are dead which ſought thy life," Exod. iv. 19. So the angel of the Lord ſaid to Joſeph in almoſt the ſame words, "Ariſe, and take the young child, and go into the land of Iſrael; for they are dead which ſought the young child's life;" Matt. ii. 20. pointing him out, as it were, for that prophet who ſhould ariſe like unto Moſes. 2. Moſes refuſed to be called the ſon of Pharaoh's daughter, chuſing rather to ſuffer affliction; Chriſt refuſed to be made king, chuſing rather to ſuffer affliction. 3. Moſes, ſays St. Stephen, "was learned in all the wiſdom of the Egyptians," and Joſephus ſays, that he was a very forward and accompliſhed youth, and had wiſdom and knowledge beyond his years. St. Luke obſerves of Chriſt, that "he increaſed (betimes) in wiſdom and ſtature, and in favour with God and man," and his diſcourſes in the temple with the doctors, when he was but twelve years old, were a proof of it. 4. Moſes was not only a lawgiver, a prophet, and a worker of miracles, but a king and a prieſt: in all theſe offices the reſemblance between Moſes and Chriſt was ſingular. 5. Moſes brought darkneſs over the land; the ſun withdrew his light at Chriſt's crucifixion: and as the darkneſs which was ſpread over Egypt was followed by the deſtruction of their firſt-born, and of Pharaoh and his hoſt; ſo the darkneſs at Chriſt's death was the forerunner of the deſtruction of the Jews. 6. Moſes foretold the calamities which would befall the nation for their diſobedience; Chriſt did the ſame. 7. The ſpirit which was in Moſes was conferred in ſome degree upon the ſeventy elders, and they propheſied; Chriſt conferred miraculous powers upon ſeventy diſciples. 8. Moſes was victorious over powerful kings and great nations; ſo was Chriſt by the effects of his religion, and by the fall of thoſe who perſecuted his church. 9. Moſes conquered Amalek by holding up both his hands; Chriſt overcame his and our enemies when his hands were faſtened to the croſs. 10. Moſes interceded for tranſgreſſors, and cauſed an atonement to be made for them, and ſtopped the wrath of God; ſo did Chriſt. 11. Moſes ratified a covenant between God and the people by ſprinkling them with blood; Chriſt with his own blood. 12. Moſes deſired to die for the people, and prayed that God would forgive them, or blot him out of his book; Chriſt did more, he died for ſinners. 13. Moſes inſtituted the paſſover, when a lamb was ſacrificed, none of whoſe bones were to be broken, and whoſe blood protected the people from deſtruction; Chriſt was the paſchal lamb. 14. Moſes lifted up the ſerpent, that they who looked upon him might be healed of their mortal wounds; by properly looking up to Chriſt, all will be healed. 15. All Moſes's affection towards the people, all his cares and toils on their account were repaid by them with ingratitude, murmuring, and rebellion; the ſame returns the Jews made to Chriſt for all his benefits. 16. Moſes was ill uſed by his own family; his brother and ſiſter rebelled againſt him; there was a time when Chriſt's own brethren believed not in him. 17. Moſes had a very wicked and perverſe generation committed to his care and conduct; and, to enable him to rule them, miraculous powers were given to him, and he uſed his utmoſt endeavour to make the people obedient to God, and to ſave them from ruin; but in vain; in the ſpace of forty years they

they all fell in the wilderneſs except two: Chriſt alſo was given to a generation not leſs wicked and perverſe; his inſtructions and his miracles were loſt upon them, and in about the ſame ſpace of time, after they had rejected him, they were deſtroyed. 18. Moſes was very meek above all men that were on the face of the earth; ſo was Chriſt. 19. The people could not enter into the land of promiſe till Moſes was dead; by the death of Chriſt the kingdom of heaven was open to believers.

There is alſo a reſemblance of ſome circumſtances in the death of Moſes and Chriſt: Moſes died, in one ſenſe, for the iniquities of the people; it was their rebellion which was the occaſion of it, which drew down the diſpleaſure of God upon them and upon him: Moſes went up, in the ſight of the people, to the top of Mount Nebo, and there he died, when he was in perfect vigour, when "his eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated:" Chriſt ſuffered for the ſins of men, and was led up, in the preſence of the people, to Mount Calvary, where he died in the flower of his age, and when he was in his full natural ſtrength.

1. Neither Moſes, or Chriſt, as far as we can collect from ſacred hiſtory, were ever ſick, or felt any bodily decay or infirmity, which would have rendered them unfit for the toils they underwent; their ſufferings were of another kind. 2. Moſes was buried, and no man knew where his body lay; nor could the Jews find the body of Chriſt. 3. Laſtly, as Moſes, a little before his death, promiſed "another prophet;" ſo Chriſt, before his death, promiſed "another comforter."

We ſhall now conſider the laſt part of the prophecy, in doing of which it will be no very difficult matter to prove, that the people have been, and ſtill are, ſeverely puniſhed for their infidelity and diſobedience to this prophet.

The words in this part of the prophecy are very clear and expreſs. "Unto him ye ſhall hearken: And it ſhall come to paſs, that whoſoever will not hearken unto my words which he ſhall ſpeak in my name, I will require it of him." That is, he will ſeverely puniſh him for it; or, as the Seventy tranſlate it, "I will take vengeance of him."

God himſelf, in a manner, applies it; for when he was transfigured, there came "a voice out of the cloud, which ſaid, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleaſed; hear ye him," Matt. xvii. 5. This manifeſtly alludes to the words of Moſes, "Unto him ye ſhall hearken;" and clearly points out that Chriſt alone was the prophet like unto Moſes. The apoſtle St. Paul directly applies it to our Saviour. "For Moſes truly ſaid unto the fathers, A prophet ſhall the Lord your God raiſe up unto you, of your brethren, like unto me; him ſhall ye hear in all things whatſoever he ſhall ſay unto you: and it ſhall come to paſs, that every ſoul which will not hear that prophet, ſhall be deſtroyed from among the people," Acts iii. 22, 23.

The wiſe diſpenſations of Providence are in no reſpect more amply diſplayed than in the fulfilment of this part of the prophecy. We muſt be blind not to ſee it; and ſeeing, we cannot but admire and adore it. What account can the Jews themſelves give of their long captivity, diſperſion, and miſery? Their former captivity, for the puniſhment of their wickedneſs and idolatry, laſted only ſeventy years; but they have lived in their preſent diſperſion, even though they have not been idolators, upwards of ſeventeen hundred. But though they have thus long laboured under theſe calamities, for the enormity of their crimes, yet it is to be hoped that, upon a proper faith and repentance, they will, in time, become objects of the divine mercy. We ſhall, therefore, conclude with the words of the apoſtle St. Paul, (Rom. x. 1.) "Our hearts deſire and prayer to God for Iſrael is, that they may be ſaved."

THE JEWISH MEASURES, &c.

I. *Measure of Length.*

		Cub.	Feet.	Inches	d.	pts.
A Cubit		—	— 1	9		888
A Span	a half Cubit	—	— 0	10		944
A Hand's-breadth	a 6th	—	— 0	3		648
A Finger's-breadth	a 24th	—	— 0	0		912
A Fathom		— 4	— 7	3		552
Ezekiel's Reed		— 6	—10	11		328
The Measuring Line		—80	145	11		040

	Cub.	Miles.	Paces.	Feet.	d.	pts.
A Sabbath-day's Journey	2000	0	729	3		
The Eastern Mile	4000	1	403	1		
A Furlong, or Stadium	400	0	145	4	6	
A Day's Journey	96000	33	172	4		

Note, 5 *Feet* make 1 *Pace*, and 1056 *Paces* make 1 *Mile*.

II. *Measures of Capacity.*

Liquid Measure.	*Parts of an Homer.*	Gall.	Pints	Sol. In.	d.	pts.
The Homer, or Cor	—	75	5	7		6
The Bath	— 10th	7	4	15		2
The Hin	— 60th	1	2.	2		5
The Log	—720th	0	0	24		3
The Firkin, or Metretes	—	0	7	4		9

Note, 29 *Solid Inches* are nearly equal to a *Pint*.

Dry Measure.	*Parts of an Homer.*	Bush	Pecks	Pints.	d.	pts.
The Homer	—	8	0	1		6
The Lethech	— half	4	0	0		8
The Ephah	— 10th	0	3	3		4
The Seah	— 30th	0	1	1		1
The Omer	— 100th	0	0	5		1
The Cab	— 180th	0	0	2		9

III. *Jewish Money.*

	Shekels.	l.	s.	d.	d.	pts.
A Shekel, Silver	—	0	2	3		3
The Bekah	— half	0	1	1		7
The Zuza	— 4th	0	0	6		8
The Gerah	—20th	0	0	1		4
The Maneh, or Mina	— 50	5	13	10		
A Talent	3000	341	10	4		3
A Shekel of Gold	—	1	16	5		1
A Talent of Gold	—	5464	5	8		6
A Golden Daric, or Drachm	—	1	1	10		3

		s.	d.	f.	d.	pts.
A Piece of Silver, or the Drachm	—	0	7	3		
Tribute Money, or Drachm	2 Drac.	1	3	2		
A Piece of Silver, or the Stater	4	2	7	0		
A Pound, or the Mina	100	64	7	0		
A Penny, or the Denarius	—	0	7	3		
A Farthing, or the Assarium	20th Den.	0	0	1		.5
A Farthing, or the Quadrans	40th	0	0	0		.8
A Mite	80th	0	0	0		.4

Note, The Silver is here valued at 5s. per Ounce, and the Gold at 4l. per Ounce.

IV. *Jewish Weights.*

	Shekels.	Lib.	Oz.	Dwts.	Grs.	d.	pts.
A Shekel	—	0	0	9	2		6
The Maneh	60	2	3	9	10		3
A Talent	3000	113	10	1	10		3

V. *The Jewish Months compared with ours.*

		Takes in Part of				Takes in Part of	
1	Nisan, or Abib —	*March* / *April*	7	Tisri, or Ethanim		*September* / *October*	
2	Ijar, or Zif —	*April* / *May*	8	Marcheſvan or Bul		*October* / *November*	
3	Sivan —	*May* / *June*	9	Chiſleu —		*November* / *December*	
4	Thamuz	*June* / *July*	10	Thebet —		*December* / *January*	
5	Ab —	*July* / *Auguſt*	11	Sebath —		*January* / *February*	
6	Elul —	*Auguſt* / *September*	12	Adar —		*February* / *March*	

The Jews had two Sorts of Years; the Civil, which began in *September*, and the Sacred, or Eccleſiaſtic, which began in *March*. Before the Captivity of *Babylon*, they accounted the Months ſucceſſively, by 1, 2, 3, &c. but on their return they named them rather after the manner of the Chaldees than Hebrews.

VI. *The Days of the Week, Hours of the Day, and the Watches.*

1ſt Day of the Week	*Sunday*
2d Day	*Monday*
3d Day	*Tueſday*
4th Day	*Wedneſday*
5th Day	*Thurſday*
6th Day	*Friday*
7th Day, or Sabbath	*Saturday*

The Hours of the Day.

The Day, reckoning from Sun-riſe, and the Night, reckoning from Sun-ſet, were each divided into 12 equal Parts, called the 1ſt, 2d, 3d, 4th, &c. Hours.

The Morning.

From 6 to 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12.

The Afternoon.

From 12 to 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.

The Watches.

The 1ſt Watch was from Sun-ſet to the 3d Hour of the Night.
The 2d, or Middle Watch, was from the 3d Hour to the 6th.
The 3d Watch, or Cock-crowing, was from the 6th Hour to the 9th.
The 4th, or Morning Watch, was from the 9th Hour to Sun-riſe.

A GEOGRA-

A GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX,

DESCRIPTIVE OF THE PRINCIPAL PLACES MENTIONED IN THE WORKS OF *FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.*

A.

Abarim. ABARIM (Numbers xxvii. 12.) was a long ridge of mountains that reached from the tribe of Reuben into the land of Moab, on each ſide of the river Arnon, of which the mounts Piſgah, Peor, and Nebo (where Moſes died), were a part.

Acra. ACRA, a conſiderable fortreſs, built by Antiochus, during the time of his perſecution of the Jews (related in the Maccabees), out of the ruins he made of Jeruſalem, on an eminence of the city of David. The word Acra properly ſignifies an eminence, or fortreſs, built on ſome raiſed ground, which has the command of the country round about; and as this of Acra ſtood higher than that of Simon, it gave the garriſon the advantage of annoying all that paſſed to and from the temple. After ſuſtaining ſeveral changes and revoſutions, the victorious Simon demoliſhed it.

Adaſa. ADASA (in the Maccabees), the place where Judas Maccabeus pitched his camp, and was ſituated in the tribe of Ephraim, according to Jerom.

Adiabena. ADIABENA was a province of ancient Aſſyria. The whole country has been ſometimes called by the name of this diſtrict.

Adida. ADIDA, a fort recorded in the Maccabees, to be ſet up, or built, by Simon, in the region of Sephalia, weſtward of Elutheropolis, in Judæa.

Alexandria. ALEXANDRIA. This city was the greateſt in Egypt; it was built by Alexander the Great, on the coaſt of the Egyptian ſea, and in that part of Africa that is near the mouth of the Nile, where it forms a noble ſpacious haven, in form of a creſcent. This city, as founded by Alexander, bears his name, and contains his tomb. On his building it, he brought great numbers of Jews thither to plant it; and Ptolemy Soter, after his death, having fixed the ſeat of his government there, was ſo deſirous of augmenting and adorning it, that, in order to render it the metropolis of Egypt, he brought thither many of that nation for that purpoſe, where, having granted them free exerciſe of their religion, and all the ſame privileges with the Macedonians and other Greeks, they ſoon became a great part of the inhabitants of that city. We are told, that Alexandria was almoſt entirely ruined by the Romans, after they had become maſters of it; but the emperor Adrian not only repaired both the public and private buildings, and reſtored to the inhabitants their former privileges, but heaped new favours upon them. In the palace, which took up one third of the city, one quarter was conſecrated to the muſes and ſciences, and thence called the *Muſeum*. There were lodged and entertained, at the public expence, men of learning, divided into ſocieties, or colleges, according to the different ſciences which they profeſſed. They were all under one head, named by the emperor, and honoured with the title of pontiff. Among the many eminent perſons whom their noble ſeminary produced, we may reckon Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, and Athanaſius. It was adorned with ſuch numbers of choice books, as to form the fineſt library in the world, which underwent many ravages and accidents, and was frequently repaired and ſtored with the ſame number of books, till at length it was burnt by the barbarous Saracens, in making themſelves maſters of Alexandria. We have not ſpace to enumerate the public edifices and ornaments of antiquity. This city, by the Romans, was named Pharos Sebaſte, Auguſta, Julia, Claudia, Domitia, as well as Alexandria. By the natives, Racotis; but the Turks now call it Scanderia, or Scanderic; for they abbreviate the name of Alexander into that of Scander, and thus they give the name Scanderoon to Alexandretta. Its haven, though not very ſafe, is yet much frequented. But, however magnificent, opulent, &c. this city formerly was, it is now reduced, for the moſt part, to ſuch heaps of ruins (in ſome places even higher than the houſes that are left in it) and ſuch deſolation reigns through every quarter, that one cannot ſee a ſingle ſtreet intire. Alexandria hath two ports, the old and the new; into the firſt, none but Turkiſh veſſels are admitted; the latter receives veſſels from Europe. It is, with the reſt of Egypt, ſubject to

to the Grand Signor, who ſeems, however, to have a limitted authority, being often obliged to ſubmit the adminiſtration of government to the humours of the petty princes appointed by him.

ALEXANDRION, a ſtrong fortreſs in Judæa, built by Alexander Jannæus, from whom it had its name. It was ſituated on an high mountain at the entrance into Judæa, near the] town] of Corea, which was the firſt place in Judæa, on the Samaritan ſide, and upon the road to Jericho, on the frontiers of Judah and Benjamin. Alexandrion was afterwards the burying place of the Jewiſh kings; ſo, that though it was demoliſhed by the Romans it was rebuilt by Herod the governor. Alexandrion.

AMATHA, or EMMA, on the Jordan, a city built probably by Herod, for the benefit of the hot waters for which it was celebrated. The Jews gave the name of Hamah, or Hammath, to all places that had ſuch waters; that of Emmaus is the ſame, only according to the Greek idiom. Amatha.

ANTIOCH. This great city was built by Seleucus, and ſoon after became, and for ages continued to be, the metropolis of the eaſt, for not only the Syrian kings, but afterwards the Roman emperors, choſe it for the uſual place of their reſidence. It ſtood on the Orontes (now called the Haſi) the place where that river empties itſelf into the Mediterranean, being equally diſtant from Conſtantinople and Alexandria in Egypt. Seleucus called it from his father's name, which was Antiochus. This metropolis of Syria was afterwards known by the name of Tetrapolis (i. e. fourfold city) being divided as it were into four cities, each of them having its proper wall, beſides the common one which incloſed them all. The place where it ſtood was very ſubject to earthquakes, by which it greatly ſuffered, and was often in danger of being overwhelmed. However, it continued 600 years, till it was taken and utterly deſtroyed by Bibaris, ſultan of Egypt. It is now (in compariſon) a ſmall and contemptible village, known by the name of Anthakia, and remarkable for nothing but its ruins. There is one thing well worth notice with relation to the walls of this city; that within the thickneſs of it at a certain place, there is a ſpace left open, and with a gradual and imperceptible aſcent, by which loaded carts or waggons may be drawn from the bottom of the wall quite up to the caſtle. They were flanked with 400 ſquare towers, ſtrongly built, and of which there is ſtill a good number left, every one having a ciſtern in the middle of it quite entire to this day. It is alſo famous for giving the name of Chriſtians to the diſciples of Our Bleſſed Saviour; for being the birth-place of St. Luke the Evangeliſt, and of Theophilus, hence ſurnamed Antiochenus, and for St. Ignatius the Martyr, its celebrated biſhop. Antioch.

ANTIPATRIS. This city was built, or rather rebuilt or repaired by Hero and ſo named in honour of his father Antipater, having been formerly called Caphar ſalama. It ſtands in the road to Cæſarea, not far from Jeruſalem. Antipatris.

ANTONIA. When Simon had deſtroyed Mount Acra (before deſcribed), he built fortifications round the mountain on which the temple ſtood, for the better ſecuring and fortifying it againſt all future inſults from the heathens, within which he built an houſe and dwelt all his life-time. This houſe ſeems to be the ſame which Hyrcanus afterwards built in the caſtle Baris, where he and all his family dwelt and kept their court, and here laid up the pontifical ſtole or ſacred robes of the high-prieſt, &c. &c. which continued to be done till the time of Herod, who on his being made king of Judæa, having obſerved the convenience of the place, new built and made it a very ſtrong fortreſs. Inſtead of Baris, the name it formerly bore, he called it Antonia, complimenting Marcus Antonius the triumvir, who then governed the eaſtern provinces of the Roman empire. The form of the building was that of a quadrangle, all built on every ſide, wherein were rooms for all the uſes of a palace, and in the middle was a large area for the ſoldiers to be in, and round it was a ſtately piazza, or cloiſter. There was a turret near the middle of the north ſide of the temple built remarkably high, that from thence might be ſeen all that was done in the courts within; ſo that if a tumult ſhould ariſe in any part of the temple it might be obſerved, and ſoldiers ſent down to quell it. When Jeruſalem fell into the hands of the Romans, they continued keeping a ſtrong garriſon in it, and by reaſon of its immediate influence on the temple, the captain of the garriſon is in ſcripture called the Captain of the Temple. This fortreſs was at laſt mattered and taken by the Romans, and deſtroyed in the deflagration and total deſtruction of Jeruſalem by Titus. Antonia.

ARABIA. This country, if we include all thoſe which go under that general name, is of very great extent, and has been from early times divided into three parts, viz. Arabia Felix (or Happy) to the ſouth, ſo ſtiled from its rich produce, and famous for the queen of Sheba, who came to hear the wiſdom of Solomon, or whoſe kingdom was ſituated in this fertile country. Arabia Petrea (or rocky) ſo called not from its capital Petra as built on a rock, but from the rockineſs of the whole diviſion, being full of mountains, among which is Mount Sinai or Horeb) ſo famous in ſacred Scripture. As Arabia Petrea lies to the north of Arabia Felix, ſo ſtill more north or rather N. E. lies the third diviſion called from its natural barrenneſs Arabia Deſerta. Various are the opinions of the learned concerning the origin and name of this country, and it would rather tend to perplex than entertain to ſpecify them. As to the climate, part of Arabia is under the hotteſt, viz. the torrid zone. The air on the north part is extremely hot during the ſix ſummer months, the heavens being ſeldom or ever overcaſt with clouds. But on the ſouth ſide it is much more temperate, being qualified with refreſhing dews, which fall almoſt every night in great abundance. The diſtinct names of the three Arabias ſufficiently declare the nature of their ſoil; the northern being extremely barren, and encumbered with huge formidable rocks, the other over-ſpread with vaſt mountains of ſand. But the ſouthern, deſervedly ſtiled the Happy, is bleſſed with an excellent ſoil, and extraordinary fertile in many places. It abounds with the rareſt and moſt valuable commodities; as alſo with camels, animals of ſingular uſe for carriage, that ſeem formed by nature for this dry and ſultry ſoil, which ſometimes affords no water for many days travel. The country is infeſted with what are called free-booters, a ſtrange ſpecies of mortals ſcarcely deſerving the title of human. They are all of a ſwarthy complexion, of mean ſtature, raw-boned and very ſwift. Their voices are effeminate as well as their temper. They have no ſettled habitation, except thoſe that live on the ſea-coaſt, where their cities and towns are more regularly built and inhabited, as well as more given to traffic. Thoſe of the inland country, from place to place, ſleep under tents which they pitch at night, where their conveniency or fancy leads them. As we have hitherto ſhewn the worſt ſide of their character, we now ought in juſtice to ſhew the beſt, for, there are on the other hand many of them, eſpecially ſuch as live in towns, that apply themſelves to trade and commerce, to arts and ſciences, in which they generally excel. This is particularly true with regard to the ancient Arabians, whoſe extraordinary performances in phyſic, aſtronomy, and mathematics, ſhew them to have been men of great genius and application. They are to this day allowed to be very ingenious, witty, and generous, great admirers of poetry and rhetoric. The language of the three Arabias is Arabeſk or corrupt Arabic, which is not only uſed here, but ſpoken with ſome variations of dialect over great part of the eaſtern countries. The true and ancient Arabic is a kind of dialect from the Hebrew, and eſteemed by the learned very neceſſary for underſtanding the Old Teſtament. Chriſtianity was firſt preached here by St. Paul, and ſome of his eminent diſciples, ſo that it had received the light of the Goſpel from the earlieſt time. But in many parts it was much clouded, long before the grand impoſtor Mahomet their countryman appeared, and upon their being ſubdued by the Turks they all embraced his religion. Arabia.

ARAM. This appellation is conſtantly given in Scripture to Syria, and the Aramites are called Syrians in divers places thereof. Several authors agree that the people now called Syrians were antiently called Aramenians and Aramites. Agreeably hereto the adjoining countries into which the poſterity of Aram might ſpread, took his name, with ſome other additional ones joined thereto. Aram.

ARBELA.

ARBELA. This place, ſo famous in hiſtory for the battle fought near Guagamela in its neighbourhood, which laſt being but an inconſiderable village, the city Arbela was choſen by hiſtorians to give name to that celebrated fight between Darius and Alexander, which proved the deciſive ſtroke for the Perſian empire. Arbela is by ſome placed in Perſia, but with more truth in Aſſyria Propria, or Adiabena. Its plain is deſcribed as being 15 leagues in extent, watered with ſeveral rivulets, and producing great variety of fine fruit-trees, and the eminences where the ancient caſtles ſtood are covered with ſtately oaks, &c. Arbela.

ARMENIA. The opinions of authors differ concerning the origin whence this tract derived its name. It was antiently divided into the Greater and Leſſer, or Armenia Major and Minor. The former was one of the greateſt provinces of Aſia Minor. The ſoil of this country is very mountainous, yet the hills are here and there interſperſed with fruitful and moſt beautiful dales and vallies. All ſorts of grain are very indifferent, and if they had not the conveniency of watering their lands, they would be almoſt barren. What the country produces is almoſt entirely owing to painful labour, being either watered actually by hand, or by trenches dug, &c. for the fecundation of the fields. The cold is ſo intenſe here, that all manner of fruits are more backward than in moſt of the northern countries. The hills are covered with ſnow the whole year round, and it ſometimes falls even in the month of June. The earth of this country produces an excellent medicine, viz. that which from the name of this territory receives its own ſurname *Bole Armenic*, which was anciently, as well as at preſent, found in Armenia, and was by Galen firſt introduced into medicine, and uſed with ſucceſs at the time of a terrible plague at Rome. We have no ſyſtem of the laws of the Armenians, and ſcarcely withal to form any particular idea of them. As to their religion, we are not ſo much at a loſs, for a writer of credit aſſures us, they worſhip the ſame deities with the Medes and Perſians, which will be ſpecified hereafter. We have little or no authority for their learning and arts. Their language was much the ſame with that of the Syrians, at leaſt they uſed the Syriac characters. The modern Armenians uſed two languages, the learned and the vulgar, the former (as they ſay) having no affinity with any other oriental language. Though the modern Armenians are now perhaps the greateſt traders on the earth, yet we find no mention of any commerce carried on by them in ancient times. Shah Abbas, king of Perſia, is ſaid to have been the firſt, who, conſidering the œconomy and indefatigable induſtry of this people, put them upon trade, and ſettled a colony of them at Julfa, the famous ſuburb of Iſpahan. This place contains at preſent above 30,000 inhabitants, all Armenians and merchants. In the reign of Juſtinian II. the Saracens ſubdued Armenia, and held it till the eruption of the Turks, who poſſeſſed themſelves of this country, and called it Turcomania; but the eaſtern part of it is ſubject to the Perſians at this day. Nor was the extirpation of the royal race of Armenia abſolutely effected, for we find it had kings again of its own, even after ſuch conqueſts by Saracens, Turks, Tartars, &c. And in our own chronicles we find mention of Leo, king of Armenia, who came into England to ſue for aid againſt the Turks, who had driven him from his kingdom: this was in the reign of Richard II. Armenia.

Armenia Minor was in moſt inſtances ſimilar to Armenia Major, ſo that it may ſuffice to obſerve, that after a variety of revolutions through a ſucceſſion of æras, it was by Veſpaſian made a province of the Roman empire, and ſo continued till the diviſion of the ſame, when it became ſubject to the emperors of the eaſt, and on the decline of their power, it was firſt ſubdued by the Perſians, and afterwards by the Turks, who gave it the name of Ganech, aad have held it ever ſince that time.

ARNON. This brook or torrent ran along between the countries of the Ammonites and Moabites, and diſcharged itſelf into the Black Sea. The Arnon is ſuppoſed to have been the firſt northern boundary of the Iſraelites on the other ſide of Jordan. Arnon.

ASCALON, a great and noble ſea-port in Paleſtine (or the country of the Philiſtines), to the northward of Gaza, and known to us ſtill by the ſame name it bears in Scripture, and in the writings of the Greeks and Romans, by whom it was held in great veneration. This city, as well as Gaza, is reckoned into the lot or tribe of Judah, and was taken by them, but not held. Its ſituation cannot be diſputed, ſince it may be ſaid to ſtand at this day, and has been often viſited. Aſcalon was famous amongſt the antients on many accounts. It was the birth-place of Semiramis the Aſſyrian empreſs. It is noted for the place which originally produced the kind of onion called the ſhalot, which is ſuppoſed from thence to have derived its name. It may ſeem at firſt ſight to be a very oblique derivation, till it is obſerved that the Latin of this plant is *Aſcalonia*, whence the French have their *Eſcalote*, which we have curtailed into *ſhalot*. It is alſo famed for its wines, and very remarkable for its great flights of pigeons. With reſpect to the remarkables of Aſcalon, we muſt not forget to mention the cypreſſes which were here to be admired, nor the extraordinary wells attributed to Abraham and Iſaac. This city had in the firſt times of Chriſtianity an epiſcopal ſee, and in the courſe of the holy wars it was beautified with a new wall, and many fair buildings by our king Richard I. But it is now dwindled almoſt to nothing. The Turks call it Scalana, and, except for a Turkiſh garriſon kept in it, is of no great note. Aſcalon.

ASHDOD, or AZOTUS. This was a city of the Philiſtines, to the N. E. of Aſcalon, and of extraordinary fame among the ancients. It ſtood in a country which produced great plenty of corn. Here was the temple of Dagon, and here was he peculiarly worſhipped. He ſeems to have been the grand, the moſt ancient, and favourite deity they had. To him they attributed the invention of bread-corn, or of agriculture, as his very name imports, the word Dagon ſignifying *Bread-corn*. This Aſhdod of the Old Teſtament, is called Azotus in the New, as well as in the book of the Maccabees. It lies near the ſhore, between Gaza and Joppa. When Chriſtianity flouriſhed in theſe parts it was made an epiſcopal ſee, and continued a fair village till St. Jerom's time. Aſhdod.

ASPHALTITIS, or the Dead Sea, called alſo the Salt Sea. Much has been ſaid and ſuppoſed of this famous, or (as moſt will have it) infamous lake, that nothing will ſink in it, and that it roſe up from the ſubmerſion of the vale of Siddim, where once, as is moſt generally concluded, ſtood the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah. On this account it has been abhorred and deteſted, and repreſented as an everlaſting monument of the divine judgment, to deter mankind from the ſins committed by thoſe who drew down ſuch fierce and fiery vengeance. As to this lake's ſeveral names, it was called Aſphaltitis from the quantity of bitumen in and about it. It was formerly ſuppoſed that great quantities of this combuſtible ſubſtance were thrown up by this ſea, and travellers repreſent it as in great plenty on the ſhores of it. It exactly reſembles pitch, and cannot readily be diſtinguiſhed from it by the ſulphureouſneſs of its ſmell and taſte. It is called the Dead Sea, becauſe it produces no fiſh, nor ſuſtains any thing that has life, through its exceſſive ſaline quality. It is called the Salt Sea, as being to the higheſt degree impregnated with ſalt, inſomuch that Galen ſuppoſes it in ſpecific gravity to be as much beyond other ſea water, as ſea water is beyond the water of rivers, and that it was impoſſible to immerge in it. The ſame phyſician likewiſe obſerves, that the ſaltneſs of this ſea is attended with an unpleaſant bitterneſs. All this agrees well enough with what we are told of it at preſent, except that bodies will immerge in it, though not ſo readily as in other water. This ſea, in its preſent ſtate, is incloſed on the eaſt and weſt with exceeding high mountains; on the north, it has the plain of Jericho, or (if we take in both ſides of the river Jordan) the great plain, properly ſo called; on the ſouth it is open, and extends beyond the reach of the ſight. The lake of Aſphaltitis.

B

BABEL. When the ſons of Noah arrived in a plain, in the land of Shinar, they began to think of building a city and tower. Their motive to this undertaking was their apprehenſion of a ſecond deluge, and to have a place ſufficiently high to fly to. But this enterprize being diſpleaſing to the Almighty, they were obliged to give over their project before they had Babel.

finiſhed it, their language being ſo confounded that they could not underſtand one another; from whence this city took the name of Babel, which ſignifies *confuſion*, whereupon enſued the diſperſion and planting of nations.

Babylon. BABYLON. According to ſome hiſtorians, queen Semiramis, while others ſay Belus, was the firſt founder of this renowned city. But the firſt of theſe ſeems moſt to be depended on: however, it is generally agreed that it was vaſtly improved, augmented, and adorned, and made the wonder of the world, by Nebuchadnezzar. The moſt famous works were the walls of the city, the temple of Belus, his palace, with the gardens, the banks of the river, and the artificial lake and canals, made for the draining of that river, in the magnificence and expence of which works he much exceeded whatever had been done by any king before him; and, excepting the walls of China, nothing like it hath been ſince attempted. A famous traveller, in his itinerary, which he wrote about the middle of the twelfth century, tells us, that he was on the ſpot where the city of Babylon ſtood, and that he ſaw only ſome ruins of Nebuchadnezzar's palace ſtill remaining, which nobody ventured to viſit by reaſon of the many ſerpents and ſcorpions that infeſted the place. Another, in the account he gives of his travels from India to Italy, tells us, that in his time, there was ſcarce any thing remaining of this great and famous city, and that the place on which it ſtood was the leaſt frequented of any in all that country. A third confirms the accounts of the former, obſerving, "that the village of Elugo ſtands in the place where formerly Babylon, the metropolis of Chaldea, ſtood; that the country is ſo dry and barren, that it cannot be tilled, and ſo bare that he ſhould have doubted very much, whether this potent city (which was the moſt famous and ſtately one of the world, ſituated in the pleaſant and fruitful country of Shinaar) ſtood in that place, if he had not known it by its ſituation and ſeveral antiquities ſtill to be ſeen in that neighbourhood, particularly the old bridge, which was laid over the Euphrates, whereof there were ſome arches ſtill remaining, built of burnt brick, and wonderfully ſtrong." He adds, "that juſt before the village of Elugo is the hill whereon the caſtle ſtood, and that the ruins of its fortifications were ſtill to be ſeen; and further, that at a ſmall diſtance from the caſtle ſtood the tower of Babylon, but ſo ruinous and full of venomous reptiles, that nobody dares come within half a mile of it, except in two of the winter months, when the creatures keep within their holes. This ſhews how fully the predictions of the prophets, relating to this place, have been accompliſhed. It was firſt called Seleucia Babylonica, or Seleucia in the province of Babylon, to diſtinguiſh it from ſeveral other cities in different provinces bearing the name Seleucia. Afterwards it was known by the name of Babylonia, and at length by that of Babylon. As Babylon was drained of its inhabitants by Seleucia, ſo was Seleucia, in proceſs of time, by Cteſiphon and Almadaya, and theſe again by Bagdat. This laſt city was firſt built in the ſame place where Seleucia, or New Babylon, ſtood, which gave riſe to the common error, that Bagdat ſtands on the ruins of old Babylon.

The Babylonian government was monarchical and deſpotic, their laws accordingly vague and uncertain, their puniſhments unfixed, arbitrary, and rigorous to the utmoſt. Their religion was rank idolatry, and ſome at leaſt of their cuſtoms (even religious ones) brutal to a ſhocking degree.

Bahurim. BAHURIM. Two incidents have rendered this place remarkable; the firſt was, that to this place Phaltiel, to whom Saul had given Michal the wife of David, followed her weeping, when Iſhboſheth reſtored her to her ſaid firſt huſband. The other on account of Shimei's behaviour here towards David, when he fled from his ſon Abſalom. It appears from the particulars mentioned, as relative to theſe circumſtances, that Bahurim was near the mount of Olives, and conſequently not far from Jeruſalem to the eaſt, being ſituated within the tribe of Benjamin.

Baris. BARIS. This ſtately tower, or rather caſtle, is ſaid to have been built by Hyrcanus, and to be the ſame which ſerved afterwards for a palace for the Aſmonean princes, and was ſome time after rebuilt, enlarged, and fortified by Herod. St. Jerom, in his commentary on theſe ſacred books which were written on the Babyloniſh captivity, ſuch as Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, &c. obſerves the word Baris to be of Chaldee extraction, peculiar to Paleſtine, and to ſignify an houſe or caſtle, having on every ſide an incloſure.

Beer-ſheba. BEER-SHEBA. We learn, from Gen. xxi. that Abraham, having entered into a ſolemn league of friendſhip with Abimelech, king of the Philiſtines, to ſecure his property in a well he had dug, to guard againſt the outrage of the Philiſtines, who had taken ſeveral wells from him before, and to ratify the aforeſaid alliance, preſented the king with oxen, ſheep, &c. Then, taking ſeven young ſheep, he deſired him to accept of them as a token that he had dug ſuch a well, and that he ſhould from thenceforth peaceably enjoy it. On this occaſion, that place was called Beer-ſheba, or the Well of the Oath, becauſe of the covenant they had ſworn to there. From this Beer, or Well, the city, or conſiderable town, in proceſs of time, built near it, was called Beer-ſheba, which was the utmoſt bound of the Land of Promiſe on the ſouth, as Dan was towards the north, whence came the proverb From Dan to Beer-ſheba. This city was one of thoſe that fell to the tribe of Simeon, but, becauſe Simeon had this inheritance in the midſt of the tribe of Judah, therefore Beer-ſheba is alſo numbered amongſt the cities of that tribe.

Belus. BELUS, or, as it is called at preſent, the Kav-danah, is a river having its ſources about four miles to the eaſtward of the head of Kiſhon, near Acra, or Ptolemais, in Paleſtine. It is very remarkable for its ſands, being not only an excellent material for the making of glaſs, but alſo for having adminiſtered the firſt occaſion, or hint, of that fine and uſeful invention.

Berachah. BERACHAH. This is a valley in the wilderneſs of Tekoa, called the *Valley of Bleſſing, or Praiſe*, becauſe of the miraculous rout of the Moabites, Ammonites, and Edomites or inhabitants of Mount Seir, who combined together againſt Jehoſhaphat, king of Judah.

Berenice. BERENICE, a maritime city of Cyrenaica, once an archbiſhopric, and one of the five cities from which the region had the appellation of Pentapolis, ſituated between the promontory Bareum, towards the greater Syrtis, and the city Arſinoe to the eaſt, from whence it is called. It had its name from queen Berenice, wife of Ptolemy III. Here were the gardens of the Heſperides, ſo celebrated by the ancients, as alſo the famous ſacred grove. There was another Berenice, in like manner ſo named by Ptolemy, built alſo in honour of his queen: it was ſituated near the Arabian Gulph, and is called Suaquen at this time.

Berytus. BERYTUS, near Mount Libanus, is a maritime city of Phœnicia; it was anciently called alſo Beroe. It had a good port. After having been ruined, it was reſtored by Auguſtus Cæſar, who made a colony of it, which was called Julia Felix, and enjoyed the Roman rights. Agrippa conducted two legions thither, and Herod alſo granted it many favours. Though it might be, and really was, in its time, famous, on divers accounts, yet was it ſo for none more than its being one of thoſe three cities where only the law was publicly taught, the other two being Rome and Conſtantinople. To prove this, we may here produce the expreſs declaration of Juſtinian, in theſe words: "We may command theſe three volumes, compoſed by us, to be delivered only in the royal cities, viz. Rome and Conſtantinople, and the fair city of Berytus (which may properly be called the nurſe of the laws), as has been appointed by former princes, and in no other places than theſe, which have merited this privilege from our anceſtors." Theſe words inform us, that Juſtinian's predeceſſors fixed the number of auditories of law to *three*, but we cannot aſcertain the time when it was by them ſo done. It is now a place of trade, and a ſtage of the caravans that go to and from Grand Cairo, on the Turkiſh pilgrimage.

Bethel. BETHEL. We read, in Gen. xxviii. that Jacob, in his journey to Padan Aram, being overtaken by the night, lay in the open field, with a ſtone for his pillow. In his

his ſleep, he dreamt of a ladder reaching from that ſpot to heaven, on which angels aſcended and deſcended, whilſt the Almighty encouraged him with the promiſe of being his protector, &c. Awaking, ſurpriſed and aſtoniſhed, he cried out, "Surely God is in this place, and I knew it not!" wherefore he gave it the name of Bethel, ſignifying the *Houſe of God*. It is plain, therefore, that this was the firſt time, as well as the occaſion, that the place had this name, it being added, that it was called Luz at the firſt, as in former times. This ſame city was made choice of by Jeroboam, for ſetting up one of his golden calves, whereupon Hoſea (alluding to the name given it by Jacob) calls it Beth-Aven, inſtead of Beth-el, i. e. the *Houſe of Vanity*, inſtead of the *Houſe of God*. Not that it was the town Bethaven properly ſo called. Bethel, being within the lot of Ephraim, ſon of Joſeph, belonged to the kingdom of Iſrael, after the ten tribes revolted from the houſe of David, and lay in the ſouthern border of that kingdom, not far from Jeruſalem. But it was taken from the kingdom of Iſrael by Ahijah, king of Judah, and after that accounted as a part of the kingdom of Judah. In the time of the Maccabees, Bacchides fortified it.

Bethlehem. BETHLEHEM was the ancient city of David, and famous for being the birth-place not only of that renowned king, but of our bleſſed Saviour himſelf, who, according to the fleſh, deſcended from him. This place was otherwiſe called Ephrath, or Ephratah, ſometimes Bethlehem Ephratah, and ſometimes Bethlehem Judah, to diſtinguiſh it from another Bethlehem, lying in the tribe of Zebulun. It is ſituated about ſix or ſeven miles from Jeruſalem, to the ſouthward, in the way to Hebron. Bethlehem, though now but thinly inhabited, is ſeated on a pleaſant hill, enjoys an excellent air, and as it has all along been much honoured by Chriſtians of all nations, on account of its being the place of our Saviour's birth, ſo at this very day it is viſited by pilgrims and travellers. It is furniſhed not only with a convent of the Latins, but alſo with one of the Greeks, and another of the Armenians, the two latter being contiguous to the former.

Bethoron. BETHORON, mentioned in ſeveral places of ſcripture, was ſituated northward of Jeruſalem, and between that metropolis and Shechem. It is to be noted, that there is expreſs mention of two Bethorons in the Chronicles, where we are told, that a woman, of the tribe of Ephraim, by name Sherah, built Bethoron, the nether and the upper. It is accordingly agreed, among writers, that they both lay within the bounds of the tribe of Ephraim. But it is not agreed in what part of the tribe each lay, ſome placing Bethoron the Upper in the north border of the tribe, whilſt others place them both in the ſouth border, and nearer to each other.

Bethſaida. BETHSAIDA. This name, in Hebrew, imports a place of fiſhing, or elſe of hunting, and both ſenſes agree well with the ſituation of the city; for it lay on the lake of Genneſareth, juſt at the influx of the river Jordan into the ſaid lake, and ſo was very convenient for fiſhing. It is commodiouſly ſituated for hunting likewiſe, as lying in the tribe of Naphtali, a country well ſtored with deer. It was but a village, till Philip the tetrarch built it up to the bulk and appearance of a magnificent city, rich and populous, to which he gave alſo the name of Julias, out of reſpect to Julia, the daughter of Cæſar. This city ſtood on the eaſtern ſhore, and, therefore, is thought by ſome to have been diſtinct from the Bethſaida of Galilee; but this ariſes from not conſidering that the name of Galilee was extended in its larger acceptation to the parts lying eaſt of the ſea of Galilee. The woe denounced is, in ſome meaſure, come upon it, it being reduced again to the ſtate of a very poor village, or hardly that, conſiſting of a very few poor cottages, in which ſtate it has remained for many years.

Bethſan. BETHSAN, belonging to the half tribe of Manaſſeh, is a city on the weſt of Jordan, and the ſouth coaſt of the ſea of Galilee. It is called Bethſa by the Jews. The Canaanites kept poſſeſſion of it, and it was the moſt conſiderable city in the Decapolis, after the Iſraelites had conquered Paleſtine. It ſtood in the middle of a great plain, near the mountain of Gilboa. The Greeks gave it the name of Scythopolis, and ſo it is called in the Maccabees; becauſe anciently inhabited by the Scythians, who, according to Herodotus, had, in the reign of Pſammoniticus king of Egypt, and Cyaxares king of Media, extended their conqueſts as far as Syria and Paleſtine. It is called Elbyzon by the eaſtern nations.

Bethſhemeth. BETHSHEMETH. This town belonged to the tribe of Judah, and lay not far weſt from Kirjath-jearim, in the north border.

Bethſura. BETHSURA, took this name from being ſituated on a rock, and was a very ſtrong fortreſs in the time of the Maccabees. It was in the tribe of Judah, and had formerly been fortified by king Rehoboam, being one of the keys of Judea, on the ſouth ſide of Idumea. That king firſt built ſome walls, and other fortifications to it, to keep the revolted Danites in awe; but the Maccabees added ſuch new works as to render the place impregnable. On the top of the hill, where ſtood Bethſura, is now the village called St. Philip; and though the adjacent parts are called a wilderneſs, yet great quantities of corn, wine, and olives, are produced there.

Bezec. BEZEC is the place mentioned in Judges, where the men of Judah and Simeon made great ſlaughter of the Canaanites and Perizzites, and where the proud and cruel Adonibezec had his reſidence. It is again mentioned in ſcripture as the ſpot where Saul muſtered the army, wherewith he gave the Ammonites a ſignal overthrow, in the days of Samuel.

Bezetha. BEZETHA. King Agrippa gave this name to a new quarter, which he had built, at immenſe charge, and would have beautified and fortified, on the north ſide of the city of Jeruſalem, the name importing the New City. He endeavoured to procure the emperor's leave for ſurrounding it with a ſtrong wall, which if he had obtained, it would have rendered the metropolis abſolutely impregnable. But the danger of the deſign being repreſented to Claudius, orders were ſent to Agrippa to deſiſt from the execution of it.

Botrys. BOTRYS, at preſent called Patron and Elpatron, on the coaſt of Phœnicia. It was a very ancient town founded by Ithobal, king of Sidon, and ſituated near the Promontory called by the ancients Peniel, and by modern pilots Capo Pagro. Under the Chriſtian emperors, it became an epiſcopal ſee, but it has fared ſo ill ſince, that there are few traces of its former ſtate remaining, ſome ruins of churches and monaſteries excepted, the reſt conſiſting of a number of poor cots inhabited chiefly by fiſhermen.

C.

Cæſarea. CÆSAREA. Herod raiſed this city upon a certain place by the ſea-ſide, called Straton's Tower, as being deemed a very commodious tract of ground for that purpoſe. It was completed at an immenſe charge, and was the paragon of elegance and magnificence. But the maſterpiece was the port, which was made as large as the Pyræum, and a ſafe ſtation againſt all winds and weathers, not to mention other conveniences. It ſtood in Phœnicia, upon the paſs into Egypt, between Joppa and Dora, two ſea-ports where the S. W. wind beats ſo furiouſly that there is no riding in the harbours without being ſubject to imminent danger. Herod, therefore, to encounter this difficulty, ordered a mole to be made in form of a half moon, and large enough for a royal navy to ride in. This mole was 200 furlongs in extent; one half was deſigned to break the ſetting in of the ſea, and the other half for the foundation of a ſtone wall, fortified with turrets, calling the largeſt of them the Tower of Druſus, from Druſus the ſon-in-law of Auguſtus, who died young. In fine, nothing was wanting that could contribute to grandeur, ſafety, or convenience. On a mount, in the midſt, ſtood a temple dedicated to Cæſar, which was of great uſe to mariners as a ſea mark. In this temple were two ſtatues, the one of Rome, the other of Cæſar, and from hence the city took its name of Cæſarea. Though it is called

Cæſarea

Cæsarea in the New Teſtament, yet it is frequently ſtyled, by way of diſtinction from others of the ſame name, Cæsarea Paleſtinæ, as being the metropolis of Paleſtine, and ſeat of the Roman proconſul. Here it was that St. Peter converted Cornelius and his kinſmen, the firſt fruits of the Gentiles. Here lived Philip the apoſtle. Here Paul defended himſelf againſt the Jews and their orator Tertullus; and here, in the amphitheatre, it was that Herod Antipas was ſmitten by an angel, as appears from the Acts of the Apoſtles. As for the times after the New Teſtament, here was born Euſebius, the learned hiſtorian and chronologer, who was biſhop of this city in the beginning of the fourth century, and in the reign of Conſtantine the Great, to whom he made a celebrated oration. It was ſituated between Ptolemais to the north, and Joppa to the ſouth, and about 26 miles to the weſtward of Jeruſalem. It was of old inhabited partly by Jews and partly by idolatrous Greeks, who were perpetually at daggers drawn againſt each other, and ever hatching ſome new ſedition, till Veſpaſian took it, and put into it a Roman colony.

Cæſarea Philippi. CÆSAREA PHILIPPI, formerly, by heathen writers, called Paneas, was the place where the Jordan had its ſpring head, which Philip the brother of Antipas (Herod) having greatly enlarged and beautified, he called it after his own name.

Cana. CANA, or Cana of Galilee (ſo called to diſtinguiſh it from Cana, belonging to the tribe of Aſher, lying not far from Sidon, mentioned John ii. 1.), lay within the tribe of Zebulun, not far from Nazareth. It was the native or at leaſt dwelling-place of Nathaniel, otherwiſe called Bartholomew, for he is expreſsly ſtyled Nathaniel of Cana of Galilee, by John the Evangeliſt.

Canaan. CANAAN has been ſucceſſively known by ſeveral names; as the Land of Iſrael, the Land of God, the Holy Land, and ſimply the Land, alſo Judea, Paleſtine, Syria Paleſtine, Syria, Cœlo-Syria, Idumea, and Phœnicia. It was called the Land of the Hebrews, and ſometimes the Land of the Jews. It was called the Land of God, as given by him to the poſterity of Abraham, and the place of his more eſpecial choice. It was called the Holy Land firſt by the Jews, as ſolely appropriated to the ſervice of God under their diſpenſation, and ſecondly, by Chriſtians, as it was the ſcene of what was wrought for theirs and the world's ſalvation. Whence came its appellation of Judea, is ſeemingly plain; Judah being chief of the tribes, communicated its name to the reſt, and the kingdom of Judah ſtanding after the diſſolution of that of Iſrael, may have given farther ground for the extenſive and general uſe of this name. It was called Paleſtine, as being a part of that tract very early ſo denominated. Though this name properly belonged to no more than what is commonly called the Pentapolis of the Philiſtines, it had the fortune to ſpread itſelf over almoſt all the neighbouring regions.

Capernaum. CAPERNAUM. This city ſtood on an eminence by the lake of Genezareth. It took its name from an adjoining ſpring, of great repute for its chryſtalline flowing waters, which was called by the natives the Fountain of Capernaum. As the excellence of this fountain was probably one inducement to build the town, ſo there ſeems to have been another motive for chuſing the ſituation, viz. its convenience for a wafting place from Galilee to the oppoſite ſhore.

Carmel. CARMEL. This is a mount on the weſt coaſt of the Holy Land, at the S. E. end of the tribe of Aſher, ten miles from Acra, or Ptolemais. It is the moſt remarkable head of land on all the coaſt. This name Carmel, we are told, was common both to a mountain and a town.

Chalcis. CHALCIS, was the capital of the iſland of Chalcis in Judea; it ſtood on the narroweſt part of the Euripus, being joined to Bœotia by a bridge, which ſituation agrees with that of the preſent city of Negropont. It is celebrated as a moſt magnificent, populous, and wealthy city, by all the ancients.

Charran. CHARRAN was called, in Gen. xi. Haran, in memory, as is ſaid, of Haran, the ſon of Terah, brother of Abraham, and father of Lot. It was ſituated in the W. or N. W. part of Meſopotamia, on a river which runs into the Euphrates. It was, with little alteration, called by the Romans Carræ.

Citium. CITIUM, was anciently a town in Cyprus, and the birth-place of Zeno, the famous ſtoic philoſopher.

Cœlo-Syria. CŒLO-SYRIA. Geographers differ as to the bounds of what is meant by Cœlo-Syria; but the preference is given to Strabo, among the ancients, who tells us, that Cœlo-Syria was between Libanus and Anti-Libanus, which, however the name may be extended, was undoubtedly the proper Cœlo-Syria. The principal cities are Heliopolis (now Balbeck), and Damaſcus, now called Sham, by the Turks.

Comagena. COMAGENA. This is the third diviſion of Syria Propria, and was ſo called from its capital, long ſince deſtroyed; after which it was by the Romans called Euphratenſis, from its ſituation near the Euphrates. It was bounded on the north by Cilicia and Leſſer Armenia, on the weſt by part of Cilicia, on the ſouth by Cœlo-Syria, and on the eaſt by the Euphrates. The principal cities in this province were Samoſata (now Scempſat), Germanicia, Catamana, Deba, Doliche, Chaonia, and Chelinadura, of the greater part of which little elſe is left but the names, and here and there ſome ruins of monuments, by which only their ſituation may be diſtinguiſhed.

Coptos. COPTOS. This was an ancient city of Thebais, but in proceſs of time ruined by Diocleſian. It had been the chief reſidence of the native Egyptians for many ages, ſince their country has been ſubjected to a foreign power, and whence they received their preſent name of Copts.

Cyprus. CYPRUS. This iſland was anciently known by various names: it was called Acamis, from one of its promontories; Amathus, Paphios, and Salanſinia, from three of its ancient cities; Macaria, from the fruitfulneſs of its ſoil; Æroſa, from its copper mines; Collinia, from its many hills; Spheciæ, from its ancient inhabitants the Spheces; Ceraſtis, from the many promontories, which, like ſo many horns, (as the Greek word intimates) ſhoot into the ſea. Cyprus was, by ancient geographers, divided into four diſtricts, denominated from the chief cities of each; beſides which cities, and other leſs ones, here were no fewer than 800 villages. The honey of this iſland was much commended, as alſo the wine, oil, wool, but, above all, the copper. It was firſt diſcovered by the Phœnicians, about two or three generations, according to Sir Iſaac Newton's computation, before Aſterius and Minor, kings of Crete, i. e. 1600 years before Chriſt. It was ſo overgrown with wood that it could not be tilled, and they firſt cut it down for the melting of copper; and afterwards, when they began to ſail without fear on the Mediterranean (ſoon after the Trojan war), they uſed to build ſhips, even great navies: they gave every man leave to cut down what trees he pleaſed, and poſſeſs all the cleared ground. In time, other nations, invited by the fertility of the ſoil, came and ſettled here. The government was, without doubt, monarchical. It was governed by no leſs than nine kings, when Cyrus the Great, by his lieutenants, firſt conquered it. It afterwards became ſubject to the Ptolemais of Egypt; from them it paſſed to the Romans, and thence to the Conſtantinopolitan emperors. It was next conquered by our king Richard, A. D. 1194, in his way to the Holy Land, and the royalty of it given by him to Guy of Luſignan, then titular king of Jeruſalem, whoſe poſterity reigned in it during ſeventeen generations. The Venetians, on failure of that male line, ſeized it in 1480, and held it to 1570, when Solyman II. claiming it as lord of Egypt, laid ſiege to Famaguſta, the ſtrongeſt place in

in it. The Venetians defended it with uncommon bravery, but, for want of timely aſſiſtance, were forced to ſurrender, tho' on honourable terms. The reſt were ſoon ſubdued, and have groaned under the Turkiſh yoke ever ſince. The dukes of Savoy claim the title of king of Cyprus, as deſcended from Lewis, ſecond huſband of Charlotte, grand-daughter of James the 13th king in deſcent from Guy aforeſaid, who had been put out by James her huſband's brother. To ſpeak of this iſland now in its modern ſtate: It is by far the largeſt of all thoſe of Aſia Minor, lies near the bottom of the Mediterranean, and extends along the S. coaſt of Cilicia, from E. to W. about 170, or 200 miles. The country was once very fruitful, as above hinted, though the climate is not very temperate, being exceſſive hot and ſultry in ſummer, inſomuch that it ſometimes dries up all the ſprings, for there are no ſprings nor rivers but what rains produce, which happening to fail thirty years ſucceſſively, during the reign of Conſtantine the Great, the inhabitants were obliged to abandon the iſland for ſome time. It is likewiſe infeſted with locuſts, which hover in the air like clouds, during the hot ſeaſon, and ſometimes devour all their corn and fruit, but are often driven into the ſea by the winds. On theſe accounts, as well as the ſeverity of the Turkiſh government, the country is thinly peopled, and indifferently cultivated in moſt parts. Yet near the cities it not only produces every thing neceſſary and delightful, but ſeems to enjoy a perpetual ſpring. Here is very good hunting and great variety of game. The chief manufactures are cotton and wool, which are the beſt in the eaſt. They have likewiſe ſilk, but not ſo good in proportion. They had formerly great quantities of ſugar, till one of their baſhaws burnt up all the canes. The inhabitauts have been always branded for an exceſſive diſſoluteneſs of manners. The men are accounted warlike, robuſt, active, and hoſpitable. Here we muſt note, when Solyman reduced the iſland, he murdered or carried off all the nobility and gentry, and left none but the meaner ſort to continue in it, and theſe are moſtly Greeks, clad after the Italian manner, but retaining their old cuſtoms and religion. Jews are interdicted the iſland, on account of an attempt they made on it in Trajan's reign, in which they maſſacred 250,000 of the inhabitants. Cyprus has no conſiderable rivers, and the moſt noted mountain is that called Olympus. A pretty briſk trade is carried on in the iſland between the merchants of Europe and Aſia; and ſeveral European nations have here their conſuls and factors.

City of Cyrene. CYRENE, otherwiſe called Caioran, or Corene, the metropolis of Cyrenaica, ſtood at ſome diſtance from the ſea, on a ſpot in figure repreſenting a table. It was large and populous, abounding with all elegancies as well as neceſſaries of life. Its territories produced vaſt numbers of excellent horſes, which probably made the Cyrenians, whether Libyans or Greeks, apply themſelves to the ſtudy and practice of every thing relating to thoſe animals, more than moſt other nations. Cyrene derived its name from the fountain Cyre, near which it was ſituated. Ariſtippus, founder of the ſect of Cyrenaics, Eratoſthenes the geographer. and Carneades the philoſopher, were all natives of Cyrene, as was Simon, whom St. Luke mentions.

The Cyrenian jews. CYRENIAN JEWS. For a deſcription of them, it will be neceſſary to obſerve, that Ptolemy, king of Egypt, immediate ſucceſſor of Alexander the Great, with a powerful army, laid ſiege to Jeruſalem in the year of the world 3687, before Chriſt 317, when the Jews, out of a ſuperſtitious fear of breaking the ſabbath, ſuffered the city to be taken by ſtorm on that day without reſiſtance, and 100,000 of them were by him carried away captives into Egypt. But reflecting ſoon on their known loyalty to their former conquerors, and the ſacred regard they paid to their oaths, and he by taking this city became maſter of Judea and Samaria, committed the keeping of ſeveral garriſons both here and in Egypt to them, and having made them ſwear allegiance, he endowed them with the ſame privileges they had enjoyed under the Macedonians. Of thoſe whom he carried away, he choſe about 30,000 of the ſtouteſt to fill his garriſons; the reſt he ſent, ſome to aſſiſt them with proviſions, others into Libya and Cyrene juſt ſpoken of, of which he had made conqueſt, and added it to Egypt four years before. From theſe latter were deſcended the Cyrenean Jews, among whom was Jaſon, author of the hiſtory of the Maccabees, in five books, now loſt, but of which the ſecond book of the Maccabees is an epitome, (See 2 Macc. ii. 23.) Of the ſame country were thoſe Cyrenian Jews mentioned in the Acts. This Jewiſh colony grew in time ſo numerous, as to have 1000 of them put to death for one mutiny in the time of Veſpaſian, and yet in a ſucceeding reign they proved ſtrong enough to maſter the whole province, and maſſacre 200,000 inhabitants of other nations. Their rage and fury, in ſhort, were boundleſs, ſo that through this and other maſſacres, Cyrenaica was almoſt depopulated.

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Dagon. DAGON. See GAZA; for the Temple; and Aſhdod, for a deſcription of his image.

City of Damaſcus. DAMASCUS. This celebrated city is the capital of the ſouth part of Syria. It is the moſt remarkable place for antiquity now in the whole world, being generally agreed to have been built by Uz, ſon of Aram, and grandſon of Shem, the ſon of Noah, and was the birth-place of Eliezer the ſteward of Abraham. It is famous in Scripture for being the reſidence of the kings of Syria 300 years, till Tiglath-pileſer, king of Aſſyria, ſlew Rezin the laſt king of Syria, and added his dominions to his own new empire; in conſequence of which the Syrian kingdom paſſed to the Perſian and to the Grecian, till the Saracens conquered it, and made this city their royal reſidence. In this ſtate it continued till Bagdat was built, at which time it was very ſtrong and flouriſhing. It became afterwards a ſeparate kingdom under the princes of the Selzuccian family for near 200 years, which ended in the reduction of the city, and death of its laſt prince, by Halaon the Tartar. Its Hebrew name was Dameſech, and the Turks now call it Schan or Scan. It is ſituated in a fertile plain encompaſſed with hills, and upon the celebrated river Chryſorroa: (i e *golden ſtream*), called by the Syrians Pharpar, which enriches the city and its country with all kinds of plenty and pleaſure. The emperor Julian ſtyled it the city of Jupiter, the Eye of the Eaſt; and added that it excelled all others in the magnificence of its temples, temperature of its ſeaſons, excellent fountains, number of ſprings, and fruitfulneſs of ſoil. Its territory produces the beſt corn, wine and fruits all the year, which renders the place exceeding rich and delightful. The city is of an oblong form, ſlender towards the middle, and bulges out at both ends, eſpecially that to the N. E. It is computed to be about two miles in length, and is ſo thick beſet with towers, domes, fine gardens, ſummer-houſes, turrets, &c. that it yields a moſt noble proſpect, and from the adjacent hills looks like a ſtately city in a wood, enriched with moſt delightful and conſtant verdure, occaſioned by the vaſt quantity of water with which the river Barrady ſupplies both town and country. The public buildings bear a much better outſide than the private. The chief of all is the great moſque, formerly a Chriſtian church built by the emperor Heraclius in honour of Zachariah father of John Baptiſt, ſaid to be buried in it. This moſque is reckoned one of the moſt ſtately in all Turkey, into which it is death for any but a muſſulman to enter. The city has ſeparate wards for every trade, and theſe are ſhut up every night by gates, and by a ſtout iron chain by day to keep off beaſts of burthen. In particular here are not leſs than 20,000 perſons employed in making ſcymetars, ſword blades, knives, and other cutlery work, bridles and divers other things in iron and ſteel, all which are in great repute for the fine temper which the Barrady water gives thoſe metals. On one ſide of the city lies that which they call the Meiden, or the Green, (*Ager Damaſcenus*) which is a ſpacious

a ſpacious graſs field encompaſſed with gardens, through which runs a branch of the Barraby. On the ſide of this green is a ſpacious noble hoſpital for pilgrims of all religions. The building is ſurrounded with cloiſters adorned with ſmall cupolas, and a great number of chambers for ſtrangers, who are maintained at the charge of the grand ſignor. There is likewiſe another cloiſter for the maintenance of poor ſcholars, with a moſque and handſome gardens. On another ſide is a large houſe, where they bake biſcuits for thoſe pilgrims who travel to Mecca, and of which the ſultan allows them 200 camels load, and the like quantity of water. Almoſt in the heart of the city is an high caſtle of oval ſhape, moſtly of ſquare ſtone, and flanked with fourteen ſquare towers, in which are ſome cannon. Here are 1500 janiſſaries conſtantly, 500 to guard the city, 500 to eſcort the caravan to Mecca, and 500 to attend the grand ſignor when he goes to Bagdat. The city is governed by a beglerbey, who has ten ſangiacs under him, beſides agas, cadis, and other officers. Damaſcus is the ſeat of a Greek patriarch, tranſlated hither from Antioch. It was the birth-place of the celebrated and eſteemed St. John, then ſurnamed Damaſcus. All ſorts of Chriſtians are allowed churches and their particular cerimonies here. Jews are in great numbers, and have ſtately ſynagogues. Other ſects are inconſiderable here.

Damiata. DAMIATA, or DUMIATA, a tract of territory in Lower Egypt, is ſituated on one of the Eaſt branches of the Nile. This branch, and that called the Peluſiac, or utmoſt Eaſtern, form a kind of ſmall triangular iſland, on the W. angle of which this city is ſituate. It is one of the moſt conſiderable for trade in the whole territory about it, and the moſt fertile in all Egypt. It is reckoned one of the keys of Egypt, is large though now ill built, and contains about 25,000 inhabitants. It fell with the reſt of Egypt under the yoke of the Saracens, who held it till 1218, when the cruſaders laid ſiege to it, and took it the next year, but had ſcarce held it three years, when thoſe infidels, letting out the water about them, forced them to abandon it. Lewis (ſurnamed Saint) king of France, regained it in the year 1249, but having been taken priſoner about a year after was forced to reſtore it for his ranſom. The Saracens, it is ſaid, then burnt it, that it might no more be ſuch a bone of contention. It ſoon recovered, and is now a place of great trade, and the ſeat of an archbiſhop under the patriarch of Alexandria. Copts and Greeks here ſettled have each a church, and free exerciſe of religion. The town is under the government of an aga, cadi and ſubbachi, all appointed by the baſhaw of the province, who exacts part of their income. The inhabitants are ſeverally employed in manufactures, particularly of fine linen cloth of all colours. But they ſo abhor ſtrangers, eſpecially Europeans, on account of the cruſades (the chief ſcene of which, in Egypt, was hereabout), that they can ſcarce let them paſs along without inſult. Some have confounded Damiata with Old Peluſium, or ſuppoſed it to have been reared from its ruins, but late writers have fully refuted this error.

Dan (tribe) DAN, one of the Iſraelitiſh tribes, had their portion of the Land of Promiſe. The Philiſtine and Judah were ſituated on the ſouth; Benjamin, eaſt; Ephraim and the half tribe of Manaſſeh, north; and the Mediterranean, weſt. This diſtrict is plain and level, but not ſo fruitful as that of the ſaid half tribe, having in moſt parts leſs depth of ſoil, and a range of mountains bordering on the ſea coaſt.

Dan (city) DAN (the city) hath this name given it in Geneſis and Deuteronomy. It was called alſo Laiſh: It was ſituated at the head of the Jordan, and was uſually accounted the utmoſt N. border of the Land of Iſrael, as Beerſheba was of the So; whence, as before obſerved, the expreſſion "From Dan to Beerſheba," to denote the whole length of the Holy Land from N. to S. Here it was that Jeroboam placed one of his golden calves. By Gentile writers it was called Paneas from the adjoining ſpring Paneum or Panion. This Dan, with its territory, was given by Auguſtus to Herod the Great, who left it to Philip his youngeſt ſon, together with the tetrarchy of Iturea and Trachonitis, to which it adjoined, and he repairing and beautifying it, made it his capital, or at leaſt his reſidence, giving it the name of Cæſarea Philippi, that is, the Cæſarea of Philip, to ingratiate himſelf with Tiberius Cæſar, and to diſtinguiſh it from another place ſo called.

Daphne DAPHNE, a town near Antioch, We may add to the account already given of Antioch, that Cæſar Gallus having out of zeal to Chriſtianity cauſed a Chriſtian church to be built there, the Daphnian Oracle immediately ceaſed. There were ſeveral places of this name beſides the foregoing, viz. a town of Egypt near Peluſium, an iſland of Ethiopia, alſo a ſmall region of Theſſaly, through which the river Pancus flowed.

Dathema. DATHEMA is that fortreſs in the land of Gilead, mentioned in Maccabees, Book I.

Decapolis DECAPOLIS. This was a canton in Paleſtine, ſo called from its (Deca) ten cities ſituate ſome on one, and ſome on the other ſide Jordan, the capital of which was Scythopolis. Its inhabitants were chiefly heathens.

Delphos DELPHOS, otherwiſe called DELPHI, the chief city of ancient Phocis, famous for the temple of Apollo, whoſe oracle was reſorted to from all parts of Europe, Aſia, and Africa. Delphos, among ſeveral other cities of Greece and Peloponneſus, contended for being ſituate in the very middle of the world. It had ſo convenient an harbour, and was excellently well ſituated (being rather in the heart of Greece than of the world), that it became in time a ſeſſions town of all the Grecian ſtates. Here ſat the court of the Amphictyones, choſen out of the prime cities of Greece, and ſo called from Amphictyon, firſt founder of this high court. The time of their aſſembling was in ſpring and autumn. Cauſes of all kinds were brought before them from all parts of Grecia, and their ſentence was deemed definitive. Mention of them is frequently made in hiſtory. Conſidering therefore the great concourſe which this court, the oracle, and games celebrated in honour of Apollo, brought into the city, we need not wonder at its being one of the moſt opulent of all Greece. As an inſtance of which, it may be noticed, that the gold and ſilver of which the temple was deſpoiled (the 4th year of the 105th Olympiad) on occaſion of the Grecian holy war, as it was called, amounted to 10,000 talents, i. e. above, 1,000,000l. Engliſh money. Delphos is ſituate in ancient Achaia, now Livadia in Turky in Europe, on the ſouth ſide of Mount Parnaſſus, where the town of Caſtri now ſtands. This modern town does not conſiſt of above 200 houſes, and thoſe very ill built. It ſtands between Salona and Livadia, about ten miles from the latter. The number of Turks are very inſignificant, though they have a moſque. The Greeks have five or ſix churches, and are deemed a very good people though poor. The little trade they have conſiſts in cotton and tobacco. Their wine is excellent.

Delta. DELTA, a tract of territory in the Lower Egypt, reaching from Heptanomis to the Mediterranean ſea, contained not only that part which is compaſſed by the arms of the Nile, and from its triangular figure (reſembling the fourth letter Δ in the Greek alphabet) named Delta; but alſo Mazeotis, and Alexandria with its dependencies to the weſt, and Caſiotis with ſome other territories towards Arabia to the eaſt. There are various opinions and conjectures concerning the ancient ſtate of this part of the world; but it is now acknowledged to be the moſt fertile and beſt cultivated land in the whole kingdom of Egypt, containing above 360 villages, and yielding grapes, and other fruits in abundance; and it fails not bearing even in thoſe years when the Nile not riſing to its uſual height occaſions, in other parts, a ſcarcity.

Diospolis. DIOSPOLIS. This was anciently a city in Leſſer Thebais, in Egypt. There was another town of this name in Paleſtine, vulgarly called Khama, which Gallus the Roman general deſtroyed at the ſame time, and for the ſame cauſe, as he did

did ſome other adjacent places, viz. the frequent revolt of the Jews from under their government.

Dora. DORA, or DOR. This was a maritime town and conſiderable city, ſtrongly ſituate near Mount Carmel on the Mediterranean ſea, whence it gave name to the country about it. It was given to the half tribe of Manaſſeh on this ſide (i. e. the weſt ſide) of Jordan. Jerom obſerves, that it lay nine miles from Tyre, and was gone quite to decay in his time, ſo as to be deſtitute of inhabitants.

Dothan. DOTHAN, a place mentioned in Gen. xxxvii. was ſeated about twelve miles to the northward of Samaria. Joſeph was ſold by his brethren to the Iſhmaelites in the neighbourhood of it.

E.

Ecbatana. ECBATANA. As we do not find in geographical writers any monuments remaining either of the magnificent Mauſoleum aſcribed to Daniel, or the proud palace where the monarchs of Aſia went to paſs the ſummer, there is, conſequently, great diſagreement among our modern travellers about the place where this ſtately metropolis ſtood. Many writers ſuppoſe that Tauris is the ſame with the ancient and famous Ecbatana. Our author aſſures us, that the palace built by Daniel was entire in his time; but at preſent not even the ruins of any magnificent building are to be ſeen either at Tauris, or in that neighbourhood, for in all the ruins there the materials are only earth, brick, and pebbles, which in ancient times were never uſed for building palaces in Media.

Ecbatana. ECBATANA. This is a town in Syria, remarkable for the death of Cambyſes king of Perſia there. He was the ſon of Cyrus, and the Ahaſuerus of our bible. While he was in Egypt, having conſulted the oracle of Butus in that country, he was told that he ſhould die at Ecbatana, which underſtanding of Ecbatana in Media, he reſolved to preſerve his life by never going thither; but what he thought to avoid in Media, he found in Syria, for the town where he lay ſick of his mortal wound was of the ſame name.

Edom. EDOM. At the time that the ancient kingdom of Edom was in its meridian, it was ſuppoſed to have been bounded on the north by Canaan, and the lake Aſphaltitis, on the eaſt by Midian, on the ſouth by the Arabian Gulph, or Red Sea, and on the weſt by Amalekitis. This tract is very mountainous, and great part of it deſert. It has few or no ſtreams, but latent ſprings of water for the uſe of the inhabitants, who know where to find them. Corn and wine nevertheleſs ſeem to have been anciently in ſome degree of plenty amongſt them; ſo that Eſau (that is, the poſterity of Eſau or Edom) may anciently have enjoyed the "fatneſs of the earth," according to his father's prophetic bleſſing, Gen. xxvii. 39. though by modern travellers this country is deemed rather a fertile ſpot. Amalekitis is by ſome reckoned to have been a part, or province of Edom. The cities and moſt remarkable places of Edom were, Teman, Dedan, Bozrah, Elath, Mount Hor, and the Valley of Salt. Now, though the name of this kingdom is frequently rendered Idumea (for Edomea, as in our verſion of the Bible), yet when that name occurs in profane and more modern writers, it muſt not be underſtood of the ancient Edom, which, loſing its old name, was comprehended under the general appellation of Arabia Petrea, and the third Paleſtine. The ſouth part of Canaan came to be called Idumea, and the whole nation of the Jews ſometimes Idumeans. Theſe people were at firſt ruled by patriarchs, or heads of families, and after that by kings who were elected into the regal office. This elective kingdom was ſomehow or other interrupted and diſſolved, and the ancient form took place again; till perceiving the imperfections of this kind of adminiſtration, they coaleſced under one king, thereby to be the better enabled to withſtand an invaſion from the Iſraelites when they came out of Egypt. It was governed after by Edomitiſh kings quite down to the days of king David, who conquered the country: from which time they were kept under ſubjection to the kings of Judah, though always impatient under the yoke; and only waiting a favourable opportunity of ſhaking it off. They were a bold and daring people, fond of broils and tumults, which they as much delighted in as others in the ſoftening pleaſures of luxury. Concerning their religion we are much in the dark. At firſt they were right in their belief and practice, as they were deſcended from Iſaac, and uſed circumciſion; but by degrees they forgot all, degenerated into idolatry, and diſuſed circumciſion. In the end however they coaleſced with the Jews, and were ever after conſidered as but one nation with them in divine matters. The Romans conquered this country after the reduction of Judæa, and made it the ſixth diſtrict in the diviſion of Syria. The Turks are now in poſſeſſion of it; though it appears not that they maintain much, if any, government in it, except on the ſea-coaſt for ſecuring the road from Egypt to Judæa, where ſtand ſome caſtles and villages, as Ariſſa, Dinhabah, &c. it being now inhabited by a wild, roving kind of Arabs, but who are not all intirely ſo barbarous and rude as they are repreſented by ſome.

Egypt. EGYPT. This celebrated country, called by its ancient inhabitants Chemia, and by the Copts at preſent, was ſo named, according to the general opinion of writers, from Ham, or Cham, the ſon of Noah, being more than once in the Pſalms ſtyled the Land of Ham: but the name by which it is generally denoted in Scripture, is the land of Mizraim, from whence the Arabians ſtill call it Meſr, which the Greeks write Meſre, or Meſtrea. Ancient Egypt is divided by ſome into two parts, the upper and the lower Egypt, by others into three; the upper properly ſo called, or Thebais, the middle or Heptanomis, and the lower, of which the beſt part was the Delta. Thebais, now called Al Said, is the moſt ſouthern part of Egypt next to Ethiopia, and is near as large as all the reſt, including the country on both ſides the Nile down to Heptanomis, its laſt cities having been Lycopolis on the weſt, and Antæopolis on the eaſt ſide of the river, which agrees with the preſent extent of Al Said, the moſt northern city of which is Manfalut. There were formerly in this part of Egypt a great number of large and magnificent cities, with temples of ſeveral deities, and tombs of their ancient princes. Its metropolis Thebes, called afterwards Diapolis (i. e. city of Jupiter), was ſituate on the Nile, and deſervedly reckoned one of the fineſt cities in the world. Its 100 gates are mentioned by Homer, whence it had the ſurname of Hecatompolos. Its riches were ſo great, that after it had been plundered by the Perſians, what was found on burning the remains of the pillage amounted to about 300 talents of gold, and 2300 of ſilver. Who was its founder is uncertain. As the name Thebes was formerly given to all Egypt, its great power is the more credible. Heptanomis was ſo called from the ſeven *Nomes*, or Perfectures, into which it was divided. It was full of very large and noble cities, the principal of which was Memphis, built by Menes their firſt king, and for many ages capital of the whole kingdom. Here alſo was the lake Neris, the Labyrinths, and the Pyramids. The chief cities of the Delta were Tanis, Sais, and Xois, and in later times Alexandria. The climate of Egypt muſt needs be very warm from its near ſituation to the tropic. Though the air is generally dry, yet great dews fall after the ſwelling of the Nile, which continue for ſeveral months. In the Delta it ſometimes rains a little in the winter, notwithſtanding what ſome ancients ſay to the contrary, and even ſnow, it is ſaid, has been obſerved to fall at Alexandria. In upper Egypt indeed towards the cataracts, it rains very ſeldom. The firſt ſummer (for they reckon two) which is in March, April, and May, is the moſt inconvenient and ſickly ſeaſon, becauſe the unequal weather, exceſſive heats, and hot winds cauſe diſtempers; but in the ſecond, June, July, and Auguſt, and in autumn and winter, the inhabitants breathe a much cooler air, the weather is more conſtant, and it is more delightful living, except from the 7th to the 14th of February, when cold is ſo felt that the rich wear furs. The fertility of Egypt, and the excellence of its productions and fruits are greatly celebrated by the ancients, and by Moſes himſelf in the Book of Geneſis. It was the granary of Old Rome, as it is now of Conſtantinople. The moſt plentiful parts are the Delta, and the province now called Al Feyyum. For this great fertility the land is indebted to the river Nile. The ſources of this celebrated river were unknown to the ancients; but they are now well known to be in Ethiopia. The annual inunda-

tion of this river has been looked on as one of the greateſt wonders of the country. Ancient writers tell us it begins to riſe in Egypt about the ſummer ſolſtice, and continues ſo to do till after the autumnal equinox for about 100 days, and then it decreaſes as many, till it retires within its banks, and overflows no more till next year. If the river did not riſe 15 or 16 cubits, the country was not covered with its waters, and dearth enſued. This account comes very near to thoſe of modern travellers. As this river could not of itſelf overflow the lands every where in the neceſſary proportion, they have cut a vaſt number of canals: however, as ſome places lie too high to be watered by the canals, they are obliged to raiſe the water to cover them by engines. Formerly they made uſe of Archimedes's ſcrew, thence named the Egyptian pump, but now they generally uſe wheels, which carry a rope or chain of earthen pots of about ſeven or eight quarts each, and draw the water from the canals. There are beſides a vaſt number of wells, from which the water is drawn in the ſame manner to water the gardens and fruit-trees, ſo that it is no exaggeration of the matter to ſay there are in Egypt above 200,000 oxen daily employed in this ſingle labour; beſides the men who drew water in wicker baſkets ſo cloſe and well made that not a drop runs through. As the land lies perfectly even, they cut their gardens into little ſquare beds, which are all ſurrounded with trenches, which immediately furniſh as much water as is neceſſary, and by theſe means they have the fineſt and moſt fertile gardens in the world. Pomegranates, oranges, and ſeveral ſorts of trees afford a ſhade and coolneſs that, notwithſtanding the heat of the climate, make it delightful walking. The Egyptians have not the laborious taſk of ploughing, digging, or breaking the clods; but when the river is retired, they have no more to do than to mix a little ſand with the earth to abate its ſtrength, after which they ſow with as little pains, and almoſt without charge. The paſtures are moſt excellent, the graſs generally growing to the height of the cattle. In fine, there is not a more pleaſant ſight in the world than Egypt, in two ſeaſons. Of the animal productions, the crocodile is the moſt remarkable. This amphibious creature is not indeed peculiar to the Nile, it being frequent enough in the Ganges and other large rivers in India. With reſpect to vegetable productions, though woods are very rare in Egypt, yet there are ſome foreſts of palm-trees towards the deſerts of Libya; and near Dandera, the ancient Tontyra, is one of wild dates, whoſe fruit is exceſſive hard, but much admired. However, Egypt is not a country proper for trees; but the caſe is different as to plants, which are various, and many of them highly uſeful. Amongſt the artificial curioſities of this country are the pyramids, thoſe ſtupendous ſtructures, which were deſervedly reckoned by the ancients among the wonders of the world. The Egyptian Labyrinth, from whence Dædalus is ſuppoſed to have taken the model of that which he afterwards built in Crete, though he therein imitated but the hundredth part of it, was a celebrated ſtructure; and Herodotus, who ſaw it, ſays, that it far ſurpaſſed the report of fame, being, in his judgment, even more admirable than the pyramids. But admirable as the Labyrinth was, the lake Meris, by which it ſtood, is ſaid to be yet more wonderful: according to the antients, this lake was much larger than it is now; and one place in particular, which the water has left, is indeed become a dangerous quickſand, wherein men and cattle are ſometimes loſt. Later relations aſſure us, it is now above half a league broad, and a day's journey in length, being in circuit above twelve or fifteen leagues. And even this is prodigious enough, if we conſider that it was the work of men's hands, as appears from the two pyramids built in the midſt of it, which were ſtanding in the time of Herodotus. With reſpect to the government, laws, religion, cuſtoms, &c. of the ancient Egyptians, we ſhall be as conciſe as poſſible. They are ſaid to be the firſt who found out the rules of government, and the art of making life eaſy and a people happy, the true end of politics. Other nations, particularly the Grecian, borrowed the beſt part of thoſe which they eſtabliſhed at home of this nation. The crown was hereditary, yet their firſt kings were obliged to conform themſelves to the eſtabliſhed laws of the land, even in their private way of life. They could not puniſh any perſon out of paſſion or caprice, nor give judgment but as law preſcribed. While they thus behaved, they were infinitely dear to their people, the ſtate was flouriſhing, and the extended dominion became exceeding rich and populous, and enabled to adorn the kingdom with works of inimitable magnificence. The kings, prieſts, and ſoldiery made as it were the three eſtates of the nation. The Egyptians were very careful in the adminiſtration of juſtice, formed moſt excellent laws, and minuteley attended to the execution of them. But as much as the Egyptians ſeemed to excel other nations in the wiſdom of their laws and conſtitutions, they ſurpaſſed them in bigotry and ſuperſtition. They are ſaid to have been the firſt who erected idolatrous altars, images, and temples, and the firſt inventers of feſtivals, ceremonies, and tranſactions with the gods by the mediation of others, and to have firſt given names to the twelve gods. They had many deities of different ranks and orders. Thoſe chiefly honoured were Oſiris and Iſis, by which it is moſt probably they originally meant the Sun and Moon, whoſe influence governed and preſerved the world. Their idolatrous practices became ſo general at laſt, that they gave divine honours to ſeveral animals, nay, even to ſome vegetables. We can only hint, that the Egyptians were early famous for many arts and ſciences, and particularly ſo for that called Magic. To whomſoever the invention may juſtly be aſcribed, it is certain the art was very ancient here. They had magicians who pretended to the interpretation of dreams, and a way of divining by a cup in the time Joſeph, Gen. xliv. 5, 15. What were the real grounds of this ſcience, is not for us to ſay. This land, though once ſo populous and full of noble and opulent cities, is ſo far decayed and fallen from its priſtine ſplendor, that it hath now not very many places deſerving to be called cities, either for extent, ſtrength, beauty, or populouſneſs. Scarce any are incloſed with walls; and many, formerly celebrated for their wealth and beauty, are now no other than overgrown villages without ramparts or walls. Though Egypt is now by no means ſo populous as it has formerly been, yet theſe huge villages, or unwalled towns, are ſtill very numerous, and ſo near to each other in ſome parts that they appear almoſt contiguous, eſpecially from Cairo to Roſetta, as well as along the canal of Damietta, and much more ſo in the heart of the Delta. Egypt is now inhabited not only by the Copti the ancient natives, but by Arabs, Moors, Turks, Greeks, Jews, Franks and others. The Coptic was the ancient language (Greek being introduced by Alexander, &c.) that continued to be ſpoken 900 years, till the Greeks were driven our by the Arabs, ſince which the Arabic hath continued the common language of the country, as they are the moſt numerous. However, they are kept ſeverely under by the Turks, ſcarce any of them being admitted into offices. Both men and women, contrary to the ancient Egyptians, (who were the moſt cleanly people in the world), are commonly very naſty, as well as rude and ignorant; and as they have not only embraced the doctrine of Mahomet, but are even more zealous obſervers than the Turks, ſo that has continued the principal religion of the country. The climate is naturally ſo exceſſive hot as to occaſion a great variety of diſeaſes extremely dangerous, and, what is far worſe, the plague, which often rages with ſuch violence as to ſweep off, in the whole country, myriads of people in a year.

EKRON, which ſtands N. W. of Gath in Paleſtine, was moſt northern of all the five cities which gave names to the five lordſhips of the Philiſtines; it lay in the north border of Judah, and was conſequently a frontier town. It was once a place of great wealth and power, and is much ſpoken of in ſcripture; but it faded away to a great degree of obſcurity, and although the name, and even very conſiderable veſtiges of what it had once been, ſubſiſted for many ages, it happens that no mention is made of it in profane authors. It was famous for its idol Baalzebub, called the God of Ekron, which was next to that of Dagon in repute and dignity.

ELAH, called by ſome the Valley of Elah, or of the Terebinth, lay in the road from Eleutheropolis to Jeruſalem. Here David

David ſlew Goliath. As to the height of this gigantic Philiſtine, according to the Engliſh ſtandard, it was twelve feet eight inches and ſomewhat better than three tenths. His coat of mail weighed 5000 ſhekels of braſs, or upwards of 189 of our pounds troy; and by the ſame rule the head of his ſpear, which weighed 600 ſhekels of iron, exceeded 22 of the ſame pounds. The weight of theſe and the other parts of his armour was not, we may imagine, too heavy for ſo huge a perſon, his ſtrength, doubtleſs, being in proportion to his ſtature, if not ſuperior to it.

ELAM, a country mentioned in ſeveral parts of ſcripture, was a kingdom on the river Ulai, to the eaſtward of the Tigris. It was the Suſiana of the Greeks, and lay ſo opportunely for Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon (who was, according to Jeremiah's prophecy, to ſubdue it), that he could have been no great while in completing its reduction, though, from the prophecy, Elam muſt have been a great and potent kingdom: and it ſeems to have waged war with the king of Scythia beyond the river Oxus, with various ſucceſs. Chedorlaomer, who extended his conqueſts over many provinces of Aſia, was the firſt king of Elam.

ELATH. This was a fair and commodious haven on the Arabian Gulf, or Red Sea, adjoining to the S. E. part of Mount Seir, or Land of Edom, and for a long time was a ſituation for the ſhipping, which was ſent from thoſe parts into the Indies. It lies near the road the Egyptian pilgrims take when they go to Mecca. In the fourteenth century, there were conſiderable remains of it ſtanding. This was one of the places whence the Jews traded for gold to Ophir, and the Tyrians had a great mart here.

ELEPHANTINE, an iſland ſituated oppoſite Sienna in Upper Egypt. It had a ſmall city, and is ſuppoſed to have taken its name from the elephants found on it. The Romans terminated their empire here, and ſo do the Egyptians their navigation on the Nile. This ſmall territory is pleaſant and fruitful, though hot, and the trees and vines are covered with leaves all the year round. It is allowed the laſt place on this ſide belonging to Egypt.

ELEUTHERUS, the name of a river mentioned in the Maccabees, and by geographers ſet down as the boundary of Syria and Phœnicia. The moderns, with one conſent, give the ſame name to a river between Tyre and Sidon, called by the Turks Caſimea, but the ancients place it more to the northward. The writer of the Maccabees lays it in the land of Hamath, which country, where-ever it was, was certainly, as appears from the ſame author, without the borders of Iſrael.

ELYMAIS, the chief city of a province of the ſame name, lying between the rivers Eulæus and Orontes, and extending from the confines of Media to the Perſian Gulf. It was famous for a rich temple conſecrated to Diana, which was plundered by one of the Parthian kings, who found in it 10,000 talents. The Elymeans, as Strabo informs us, were a powerful people, inured to the toils of war, ſkilful bowmen, &c. and never ſubdued by the Syro-Macedonian or Parthian kings, but governed by their princes. He dates the riſe of this kingdom from the downfall of the Perſian monarchy. The kings are often ſpoken of by the ancients, but not one by name. All we know of them is, that they aſſiſted Antiochus in his wars with Rome, but afterwards, in defence of their temple, cut off both him and his army.

EMESA, or Emissa, a famous city of Syria Proper, placed by moſt of the eminent geographers on the Orontes, between Apamia and Laodicea Caliosa. The emperor Heliogabalus was a native of it. It made a great figure during the reign of the Seleucidæ, and became an epiſcopal ſee under that of Antioch. It was afterwards taken from the muſſulman Arabs by the cruſaders in 1098, and retaken by Saladin about 100 years after. The Tartars maſtered it about 1258, and afterwards were driven out of it by the muſſulman Marmalukes, and theſe at length by the Turks. It is now called Chems, and Aman, or Haman, and is under the begleberg of Damaſcus, who keeps a deputy-governor and a garriſon in it. It is ſurrounded by ſtrong walls, with ſix handſome gates, and ſtately towers, at proper diſtances. The caſtle, which appears to be Roman, ſtands on an eminence, which commands the town and adjacent parts. Here are likewiſe ſome fine new churches, though the greater part of them are now turned into moſques. The chief commerce of the place conſiſts in ſilk of the fineſt manufacture. The gardens about it, as well as the neighbouring country, are very fertile and delightful, abounding with fruits of all ſorts, eſpecially with mulberry-trees, to feed ſilk-worms with; theſe are very regular and well watered, and planted in rows of conſiderable length.

EMMA. See the article Amatha, before deſcribed.

EMMAUS. It appears from St. Luke, that this was a village about 60 furlongs from Jeruſalem, weſt: it afterwards became a city and a Roman colony, and was called Nicopolis.

ENDOR was a city of the half tribe of Manaſſeh on the weſt of Jordan: it is mentioned in ſcripture as the place of reſidence of a woman that had a familiar ſpirit, and to whom Saul applied to raiſe up Samuel, &c.

ENGEDI. This place had anciently the name of Hazezontamar. It was a city in the tribe of Judah, not far from the Salt Sea, and in a wilderneſs or deſolate country. Engedi is noticed for its camphire, or (as others render it) cypreſs; and Jerom tells us that it was a great town in his day, and remarkable for Opo-balſamum, ſuppoſed to be the ſame now called Balm of Gilead.

EPHESUS, a celebrated city in Ionia, in Aſia Minor, called by the preſent inhabitants Aiaſalogus, was, in former times, the metropolis of all Aſia. Pliny ſtyles it the ornament of Aſia, and Strabo the greateſt and moſt frequented emporium of it. The ancient Epheſus was, indeed, very far different from the modern, which is but a ſorry village, inhabited by thirty or forty Greek families, as ignorant as inconſiderable. The ancient city ſtood about fifty miles ſouthward of Smyrna, near the mouth of the river Cayſter, and the ſhore of the Icarian Sea, which is a bay of the Ægean; but as it has been ſo often deſtroyed and rebuilt, it is not eaſy to determine the preciſe place. Moſt modern travellers are of opinion, that the ancient city ſtood more to the ſouthward than the preſent, which they argue from the ruins that ſtill remain. Epheſus, in ancient times, was known by ſeveral names. When in the Roman times it was the metropolis of all Aſia, it acknowledged Lyſimachus for its founder, becauſe that prince, having cauſed the ancient city to be intirely demoliſhed, rebuilt, at a vaſt expence, a new one, in a place more convenient, and nearer the temple. This new Epheſus was greatly damaged by an earthquake, in the reign of Tiberius, but by him repaired and embelliſhed with ſeveral ſtately buildings, of which there are now but few ruins to be ſeen, and ſcarce any thing worthy of ancient Epheſus. The aqueduct, part of which is yet ſtanding, is generally believed to have been the work of the Greek emperors. The pillars which ſupport the arches are of fine marble, and higher or lower as the level of the water required. This aqueduct ſerved to convey water into the city from the ſpring of Halitee, mentioned by Pauſanias. The Cayſter was formerly navigable, and afforded a ſafe place for ſhips to ride in, but is now almoſt choaked up with ſand. But the chief ornament of Epheſus was the ſo much celebrated temple of Diana, built at the common charge of all the ſtates of Aſia, and for its ſtructure, ſize, and furniture, accounted among the wonders of the world. According to Pliny, an incredible ſpace of time was ſpent in building this wonderful temple by all Aſia; the pillars, which were of marble curiouſly carved, or highly poliſhed, were the works of the moſt famous artiſts of antiquity, and the altar almoſt wholly the performance

of their great maſter of all, Praxiteles. This temple had the privilege of an aſylum, which at firſt extended to a furlong, afterwards enlarged by Mithridates to a bow-ſhot, and doubled by Mark Antony, ſo that it took in part of the city. But Tiberius put a ſtop to the many abuſes and diſorders that attended privileges of this kind, and declared that no man guilty of any wicked or diſhoneſt action ſhould eſcape juſtice, though he fled to the altar itſelf. All the Ionians reſorted yearly to Epheſus with their wives and children, where they ſolemnized the feſtival of Diana with great pomp and magnificence, making, on that occaſion, rich offerings to the goddeſs, without forgetting her prieſts. The great Diana of the Epheſians, as ſhe was ſtyled by her blind adorers, was, according to Pliny, but a ſmall ſtatue of ebony, made by one Canetia. As Epheſus was in the days of heatheniſm famous for the temple, ſo it was in the firſt Chriſtian times adorned with a magnificent church, honoured with the name of St. John's. It is yet ſtanding, and repreſented by a traveller of eminence as peculiarly ſtriking to a ſtranger, from the loftineſs of its fabric, though now converted into a Turkiſh moſque. Not far from hence was a ſtately lavatory of porphyry, called St. John's Font, the diameter of which was above ſeven pikes, wherein it is ſaid he baptiſed great multitudes. The aqueduct on the eaſt ſide appears not very antique, at leaſt it ſeems to have been repaired in latter times, ſome ſtones being reverſed in the walls, and ſeeming as if placed ſo by the ignorant Turks, as they came caſually to hand. So now the reliques of the Gentiles, the Chriſtians, and the Turks, are ſubverted, and heaped promiſcuouſly together. For the whole town is nothing but a habitation of herdſmen and farmers in low cottages of dirt covered on the top with earth, ſheltered from the extremity of weather by mighty maſſes of ruinous walls, the pride and oſtentation of former days, and the emblem in theſe of the frailty of the world, and the tranſient vanity of human glory. The Turks took Epheſus under Mohammed I. the ſon of Bajazet, ſince which it hath remained under them: Smyrna and Scalanova are now the chief places of its commerce.

EPHRAIM, one of the tribes of Iſrael. Ephraim was alſo the wood where Abſalom periſhed on an oak, mentioned in the 2d book of Samuel, and is undoubtedly to be underſtood not of any wood lying in the tribe of Ephraim, on the weſt of Jordan (for Abſalom as well as David were paſſed over Jordan), but of ſome wood lying on the eaſt ſide of Jordan, and ſo named on ſome other account perhaps, as lying over-againſt the tribe of this name.

EPHRATA, the ſame city with BETHLEHEM; which ſee.

EPHRON. A great and ſtrong city, lying in the direct way between the land of Gilead and that of Judah; it is mentioned in the Maccabees.

ETHIOPIA. The name of Ethiopians was given by ſeveral of the ancients to all perſons either perfectly black, or of a very ſwarthy complexion. The Arabs, therefore, and other Aſiatics, as well as a great number of Africans, fell under this denomination. We find the Africans divided into the weſt, or Heſperian Ethiopians, and the Ethiopians above Egypt, to the eaſt of the former. The firſt inhabited that vaſt tract called Libya Interior, but the ſecond were looked upon as the proper Ethiopians. As proper Ethiopia might anciently have been of different extent at different times, its frontiers cannot be preciſely fixed. In ſcripture, *Cuſh*, when taken for a country, is always to be underſtood of the proper Ethiopia. The ancients imagined the blackneſs of the Ethiopians, Abaſſines, and Abyſſians, to be occaſioned by the intenſe heat of their climate, and therefore ſo named them. As we have not room to ſpecify all the ſeveral Ethiopian nations, as to their characters and cuſtoms, we ſhall only touch on ſome particulars. The Struthophagi (or oſtrich eaters) lived upon oſtriches. They had ſeveral arts and devices to take this their food, though that animal defended itſelf againſt them with ſtones, which it threw out of its feet with great violence. Of the ſkins of theſe creatures, they made both garments and coverlids for their beds. The Ichthyophagi (or fiſh-eaters) by ſtopping up the paſſages of certain caverns on the coaſt of the Red Sea (part of which they inhabited) with ſtones, incloſed vaſt numbers of large and ſmall fiſhes, which, upon the reflux of the tide, were left there as in a net, and ſerved them for food. As they fed on fiſh in their life-time, ſo they fed them after death, for they carried their dead to the ſea-ſhore, where they lay till the tide carried them off. The Chelonophagi (or tortoiſe-eaters) not only lived upon thoſe fiſhes, but covered their huts with the ſhells, and uſed them alſo as boats. The Acridophagi (or locuſt-eaters) had a deep valley in the country of many furlongs, which they took care to fill with wood, &c. and when the ſouth wind drove vaſt numbers of locuſts thither, they ſet the combuſtibles on fire, and the ſmoke ſuffocated theſe animals, ſo infinite in number, that the ground, for leagues, was covered with their bodies, which theſe people ſeaſoned with ſalt, and lived upon the following year. The Spermatophagi and Hylophagi formed two neighbouring cantons, the firſt feeding on the fruits that fell from the trees in ſummer, but the reſt of the year on a ſweet plant, with a ſtalk ſomewhat reſembling that of a turnip, and the latter on the buds and tender ſhoots of trees. Theſe were people of ſuch ſurpriſing activity, that they ſkipped from tree to tree almoſt like birds. They always went naked, had wives in common, but quarrelled about their habitations, fighting with clubs. Circumciſion was a rite obſerved among the Ethiopians, as well as Egyptians, from very early antiquity, though which of theſe firſt received it cannot be certainly known. The Ethiopian ſoldiers tied their arrows round their heads, the feathered part of which touched their foreheads, temples, &c. and the other projected out, like ſo many rays, which formed a kind of crown. Their bows were four cubits long, and required ſo much ſtrength to manage them, that no other people could make uſe of them. When they came to a general action with an enemy, they darkened the air with clouding ſhowers of arrows. They retreated fighting, as did the Parthians, diſcharging vollies of arrows with ſuch dexterity, that whilſt retiring full ſpeed, they dreadfully galled the enemy. Their lances or darts were of immenſe ſize, which farrher proves their vaſt ſtrength. The Macrobian (or long-lived Egyptians) fed for the moſt part upon roaſted fleſh, drank milk, and frequently attained to the age of 120 years, which was ſaid to be owing to a rich and fragrant fountain wherein they frequently bathed themſelves. They looked upon braſs as the moſt valuable of metals, and ſo little eſteemed gold, that they fettered their common priſoners with golden chains. Diodorus affirms, that they kept the bodies of their relations in their houſes, within caſes of glaſs, not thinking it right that the knowledge of the features and likeneſs of their deceaſed relations ſhould be forgotten by their ſurviving kindred, or concealed from their poſterity. Thus much may ſuffice concerning the manners, cuſtoms, &c. of the divers, and, in ſome reſpects, very different nations, or tribes, of the different Ethiopians. Jupiter Ammon, according to the Greek and Latin authors, ſeems to have been the principal object of religious worſhip in Ethiopia. Diodorus ſays, they valued themſelves on their being the firſt nation that had a religious eſtabliſhment. In ſhort, from the general account of others, their religion differed not much from that of the Egyptians, which is not to be wondered at, conſidering their vicinity to, and intercourſe with, that people. The country is at preſent inhabited by people of three different religions, viz. Chriſtians, Mahometans, and Pagans; but the laſt are moſt numerous, and are generally the blacks, as the Mahometans are tawney, poſſeſſing the N. ſhore; and thoſe who are called Chriſtians have abundance of Pagan and Jewiſh rites intermixed, and theſe are but ſmall in number, compared with the other two. Ethiopia did not abound in cities and towns of any conſiderable note. Auxeme was its metropolis. It is very mountainous, and moſt of the hills overlook the clouds. In ſuch a region the air cannot be always alike, and, perhaps, there is no country in the world where ſo many different ſeaſons may be found

found in ſo ſmall a compaſs. The Ethiopic, as well as the oppoſite coaſt of the Red Sea, and the iſlands of this ſea, are, in ſummer, intolerably ſcorched by the ſolar rays. However, the air is much more temperate in the mountainous parts. In ſome provinces the winter is extremely ſevere; in others, as warm as ſummer, in ſeveral parts of Europe. They have little or no ſnow, but frequent and dreadful thunders, that terrify both man and beaſt, which proceed from the exceſſive variety of air. The climate in general is yet ſo healthy that it is ſtill not uncommon for the natives to arrive at 100 years of age. The days and nights in Ethiopia, as lying between the tropic of cancer and the equator or equinoctial line, are, for the moſt part, nearly equal, and the ſoil in thoſe parts capable of cultivation is extremely fertile, and produces vaſt quantities of grain, pulſe, and fruit. Metals, likewiſe, particularly gold minerals, vegetables, and a ſurpriſing variety of animals, abound here. It is aſſerted, they have ſometimes two, ſometimes three, harveſts in a year. They neither ſow nor mow (to make hay) for the cattle, the perpetual heat and continual diſtillation of moiſture from the mountains, producing graſs in great abundance, and covering the fields with a moſt beautiful verdure through all the different ſeaſons of the year; yet they are ſometimes infeſted with flights of graſs-hoppers, which cover the earth, and in a ſhort time devour every blade of graſs to the very root. Of all the rivers that water Ethiopia, the moſt famous is the Nile, which has its ſource in this country. The chief parts and emporiums were Adulis, Mondus, Opone, Morylow, and the principal city of the Avalitæ, ſeated upon the Red Sea. The Arabs, from their country into theſe places, imported fruit, corn, wine, &c. and exported from thence to Oſelis and Muſa, oppoſite harbours in Arabia, ſpices, caſſia, perfumes, ivory, myrrh, and ſeveral other commodities. The civet cat is one of the moſt remarkable animals of Ethiopia, which yields the perfume called civet, and is a native of the Eaſt Indies and America, as well as of Africa. It is a ſort of wild cat, not much unlike our tame ones, except that the head more reſembles that of a fox; their ſkin is ſpotted, the claws are leſs dangerous, and the cry is different. The perfume this animal produces is an unctuous ſubſtance, of the conſiſtence of honey, or butter, and has a moſt fragrant and grateful ſcent. Civet, like muſk, is chiefly uſed by perfumers and confectioners, having but little place in medicine. The laws of this country allow polygamy, though the church canons forbid it, ſo that they lawfully, though irreligiouſly, indulge themſelves in it. Trades and manufactures are wholly wanting here; though, indeed, their way of living makes them need the fewer. Even thoſe which are moſt uſeful, they are ſupplied with by the Jews, viz. weaving of ſtuffs for dreſs, forging heads for the lances, and other neceſſary articles.

EZION-GEBER. In the reigns of Solomon and Jehoſhaphat, this was a celebrated poſt-town. From divers texts of ſcripture, it may be inferred, that Ezion-Geber and Elath were neighbouring places; ſo that, for the ſituation of this place, it may ſuffice to turn to the article ELATH. After the diviſion of the kingdom, Edom being of that part which remained to the houſe of David, they ſtill continued to carry on a trade before eſtabliſhed from the two ports of Elath and Ezion-Geber, eſpecially from the latter, which they chiefly made uſe of till the time of Jehoſhaphat. But he having there loſt his fleet, which he had prepared to ſail to Ophir, in partnerſhip with Ahaziah king of Iſrael, this ſpoiled the credit of that harbour. Therefore, the ſtation of the king's ſhips was thenceforth removed to Elath, in order to avoid future miſchiefs.

G.

GADARA. This was a city of Paleſtine in Cœlo-Syria, ſituated near the river of its name, where it diſcharges into the lake of Genezareth, in Judæa.

GALILEE, once a celebrated province in Judæa, in which had been ſituate the tribes of Aſher, Naphtali, Zebulun, and Iſſachar. It was the moſt northern part of Paleſtine, extending beyond the great plain of Jezreel, and was bounded north by Mount Libanus, eaſt by the Jordan and the ſea of Galilee, ſouth by the river Chiſon, and weſt by the Mediterranean. It was divided into high and low. The former on the other ſide Jordan, extending towards the Machonitis, the Libanus and Batana, and was ſtyled Galilee of the Gentiles, either becauſe moſtly inhabited by or intermixed with them: here was ſeated the half-tribe of Manaſſeh. The other was richer and more fertile, except in the northernmoſt part, producing excellent corn, wine, fruits, with little cultivation, and was, in its flouriſhing ſtate, full of towns and villages, and extremely populous. The inhabitants were ſtout and warlike, and very zealous for the Jewiſh religion. Capernaum, Chorazin, and Bethſaida, ſtood in this province.

GATH, one of the five cities of the Philiſtines, was anciently the principal one, as being the royal ſeat in the middle times of that people, but it dwindled away ſo early that there are few or no materials for a deſcription of it. Nor is it eaſy to fix its exact ſituation, there being a number of cities of the ſame name, differently placed by the ſacred books, ſome of them diſtinguiſhed by an appellative, as Gath-Epher, Gath-Rimmon, &c. and others without any. The word ſignifies a preſs, a wine-preſs, oil-preſs, or any other. Gath and Ekron are recorded as the boundaries of the Philiſtine territory, the former on the S. and the latter on the N. and theſe, with the three between, compoſed the five ſatrapies of that brave ancient nation. It muſt needs have been a very ſtrong populous city, till David took and diſmantled it. Rehoboam rebuilt and fortified it. In the days of Amos and Micah, we find it to have been in a flouriſhing condition, and wholly independent of the kings of Judah, and ſince then demoliſhed by Hazael king of Syria. From theſe various changes, it grew to be of little conſideration, till, in the time of Chriſtianity, Fulk, king of Jeruſalem, built a caſtle on its ruins. As to the ancient inhabitants of this city and its diſtrict, it is evident from ſcripture that their inveterate enmity towards the Iſraelites was ſuch, that a learned author ſays, "One would be almoſt tempted to think they were created on purpoſe to be a thorn in the ſides of that choſen people." This enmity ſeems to have been of very ancient date; for in the firſt book of Chronicles we read, that "the men of Gath ſlew the children of Ephraim, becauſe they came down to take away their cattle, and Ephraim their father mourned many days, and his brethren came to comfort him.

GAZA. This was a very celebrated city of the Philiſtines, whoſe gates Samſon took away, and whither he was carried when he was taken, and where he pulled down the houſe of Dagon on the lords of the Philiſtines. What it was in its firſt days cannot be known; but in time it became conſiderable for ſtrength, beauty, and extent. It was ſituate on an high hill, and ſtood as it were in the very S. W. angle or corner of the land of Canaan, upon the ſkirts of the deſert which led to Egypt. In the Hebrew it is called Azza, and Aga by the Syrians, which has been altered into Gaza. In latter times it was alſo called Ione and Minoa, and the ſea which waſhed along the ſhore from Gaza to Egypt was called the Ionian Sea. This city was in the lot of Judah, according to the diviſion made by Joſhua; but though it was attempted and carried, yet the Philiſtines poſſeſſed it again and kept it. For the more convenient communication with the ſea, it had a port called Majuma, a place of no great account, till Conſtantine took notice of it, and called it Conſtantia, in honour of his ſon Conſtantius. Julian altered its name into the port of Gaza, or maritime part of that city. There is no ſign it ever was a commodious place for the reception of ſhipping, but that it was a mere ſhift for that purpoſe. Gaza often groaned under the miſeries of war, of which one inſtance was in the year of the world 2667, when, after a ſtout reſiſtance and great ſlaughter, it was taken by Alexander the Great. Gaza was ſometimes in a flouriſhing ſtate, with mighty walls and coſtly edifices, and ſometimes in a diſtreſſed condition. After ſeveral viciſſitudes, it lay ſo far neglected, that in the Acts of the Apoſtles it is called deſert; that is, ſuch a deſert as it is now, we may ſuppoſe, weak in inhabitants, for ſo fertile a ſpot can never be called by that appellation according to the common acceptation of that word with us. Lucan commemorates

commemorates Gaza with Tyre and Sidon, when its ſiſter cities are either forgotten or omitted, as not worthy a place among the conſiderable ones of this part of the coaſt. Though it is now but a poor place, there are ſome reliques left that teſtify its having been in a better condition, for divers ſimple roofs are ſupported with goodly pillars of Parian marble, ſome plain, ſome curiouſly carved. On the ſummit of the hill are the ruins of huge arches ſunk low in the earth, and other foundations of a ſtately building. Majuma, which is the new or preſent Gaza, retains ſome monuments of its former grandeur, and is encompaſſed with fertile vallies, producing great plenty of fruits. Near this city is a round caſtle, flanked with four ſquare towers, and in good repair. Over-againſt it is the ſeraglio, where the baſha's wives, &c. are kept, and a little above it the remains of an old Roman caſtle, which had been built with very firm and hard materials.

GENEZARETH, gives name to a lake and territory. The lake, called alſo the Sea of Tiberias, the water of Geneſar, and Sea of Galilee, is ſuppoſed to have borrowed its name from the city Cinneroth, on its borders, in the tribe of Naphtali. It has great variety of fiſh, which, for ſhape and taſte, is not to be found any where elſe. The Jordan runs through the midſt of it. The lake takes its name from the country that ſurrounds it, which is fruitful, and agreeable to admiration. As to the fertility of the ſoil, no plant comes amiſs to it; beſides that, it is improved by the ſkill and induſtry of the inhabitants, to the higheſt degree, and, by a climate extraordinarily benign, every thing proſpers there, as nuts, palms, figs, and orange-trees, that flouriſh there in perfection, though they require a quite different temperature of air in the nature of them. It is as remarkable for a cryſtalline flowing fountain, called by the natives Capernaum. The country along the lake, is thirty ſtadia or furlongs, in length, and twenty in breadth.

GERAR. This place, which we find frequently mentioned in the hiſtory of Abraham, was a Philiſtine city, venerable as being the ſeat of their firſt kings, but its exact ſituation cannot be aſcertained. The uſual name of the kings thereof ſeems to have been Abimelech, as Pharaoh was that of thoſe of Egypt. The kings of Gerar were, in all probability, Philiſtines by extraction, for the kingdom of Gerar is expreſsly reckoned within the Philiſtines' dominions.

GESHUR and MAACAH kingdoms. It is evident, from Joſhua xiii. 11, 13, that the cities Geſhur and Maacah, the two capitals of the two ſmall kingdoms, lay within the borders of the land of Iſrael, and conſequently on the ſouth ſide of Mount Libanus. That Geſhur and Maacah were the capitals of two kingdoms is likewiſe evident from our having expreſs mention made of the king of Geſhur, (2 Sam. iii. 3.) and of the king of Maacah (2 Sam. x. 6.). How theſe two cities or kingdoms lay, in reſpect to one another, is not to be determined; but it is certain they both lay in the N. part of the half-tribe of Manaſſeh, or the E. of Jordan. Geſhur was a kingdom before Damaſcus, and Nicolaus Damaſcenus writes, that in this place Abraham was king or ruler.

GIBEAH, ſituate to the N. of Jeruſalem, according to modern geographers, about ſeven or eight miles, and as many from Gibeon, N. W. It ſtood on an hill as the name imports. It is in ſcripture called Gibeah of Benjamin, as belonging to that tribe, and Gibeah of Saul, as being not only his native place, but that of his royal ſeat. It was here that the concubine of the Levite was abuſed, the conſequence of which is very remarkable, and was very fatal. St. Jerom tells us, that in his time it was totally ruined.

GIBEON, the metropolis of the ancient Gibeonites, and a city of the Hivites, was diſtant about 7 miles north from Jeruſalem, and ſituated on an eminence, as its name properly imports. From Joſhua x. 2. we learn that it was a great city, greater than Ai. Euſebius and Jerom tell us it was a regal city, though we no where read of a king of Gibeon, whereby it ſeems to be implied that though it was not a regal city, it was in reality as conſiderable. As to the city itſelf, Euſebius further tells us that it was a town or village in his time, four miles weſt from Bethel, and ſtill going under its old name.

GIHON. Its ſituation is generally aſſigned to be near Mount Sion, and on the weſt ſide thereof. It was at this Gihon that Solomon, by the eſpecial order of David, was anointed king over Iſrael, and this is thought to carry in it ſome inducement to ſuppoſe that Gihon was a fountain; David making choice of this fountain for anointing Solomon, in oppoſition to his other ſon Adonijah, who was at that time ſetting up for king near Enrogel, i. e. the well or fountain of Rogel, on another ſide of the city.

GILEAD, or GALAAD, the mount of, lies on the eaſt of the ſea of Galilee, being part of the ridge of mountains running from Mount Lebanon, and including the mountainous region called Trachonites. It had its name from the occaſion of the heap made with ſtones by Laban and Jacob, Galaad, or Gilead, ſignifying the *heap of witneſs*. From this name given to the heap of ſtones, the whole mountainous track hereabouts was afterwards ſo called. Hence we read of ſome places lying in this tract of country, that were diſtinguiſhed by the name of Gilead being added to them, as Jabeſh-Gilead, Ramoth-Gilead. The word Gilead ſeems, in ſome places of ſcripture, to denote, if not all, yet the greateſt part of the country beyond Jordan, viz. the tribe of Gad, and all the half-tribe of Manaſſeh.

GILGAL, between Jordan and Jericho. Jerom ſays, that the place was ſhewn in his days at two miles diſtance from Jericho, and by the inhabitants of the country held in great veneration.

GISCHALA, a famous and ſtrong town in Galilee, being the laſt therein reduced by Titus. Of this city was that famed John from this place, named John of Giſchala, who headed one of the parties of the Zealots, who defended Jeruſalem againſt the Romans, but at the ſame time committed all manner of the moſt execrable outrages, and brought on the Jews innumerable calamities and diſtreſſes.

GREECE. This country extended from N. to S. i. e. from the long ridge of mountains which divided it from Macedonia, and from the river Strymon, by which it was parted from Thrace to the promontory of Tenarus, the utmoſt ſouthern extent of Peloponneſus, and from eaſt to weſt from the Ionian to the Egean Sea. It contained a great number of kingdoms, all of which have, at one time or other, been governed by kings of their own, whoſe names we only find occaſionally mentioned in the hiſtory of the more conſiderable kingdoms of Argos, Attica, Thebes, and Sparta, of the Argonautic expedition, and of the Trojan war. From the names of Graioi and Graicoi, they were ſoon changed into thoſe of Achæi and Hellones, by which they are generally called in ancient authors. It is ſuppoſed, and with ſome foundation, that Javan, the ſon of Japhet, and his deſcendents, were the firſt who peopled theſe countries. If we look upon the infant ſtate of Greece with reſpect to its inhabitants, it appears, even by the confeſſion of their own writers, to have been one continued, uncultivated deſert, inhabited by men living indifferently on every fruit, herb, or root, that came in their way, and lying either in the open fields, or, at beſt, ſheltering themſelves from the inclemency of the weather, in dens, clefts, and hollow trees. Laws they had none, except that of the ſtrongeſt arm, ſo that thoſe who were moſt pleaſantly or fruitfully ſituated, were continually liable to be diſpoſſeſſed by new invaders. Hence it was that Greece was in a continual fluctuation, the weakeſt being always ſure to be turned out by the ſtrongeſt. Hence it is alſo, that whilſt other nations, as the Jews, Egyptians, Midianites, and Phœnicians, had improved the uſeful arts to a very great degree, as ſeen in their ſeveral hiſtories, the Greeks alone ſeem to have been the only ſtrangers to them, inſomuch that one may reaſonably queſtion from Homer's making oxen the ſtandard of the value of things, whether they knew the uſe of money even in his days. They had no letters till Cadmus brought them thither out of Phœnicia, whoſe alphabet, conſiſting only of ſixteen letters, was

not

not perfected into that of twenty-four till many centuries after him. It was from him, likewiſe, that they learned arithmetic, navigation, and commerce: as for other ſciences, they continued much longer ſtrangers to them, and it was not till ſome of their great men began to travel into Egypt, and other kingdoms, that they began to have ſome reliſh for them. Their religion was little leſs than a corruption, if we may be allowed that word, of the Egyptian theology, brought thither at firſt by Cecrops, an Egyptian exile, and founder of the Attic monarchy. Thus Greece, ſoon after, was furniſhed with a number of deities, ſuited to the taſte of their brutal votaries, and with a ſanction and precedent for every unſocial and unnatural vice. To this deſperate and univerſal degeneracy of the Grecian nation, we may venture to aſcribe, in ſome meaſure, all the fabulous accounts which the poets have given us concerning the birth, extraction, and extravagant exploits of thoſe famous heroes, who beſtowed ſo much pains and time to reform and aboliſh it. Of this number were Minos, Hercules, Theſeus, and many more; ſome of whom cleared the ſeas, others the land, of that peſtilent race; and others, laſtly, by wholeſome laws, by the introduction of commerce, arts, and ſciences, laid the happy foundation for that politeneſs and grandeur, for which they were ſo juſtly famed in after ages. Greece, or at preſent called Rumelia, by the Turks, is generally conſidered a temperate, healthful country, and fruitful ſoil, but has had moſt of the cities it contained deſtroyed by the barbarous Turks, and a deluge of ignorance introduced into the once-admired ſeats of learning and politeneſs. Greece, or Rumelia, abounds with fine corn, charming wine, delicious fruits, and great herds of cattle, with fowls and veniſon in great plenty. The Chriſtian religion was planted in this country ſoon after the death of our Saviour by St. Paul and Timothy, and it flouriſhed here for many ages with more purity than in the weſtern church, producing many champions for the faith, and venerable fathers, whoſe writings convey to us the doctrine and diſcipline of the church very near its native purity. But ſince the Turks have been maſters of this country, and made the people ſlaves, the ſtate of their religion is very much declined. The Greeks are in their manners much like the Turks: they are covetous, perfidious, treacherous, revengeful to the higheſt degree, very ſuperſtitious, and great hypocrites; and, indeed, are ſo deſpiſed by the Turks, that they value not a Greek who even turns Mohammedan. The ancient language of Greece is ſtill known to us, being preſerved in the writings of their famous philoſophers, hiſtorians, orators, and poets. But the modern Greek is ſo far changed, by the mixture of foreign languages, that it differs extremely from the ancient, which is, by the preſent inhabitants, but little underſtood.

H.

HAMATH is generally ſuppoſed to adjoin Rehob north; and, from a clauſe in the book of Numbers, it ſeems plainly denoted that Rehob was that part of Canaan as joined next to the country or kingdom of Hamath. It is the opinion of ſome, that the city of Hamath was the ſame, called by the Greeks Epiphania, the ſituation of which agrees very well with what is here obſerved. So that it may be inferred the kingdom of Hamath extended itſelf from the land of Canaan, or, more particularly, from the kingdom of Rehob, ſouthward, to the city Epiphania, northward, and from the coaſt of the Mediterranean Sea, weſt, to the kingdom of Damaſcus (or Syria more particularly called), eaſt. This kingdom is frequently denoted in ſcripture by the land of Hamath, and herein lay Riblah, 2 Kings xxiii. 33, and as the extent of the land of Iſrael is frequently denoted by this expreſſion, "from Dan unto Beerſheba," and, Numb. xiii. 21, "from the wilderneſs of Zin unto Rehob;" ſo, 1 Kings viii. 65, it is denoted by this expreſſion, "From the entering in of Hamath unto the river of Egypt;" and we read, "from the entering in of Hamath unto the ſea of the plain," in another place.

HARETH Foreſt, to which David retired, was evidently within the tribe of Judah, by the words of the prophet, 1 Samuel xxii. 5. "David came into the foreſt of Hareth."

HEBRON, or CHEBRON, a celebrated and very ancient city. Some think it was built 90 years after the flood, and that it claimed precedency even of Memphis. It was ſeated in the hilly country, in the ſouth part of Canaan, and is famous in ſcripture on many accounts, but now is almoſt in ruins. Near the ruined old city ſtands a village, called Elkahil, in which is ſtill an handſome church, built by Helena, over the cave where the old patriarchs were buried. It is, indeed, turned into a moſque, and held in great eſteem by the Turks, as well as Chriſtians. Hebron, or Elkahil, inconſiderable as it is, is ſtill capital of a diſtrict, called "The territory of the friends of God," conſiſting of twenty-five other villages, or thereabouts.

HELAM. A place where the Iſraelites and Syrians engaged in battle, and the latter received a mighty overthrow, is thought to have been the ſame with Almatha, mentioned in the reign of Trachonitis, by Ptolemy.

HELIOPOLIS, which ſignifies City of the Sun, was a name given to ſeveral Greek cities, and to Corinth, among others.

HERMON (Mount.) Two of this name are mentioned in ſcripture. Firſt, the N. E. part of Lebanon, adjoining to the Holy Land, is diſtinguiſhed by the name of Mount Hermon, which is conſequently mentioned as the N. boundary of the country beyond Jordan, particularly the kingdom of Og, or of the half tribe of Manaſſeh, E. of Jordan. Second Hermon lies within the land of Canaan, W. of the river Jordan, not far from Mount Tabor. This Hermon is, like Libanus, capped with ſnow, but for nothing ſo remarkable as for the abundant dews which fall upon and about it. A traveller of note obſerves, that he was ſufficiently inſtructed by experience what the holy Pſalmiſt means by the dew of Hermon, (Pſalm cxxxiii. 3.) as the tents were as wet with it as if it had rained all night.

HERODION. A ſtately palace was built here by Herod the Great, about ſeven miles from Jeruſalem, in the place where he had formerly defeated the Parthians and the Jews of the Aſmonean party, when he fled from that city, on Antigonus becoming maſter of it. This, from his own name, he called Herodion. It ſtood in a very pleaſant and ſtrong ſituation, on the top of a hill, from whence was a proſpect of all the country round. From this palace the hill declined all round, with an equal and uniform deſcent, which made a beautiful ſhow, and at the fort of it were ſoon built ſuch a number of houſes as amounted to the ſize of a city of great extent.

HESHBON, metropolis of the kingdom of Sihon. It belonged to the tribe of Reuben, but ſtood in the confines of that of Gad, and was remarkable for its excellent fiſh-pools. After the carrying away of the ten tribes, it was re-poſſeſſed by the Moabites, whence, in the prophecies of Iſaiah and Jeremiah againſt Moab, we find frequent mention of it. It has been a Levitical city. It continued a great and noble city till the days of Euſebius and Jerom, being called Eſbus by the Greeks.

HYRCANIA. This was a province of Perſia; bounded on the N. by the Caſpian Sea, on the W. by Media, on the S. by Parthia, and on the E. by Margiana, now called Mazandran. The capital was called Hyrcania, as well as the province, and is by the moderns denominated Hyrcan. Ancient writers agree in repreſenting Hyrcania as a country abounding in wine, wheat, figs, and all other kinds of fruit, but here and there interſperſed with meadows and paſture lands, and in ſome places with the leſs pleaſant proſpect of thick woods, abounding with wild beaſts almoſt of every kind. As to its preſent condition, nothing can be more amazing than the wide difference between the accounts given us by perſons of credit and capacity, who have had equal opportunities of acquiring a perfect knowledge of the particulars they relate.

J.

JABESH-GILEAD. The name implies that this place lay in Gilead. It joined to the country of the Ammonites. It was ſtill a town in the days of Euſebius and Jerom, ſix miles from Pella, on a hill, in the way to Geraſa. Its inhabitants are remarked in ſcripture for their grateful remembrance of Saul's having driven away the Ammonites, who beſieged it.

JAMNIA, a place in Judæa, which ſtands a few miles from Joppa, on the ſame coaſt. It is famed in the book of the Maccabees, and placed at about 290 furlongs from Jeruſalem, and was an epiſcopal ſee, under that of Cæſarea, but is now in ſo ruinous a ſtate that ſcarce any thing remains of it worth mention.

JERICHO, a ſtrong and famous city in Canaan, about ſix miles W. from the river of Jordan, and 23 almoſt E. of Jeruſalem, was the firſt that was invaded by the Iſraelites, after their paſſage over Jordan, and, by the miraculous fall of its walls, taken, ſet on fire, and levelled with the ground. The tree from which flowed the famed balm of Gilead, and other odoriferous trees, likewiſe grew in its vicinity, from the fragrancy of which it is ſuppoſed to be named Jericho, which, in the original, ſignifies *odour*. Here Eliſha ſweetened the waters of the ſpring that ſupplied it and the neighbouring countries. Here Herod built a ſumptuous palace: it was the dwelling-place of Zaccheus, and honoured with Chriſt's own preſence and miracles. It yielded to none in all Judæa but Jeruſalem, in the times of the laſt kings thereof. Beſides the palace aforeſaid, it was adorned with an hippodrome, an amphitheatre, and other magnificent buildings. But at preſent it is only a poor village of the Arabs, according to late travellers.

JERUSALEM. Our author having given an ample deſcription of this famous city, as it appeared in his time, we ſhall, therefore, only make ſome obſervations reſpecting its preſent and more modern ſtate, that in A. D. 136, the emperor Adrian, having changed the name of Jeruſalem into Ælia Capitolina, after the name (Ælius) of his own family, erected a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus, upon the ſpot where the Jewiſh temple formerly ſtood, and who planted a Roman colony in the city; the Jews broke out into a rebellion, took Jeruſalem, and maſſacred all the Romans ſettled there. But Severus (governor of Britain) being ſent againſt the rebels, retook the city, reduced it to aſhes, and plowed up the ground whereon the temple had ſtood. The emperor and ſenate of Rome publiſhed an edict, forbidding all Jews for ever, upon pain of death, to ſet foot in Jeruſalem, or any place where it might be ſo much as ſeen. Even thoſe Jews that embraced Chriſtianity were alſo prohibited. This quite delivered the church from the ſervitude of the law; for till then the biſhops of Jeruſalem had often been choſen from among the circumciſed Chriſtians, who joined the obſervance of the law to that of the goſpel. Adrian, however, next year ordered Jeruſalem, by the ſaid name of Ælia, to be rebuilt, and peopled it partly by a Roman colony, and partly by ſuch of the neighbouring people as were not Jews. Hereby the church at Jeruſalem became to be compoſed only of converted Gentiles, or Chriſtians proper, St. Mark being appointed the biſhop of the place. Conſtantine the Great afterwards demoliſhed the heathen temples built here by Adrian; and he and his mother Helena (of Britiſh extraction) built ſumptuous churches in their ſtead, and other magnificent ſtructures. A. D. 614, the city was taken by the Perſians, and continued in their hands, and thoſe of the Saracens and Mahomedans, till the reign of Charlemagne, to whom it was yielded by the king of Perſia. After his death, it was retaken, and held by thoſe infidels till the year 1099, when Godfrey of Bouillon took it from them, and was made its king. A. D. 1187, Saladine, the famed king of Syria and Egypt, made himſelf maſter of it, and of all the Holy Land. Laſt of all, it fell into the hands of the Turks, where it ſtill remains.

In its preſent ſtate, Jeruſalem is about three miles in circumference, and lies in 31 deg. 50 min. N. lat. and 36 deg. E. long. being ſituated on a rocky mountain. The hills which ſtand about Jeruſalem make it appear to be ſituated, as it were, in an amphitheatre, whoſe area inclineth to the eaſtward. We have no where any diſtinct view of it: that from the Mount of Olives, which is the leaſt, and perhaps the fartheſt, is, notwithſtanding, at ſo ſmall a diſtance, that, when our Saviour was there, he might be ſaid, almoſt in a literal ſenſe, *to have wept over it*. There are very few remains of the city, either as it was in our Saviour's time, or as it was afterwards rebuilt by Adrian, ſcarce one ſtone being left upon another; even the very ſituation is altered; for Mount Sion, the moſt eminent part of the Old Jeruſalem, is now excluded, and its ditches filled up; whilſt the places adjoining to Mount Calvary, where Chriſt is ſaid to have ſuffered without the gate, are now almoſt in the centre of the city. The Turks now call it Cudſembaric: it is thinly inhabited; the walls are weak, and without baſtions; the ditch inconſiderable; the gates are ſix in number, viz. Damaſcus, St. Stephen's, Herod's, Sterquilina, Bethlehem, and Mount Sion Gate; beſide the Golden Gate, which is ſhut up, on account of a prophecy which the Turks have among them, that by that gate the Chriſtians are to take Jeruſalem. The ſtreets are narrow, and the houſes mean. Pilgrims and travellers, who flock from all parts, either through devotion or out of curioſity, are the principal ſupport of the city. A Turkiſh baſſa reſides here, to keep good order, collect the Grand Signor's revenues, and protect the pilgrims from the inſults of the Arabs. No European Chriſtian is permitted to enter the city, till the requiſite duties are diſcharged; nor can a ſtranger ſafely ſtay here without being upon good terms with the Latin fathers. The pilgrims' principal object is the church of the Holy Sepulchre, ſituated upon Mount Calvary. It is 100 paces in length, and 60 in breadth: the workmen were obliged to reduce the hill to a plain area, in order to lay the foundation; but great precaution was uſed not to alter any part of it where our Saviour's paſſion was concerned. The ſcene of the Crucifixion is left entire, being about 12 yards ſquare, and ſtands at this day ſo much higher than the floor of the church, that it is aſcended to by 21 ſteps. The Holy Sepulchre, which was originally a cave, hewn out in the bottom of the rock, may be now compared to a grotto ſtanding above ground, and having the rock cut away, and levelled all round. The walls of the church of the Holy Sepulchre are of ſtone, and the roof of cedar; the eaſt end incloſes Mount Calvary, and the weſt the Holy Sepulchre: the former is covered with a ſuperb cupola, ſupported by 16 large columns, and open at top. Over the altar there is another fine dome: the nave conſtitutes the choir, and the ſides of the church contain the moſt remarkable places where the circumſtances of our Saviour's paſſion were tranſacted, together with the tombs of Godfrey and Baldwin, the two firſt Chriſtian kings of Jeruſalem. In the church of the Crucifixion, the hole is ſhewn where it is ſaid the croſs was fixed. The altar has three croſſes, richly adorned, on it, particularly with four lamps of immenſe value, which are kept conſtantly burning. The cloiſter round the ſepulchre is divided into ſundry chapels. The Latins, who take care of the church, have apartments on the north-weſt ſide, but they are never ſuffered to go out, the Turks keeping the keys, and furniſhing them with proviſions through a wicket. Some grand ceremonies are performed at Eaſter, repreſenting Chriſt's paſſion, crucifixion, death, and reſurrection. At duſk, the pilgrims and Monks meet in the chapel of the apparition; the lights are extinguiſhed, and a ſermon preached by one of the Latin prieſts; then, each being furniſhed with a lighted taper, all walk in proceſſion round the church. They ſtop firſt at the Pillar of Flagellation, where an hymn is ſung, and a ſermon preached: thence they proceed to the Chapel of the

Priſon,

Priſon, to hear another hymn and another ſermon: at the chapel of the Diviſion of the Garment, to which they go next, an hymn is ſung, but no ſermon preached. They then proceed to the Chapel of Deriſion, the altar of which is ſupported by two pillars, and underneath is a piece of greyiſh marble, on which they ſay the ſoldiers placed Chriſt, when they crowned him with thorns, and mocked him, ſaying, "Hail, king of the Jews!" Here a ſermon is preached, and a fourth hymn is ſung. They next enter another chapel, parted from the former only by a curtain, and, advancing to the eaſt end, come to the very ſpot on which our Redeemer was crucified. This chapel is covered all over with Moſaic work; and in the middle of the pavement are ſome marble ſtones of ſeveral colours, deſigned to ſhew the very place where our Lord's blood fell, when his hands and feet were pierced: it is adorned with 13 lamps, and a candleſtick with 12 branches. An hymn is here ſung, and a ſermon preached on ſome text relative to the Paſſion: then two friars, who perſonate Joſeph of Arimathea and Nicodemus, come, with great ſolemnity, to the croſs, and take down the image that reſembles Chriſt, which they put in a winding-ſheet, carry it to the ſtone of unction, and ſing an hymn over it: a ſermon is then preached in Arabic, and thus the ceremonials conclude. On Mount Moriah, in the ſouth part of the city, ſtands an edifice called Solomon's Temple, which is ſituated upon the ſame ſpot as the ancient temple; but it is uncertain by whom it was erected. The middle part, where the Jewiſh Sanctum Sanctorum was ſuppoſed to have ſtood, is converted into a Turkiſh moſque. The prieſts and other Chriſtians are kept miſerably poor by the tyranny of the government, and have ſcarce any ſubſiſtence but what they procure by accommodating ſtrangers with food and lodging. The royal ſepulchres without the walls of Jeruſalem are ſome of the moſt elaborate, curious, and magnificent antique remains, that imagination can conceive. By whom they were built is uncertain, but they conſiſt of a great number of apartments, moſt of which are ſpacious, all cut out of the marble rock. Near Jeruſalem is a ſpot of ground, of 30 yards long, and 50 broad, which is now the burial place of the Armenians. It was formerly the Aceldama, field of blood, or potter's field, purchaſed with the price of Judas's treaſon, as a place of interment for ſtrangers. It is walled round, to prevent the Turks from abuſing the bones of the Chriſtians; but one half of it is occupied by a charnel houſe. Mounts Olivet, Calvary, and Gihon, vallies of Jehoſhaphat, Hinnone, and Rephraim, Nebo, Gibeon, Gibeah, Gilgal, Bethel, and Jericho, are the moſt remarkable places in the neighbourhood of Jeruſalem.

JOPPA, called at preſent JAFFA, is ſituated on the Mediterranean coaſt: it was anciently the principal ſea-port town to Jeruſalem and all Judæa, and the place where the cedars of Lebanon, brought in floats from Tyre, for building the temple, were landed. It was pleaſantly ſeated on a rock, in a beautiful plain, and ſituated in 30 deg. 20 min. N. lat. and 35 deg. 3 min. E. long. Jonas here embarked for Nineveh; and, from the hiſtory of his miraculous voyage, the ſtory of Andromeda was fabricated by the heathen poets; for their ſea-monſter was no other than the Leviathan of the ſacred writings, and the whale of the moderns.

In Joppa St. Peter raiſed Dorcas to life, and received the meſſengers of Cornelius. Though it was anciently a very magnificent town, and a great commercial mart, yet the harbour was never commodious, on account of ſeveral rocks, which render the paſſage into it dangerous. It lay for many ages in ruins, but of late hath been much improved, though it ſtill falls beneath its original ſplendor. The lower ground, towards the ſea, is covered with good houſes, chiefly of ſtone. The principal commodities are Ramah and Jeruſalem ſoap; rice, and other articles, are brought from Egypt, and exported from hence to various places, which yields the baſſa of Gaza a conſiderable annual income. The inhabitants are ſupplied with water from an excellent ſpring on the weſt ſide of the town. The Chriſtians now have no church, except one almoſt in ruins, and uncovered; but they have ſeveral handſome houſes appropriated to their uſe, and for the entertainment of pilgrims. Jaffa is near about 30 miles N. W. from Jeruſalem, very pleaſantly ſituated on a rock, in a beautiful plain. It is ſaid to have been firſt built by Japhet, and from him taken its name Japho, ſince moulded into Joppa; and heathen geographers ſpeak of it as very ancient. It was famed, in the time of the Maccabees, for the Jews burning the Syrian fleet before it. Its name is now pronounced and written Jaffa, or Japha, and though it has nothing left of its ancient beauty, but its charming proſpect, yet its condition appears much amended ſince Sir Paul Lucas was here in 1707.

JORDAN, a celebrated river, riſes from the lake of Phiala, and enters the Samachonite lake, whence proceeding, it divides the Sea of Tiberias, and thence diſcharges itſelf into the Dead Sea. It being by far the principal ſtream in thoſe parts, it is, by way of eminence, called The River; the reſt in the country being comparatively mere brooks. In harveſt time, it is moſt full, and apt to overflow its banks, contrary to the general nature of rivers, which are fulleſt in winter, whence it may have been that ſome have imagined a ſubterranean communication between this and the Nile. The Jordan, from the accounts of modern travellers, ſeems very different from what it was formerly. Its ſtream is ſo ſtrong and rapid, that a man cannot ſtem it in ſwimming; the dimenſions are by no means large, the water is turbid, the natural conſequence of its rapidity. It is very wholſome and incorruptible in its nature, was formerly fordable, and probably croſſed in boats and ferries, in ſome places, and may ſtill be ſo.

K.

KEILAH, which is accounted a city of Judah, appears, from ſeveral circumſtances to have adjoined the Philiſtines' dominions.

KIRJATH-JEARIM, a place very often occurring in ſcripture, is expreſsly ranked, in Joſhua, among the cities of the tribe of Judah, and ſaid to lay in the north border of that tribe, not far from Bethſhemeſh. It had its name from Mount Jearim, contiguous to it.

L.

LIBANUS, or LEBANON. This was the moſt conſiderable mountain in Cœlo-Syria (or between Syria and Paleſtine), being of prodigious height as well as extent. The cedars of Lebanon are frequently mentioned in ſcripture, the few of which now ſtanding are near a monaſtery, called Canobine, about ten hours journey from Tripolis. Theſe cedar trees bear leaves much reſembling our juniper, and are green all the year: but in the large ones the top ſpreads itſelf into a perfect round, whereas the ſmaller aſcends, in form of a pyramid, and like the cypreſs. They bear the uſual fruit, which is a kind of large apple, like that of the pine, only ſmoother, and of a browner colour.

LYDDA, called DIOSPOLIS by the Gentiles; but by the Chriſtians, in the time of the Holy War, it had the name of St. George's, principally from a very erroneous opinion, that St. George had there ſuffered martyrdom; and they alſo made it, on that miſtaken account, an epiſcopal ſee. It lay N. not far off from Joppa, but more inland.

M.

MADIAN, or Midian, was formerly a city of Arabia, but is at preſent little better than an heap of ruins; it is ſituate on the eaſt ſhore of the ſea Al-Kolzom, at no great diſtance from the Gulf of Ailah. Moſt authors agree that the Midianites

Midianites ought to be looked upon as the deſcendents of Abraham by Keturah, who afterwards coaleſced with the Iſhmaelites.

MAHANAIM, which ſignifies two camps or hoſts, was ſituate between Mount Gilead and the River Jabbak, not far from the latter. By this were the confines of the tribe of Gad and half tribe of Manaſſeh, that were on the eaſt of Jordan. It became a place of great ſtrength, and therefore ſeems to have been choſen by Abner for the royal ſeat of Iſhboſheth during the war between him and David, and for the like reaſon it ſeems to have been made choice of by David during the rebellion of Abſalom, as a place of retreat.

MAKKEDAH ſtood eight miles to the eaſt of Eleutheropolis, and is reckoned among the cities given to Judah.

MAON, the name of a wilderneſs into which David withdrew from Ziph, which was a neighbouring town to Carmel. Hence it is ſaid of Nabal, (1 Sam. xxv. 2.) "There was a man in Maon, whoſe poſſeſſions were in Carmel," and Nabal, though he might dwell in Maon, is yet ſtyled Nabal the Carmelite, from the place where his eſtate was ſituated.

MARAH. Travellers inform us, that in paſſing from Shur towards Mount Sinai, they came into the deſert, as it is ſtill called, of Marah, where the Iſraelites met with thoſe bitter waters, or waters of Marah. And as this circumſtance did not happen till after they had wandered three days in the wilderneſs, we may probably fix it at Corondel, where is a ſmall rill of water, which ſtill continues to be brackiſh, though diluted by the dews and rains.

MASSADA, a famous fortreſs built by Judas Maccabeus, and repreſented as impregnable. It was in the tribe of Judah, and ſituated on an high craggy rock, inacceſſible on all but one ſide, and that very ſteep and difficult. The ſiege of it by the Romans under Sylva, general of Titus, is one of the moſt remarkable events in ancient hiſtory. The Romans called it Collis Achillea. Notwithſtanding the height and ruggedneſs of the rock it ſtood on, yet when you have gained the top you perceive an agreeable, flat, fertile country, ſo ſpacious as to ſupply the town with corn, fruit, &c. Herod the Great, finding it a place of ſuch ſtrength and importance, added new works and fortifications, and as it had no other ſupply of water than from the clouds, he ordered ſeveral capacious ciſterns to receive it, and ſtored it with a prodigious quantity of proviſions of all ſorts. He likewiſe built himſelf a ſumptuous palace in it, that in caſe any revolt ſhould happen he might take refuge in a place ſo well fortified.

MEDIA lies in the N. E. part of Perſia; it was once the ſeat of a potent empire, and derived its name from Madai, the third ſon of Japhet, the Medes in Scripture being conſtantly called Madai. It may now be ſaid to be the ſame country where are the provinces called Aran, Schirevar, and Adzerbayan, with their ſeveral diſtricts.

MEGIDDO. This country belonged to the half tribe of Manaſſeh, on the weſt ſide of Jordan; but the Canaanites continued to dwell therein tributary to the Iſraelites. Solomon rebuilt it. Ahaziah and Joſiah, kings of Judah, died here.

MELITENE, or Melitina, a city in Leſſer Armenia, was a Roman caſtle with a garriſon, which the emperor Trajan appointed to be the metropolis of the whole country, whence, in proceſs of time, it became one of the moſt populous and wealthy cities in the Eaſt. It ſtood on the banks of the Euphrates. The famous thundering legion belonged to this place.

MEMPHIS, the Moph and Noph of Scripture, which name is ſuppoſed to be derived from Anſenophis, who, according to Sir Iſaac Newton, is the ſame perſon with Menes and Memnon, a prince that either built or fortified it. The chief idol of the Egyptians was here called Apis, which they worſhipped in the ſhape of a bull, and always kept one in his temple. To this the prophet Ezekiel had peculiar reſpect, when he ſaid, "I will deſtroy the idols, and will cauſe their images to ceaſe out of Nob," Ezek. xxx. 13.

MICHMASH, a town in Judea, in the tribe of Benjamin, ſituated nine miles from Jeruſalem, and between it and Gibeon.

MYGDONIA, the ſame with Macedonia, is thought by the learned to be plainly donoted in the firſt book of Maccabees by the land of Chettim, Alexander being mentioned as coming from thence. Perſeus, king of Macedonia, is therein alſo called king of the Citims. But as this country was anciently inhabited by various nations, ſo was it, for a long ſucceſſion of ages, diſtinguiſhed by different appellations. It was very anciently called Amathia, but afterwards the whole country, which the Greeks called Macedonia, received that denomination. Pliny tells us, that no leſs than 150 different nations were ſeated within its territory, and Mela confirms the multitude of different ſtates by ſaying, it had about as many nations as cities. Its form is irregular, but its ſituation excellent in reſpect to its being waſhed on the eaſt by the Egean Sea, and on the weſt by the Ionian, which advantages, however, were never cultivated as they might have been, nor were the Macedonians ever powerful at ſea, though many noble bays and excellent harbours are to be found in their country. Macedonia abounded with moſt ſorts of trees which were valuable for timber, fruit, or ſhade. It had anciently many waſtes and deſerts; in proceſs of time no part of Europe was better peopled, but ſince it has been in the hands of the Turks great part lies uninhabited. It is rich in divers mines of gold, abounds with corn, paſture, cattle, veniſon, and produces wine and oil in ſome parts.

N.

NABATHÆA. The country of the Nabothæans, according to St. Jerom, extended from the Euphrates to the Red Sea, ſo that it comprehended Arabia Deſerta and great part of Arabia Petræa. The manners and cuſtoms of theſe people were much the ſame as thoſe of Arabia, Ethiopia, and other eaſtern countries.

NAIM, or Nain. Euſebius places this city in the plain near Mount Tabor, and within two miles of it, and at a ſmall diſtance from Endor and Scythopolis. There was another city of this name in Idumea, which Simon the ſon of Gorias ſtrongly fortified, and made the place of his retreat.

NAIOTH is ſituated in Ramah, meaning the diſtrict of Ramah, otherwiſe called Ramaithaim Zophim, the birth-place and uſual reſidence of Samuel, whither David alſo retired.

NEAPOLIS, a noted city in Thrace, on the Egean Sea, between the river Strymon and the Neſtus. One of the quarters of Syracuſe was called by this name, which ſignifies New City.

NEAPOLIS in Armenia Minor was built by Pompey in memory of a ſignal victory over Tigranes the Great, and called Neopolis Pompeii from that event.

NINEVEH, called alſo Ninus in Aſſyria (now Curdiſtan) is moſt generally thought to have been at firſt built by Nimrod, not long after the Tower of Babel. Its name is generally thought to be taken from Nenies the ſon of Nimrod, and to be a compound, Neni-nave, i. e. the dwelling of Ninus. It was ſeated on the banks of the Tigrus over-againſt where Mæul now ſtands, and was increaſed and grown ſo prodigiouſly large in the time of Jonas, who propheſied againſt it, that it was three days journey long, or, as others think, in circumference. It was alſo ſo ſtrong as to be eſteemed impregnable, however it was at length taken and deſtroyed according to the prophecy of Nahum; and it is remarkable that Lucian, in one of his dialogues, ſays, that Ninus (the prophane name of Nineveh) "was ſo utterly deſtroyed, that there remained no footſteps of it, nor could one tell ſo much as where once it ſtood." A new city, it is probable, was quickly built by the Medes out of the ruins of the old, and called New Nineveh, but this was likewiſe deſtroyed by Aſtyages, the

the eighth Median king from Arbaces, for its frequent revolts; and to ſo low a degree was it brought in the Time of Cyril, biſhop of Alexandria, in the middle of the fifth century, that he tells us there was nothing to be ſeen of it but great heaps of rubbiſh; and yet we find a third Nineveh deſtroyed by the Saracens, as is ſuppoſed, two hundred years after. There is a Turkiſh moſque at a ſmall diſtance from the ruins of Nineveh.

NISIBIS ſtands weſt from the celebrated Ur of the Chaldees, between that and the Tigris. It was once a large, populous, and opulent city, and is at preſent only as it were the ſhadow of what it once was, though it is ſtill the reſidence of a Turkiſh Sangiac. In fine, it is little more than a village, though arches, gates, and remains of a noble church are yet to be ſeen. Its territory is very fruitful, and cultivated, produces corn, wine, and various fruits, the chief buſineſs being agriculture. About two miles to the eaſt is a good river, with a very noble ſtone bridge; and all the way between the town and it, pieces of old walls, and a large arch, whereby it is ſuppoſed the city anciently reached quite to that river.

NOB had the name of a ſacerdotal city. It is reckoned by the prophet Nehemiah among the cities of Benjamin. It ſeems to have been added to the prieſts, and that occaſionally when the ark was at Kirjath-jearim, it being, moreover, not nominated among thoſe that were at firſt aſſigned them.

NOD is the place to which fugitive Cain, under an apprehenſion that every one who found him would ſlay him, by divine order retired, and therein built a city, calling it Enoch after the name of his ſon. Where this land of Nod (which word ſignifies fugitive or wandering) was ſituate, is not determined.

O.

OLIVET, was called by the Jews, in their language, the Mount of Unction, or the Mount of Olives, or Oil. They alſo termed it the Mountain of three Lights, becauſe lighted on the weſt by the fire of the altar, receiving on the eaſt the light of the ſun, and producing much oil, the aliment of light. It ſtands a ſabbath day's journey (i. e. eight furlongs, or one mile) eaſt from Jeruſalem, commanding an extenſive proſpect, as being the loftieſt eminence in the neighbourhood. It was thus deſcribed by an author of the 7th century—"Few or no trees are there to be found, except the olive and vine, according to the report of Acculfus; but wheat and barley there flouriſh in a moſt kindly manner, for the nature of the ſoil is quite productive. It is ſhrewdly ſuſpected, that it is more for the ſake of lucre, than from a veneration for this mount, as pretended, that they admit popiſh pilgrims and curious travellers to view it.

OPHIR. The acuteſt, and moſt ſagacious writers are much at a loſs to find out a certain ſettlement for Ophir. It is by ſeveral ſuppoſed to be the place whither Solomon ſent ſhips every three years from Ezim-geba to fetch gold. This opinion ſome would have ſupported by ſeveral edifices, which ſeem to have been erected here by foreigners, as they have inſcriptions in unknown characters.

P.

PALESTINE, otherwiſe called Judea, is ſituated between 31 deg. 30 min. and 32 deg. 20 min. north lat. and from 34 deg. 50 min. to 37 deg. 15 min. eaſt long. being bounded by the Mediterranean ſea on the weſt, Syria and Phœnicia on the north, Arabia Deſerta on the eaſt, and Arabia Petræa on the ſouth. It is therefore near 200 miles in length, and about 80 in breadth towards the middle, but increaſes or diminiſhes 12 or 15 miles in other places; the longeſt day is about 14 hours 15 minutes. The air of Judea is the moſt ſalubrious and pleaſant imaginable; neither heat or cold are felt in the extreme, but an agreeable ſerenity diffuſes itſelf throughout the year, which puts the ſtranger in mind of the golden age. Though the climate of this country is at preſent the moſt admirable in the univerſe, we have no doubt but that in the early ages of the world, when the paſtoral life was the moſt honourable, and agriculture the moſt reſpected employ, it even exceeded its preſent excellency, by means of the general cultivation of the country. Of the richneſs and fertility of its ſoil we have the moſt authentic teſtimonies; in particular, that it abounded in corn, wine, oil, honey, pomegranates, dates, figs, citrons, oranges, apples of Paradiſe, ſugar canes, cotton, hemp, flax, cedars, cypreſſes, and a great variety of other ſtately, fragrant, and fruitful trees, balm of Gilead, and other precious drugs, &c. cattle, fowls, fiſh, game, and other delicacies, as well as neceſſaries of life. Indeed, whoever conſiders the very ſmall extent of Judea, will be ſenſible that nothing but ſuch aſtoniſhing fertility could enable it to maintain ſuch a number of inhabitants as reſided in it in the time of king David, ſince they amounted to 6,000,000. The produce of the land not only ſubſiſted this prodigious multitude, but there was a ſufficient ſuperfluity to ſend to Tyre, and other places, for exportation. Yet the ſoil was only cultivated ſix years in ſeven, as the ſeptennial year was always a time of reſt from the affairs of agriculture. It is to be obſerved, that the whole of the country was cultivated, and that woods, parks, waſte grounds, &c. were unknown. It is now miſerably inhabited by ſome of the moſt indolent people exiſting; yet Dr. Shaw informs us, that, with a little cultivation, it would yield as much as it did in the days of David and Solomon his ſon.

PALMYRA, the Greek and Roman name for the Tadmor in the Wilderneſs of Scripture, ſtood about fifteen miles eaſt of Damaſcus. The air is exceeding good, but the ſoil (though it formerly had perpetual ſprings, and yielded fruit and corn) affords nothing but a few palm-trees in gardens, and ſome ſcattered up and down, ſo that the place exhibits a moſt awful ſpectacle. "As you approach, (ſays Mr. Middleton in his Syſtem of Geography) the firſt object which preſents itſelf is a ruinated caſtle, on the north ſide of the city. From it you may deſcry Tadmor, incloſed on three ſides by long ridges of mountains; ſouthward of it is a vaſt plain extending far beyond the ſight. The city muſt have been of large extent, from the ſpace now taken up by its ruins; among which live about forty or fifty miſerable families, in huts of dirt, within a ſpacious court which once incloſed a magnificent temple. This court hath a ſtately high wall of large ſquare ſtone, adorned with pilaſters both within and without; there are about ſixty on each ſide. The beautiful cornices have been beaten down by the Turks. Towards the centre are the remains of a caſtle, ſhrouding the fragments of a temple of exquiſite beauty, as appears by what is ſtill ſtanding of its entrance, viz. two ſtones thirty-five feet long, carved with vines and cluſters of grapes. In the great court are the remains of two rows of very noble marble pillars, thirty-ſeven feet high, with capitals finely carved, and the cornices muſt have been of equal elegance; fifty-eight of theſe pillars are entire; there muſt have been many more, as it appears they went quite round the court, ſupporting a moſt ſpacious double piazza. The walks on the weſt ſide of this piazza, which face the front of the temple, ſeem to have been grand and ſpacious; and at each end are two niches for ſtatues at length, with pedeſtals, borders, ſupporters, canopies, &c. carved with inimitable art. The ſpace within this once beautiful incloſure, is (or rather was) encompaſſed by another row of pillars of a different order, fifty feet high; ſixteen of which are yet ſtanding. The temple was ninety feet long, and about forty broad; its grand entrance on the weſt appears, by what remains of it, to have been the moſt magnificent in the world. Over a door-way, in the remaining walls, you trace a ſpread-eagle; and here are the fragments of cupids, as well as of eagles, moſt finely imitating nature, on ſtones mouldering on the earth. Nothing of the temple ſtands but the walls, the window-places of which are narrow at top, but richly adorned with ſculpture. In the middle is a cupola, all one piece. Leaving this court and temple, your eyes are ſaluted with a great number of pillars of marble, ſcatter-

ed for near a mile. To the north you have a ſtately obeliſk before you, conſiſting of ſeven large ſtones beſides its capital, grandly ſculptured; it is more than fifty feet high, and is twelve feet and a half in circumference juſt above the pedeſtal; and it is imagined a ſtatue once ſtood upon it. Eaſt and weſt of this, at the diſtance of about a quarter of a mile, is another obeliſk, that ſeems to have correſponded with the firſt mentioned; and, according to the fragment of a third, it ſhould ſeem that there was a continued range of them. On one of them, which is about forty feet high, there is a Greek inſcription, commemorating two patriots; and about an hundred paces from it is a large and lofty entrance, leading to a grand piazza, adorned with marble pillars, on moſt of which there are inſcriptions. A little farther onward, to the left, are the remains of a ſtately pile of remarkable fine marble, twenty-two feet long. On the weſt ſide of the piazza are ſeveral openings for gates; two of them appear to have been the moſt ſuperb that ever captivated the human eye, both in point of grandeur of work in general, and the beautiful porphyry pillars, with which they were adorned. Eaſtward of the piazza are a great number of ſcattered marble pillars, moſt of which have been deprived of their elegant capitals. A little ruined temple lies mouldering at a ſhort diſtance, which appears to have been a very curious ſtructure. But of all the venerable remains, none more attract the admiration than the magnificent ſepulchres, towards the north of the city, extending a mile and more, and which at a diſtance have the appearance of tops of decayed churches, or baſtions of ruined fortifications." The magnificent city of Palmyra is mentioned in the Arabic tranſlation of the Chronicles, as ſubſiſting before the days of Solomon; but John of Antioch, ſurnamed Malala, ſays that it was built by Solomon, and on the very ſpot where his father ſlew the Philiſtine chief; he affirms that the city was built in commemoration of that memorable action. We find, in the ninth chapter of the firſt book of Kings, and the eighth of the ſecond of Chronicles, that Solomon erected a city in a wilderneſs, and called it Tadmor: that ſome time afterwards the Greeks and Romans diſtinguiſhed it by the name of Palmyra, even while its firſt name was ſtill retained by the Syrians; and this is confirmed by St. Jerom, who ſays, that Tadmor and Palmyra are the Syrian and Greek names of the ſame place; and the country Arabs, even at this time call it by the former name. In this circumſtance they are remarkably particular, preſerving the antient denomination of places through various revolutions. Thus the Acca of the Old Teſtament is at this day called by them Acca; and the Greek name Ptolemais, in which that of Acca was for ſome time immured is loſt through diſuſe. Not that human judgment can pretend to advance, however, that Palmyra was actually the work of Solomon: an opinion only can be offered, concurrent with that of the preſent inhabitants, who ſay, all theſe things were done by Solomon the ſon of David. However, ſuch ſtructures as might have been erected by Solomon we will ſuppoſe to have been entirely demoliſhed by Nebuchadnezzar, who in his march to the ſiege of Jeruſalem deſtroyed this city, as we are aſſured by John of Antioch. It was afterwards beautifully repaired by Adrian, then deſtroyed by Antiochus, and rebuilt by Aurelian, and at laſt totally demoliſhed by the ignorant and bigoted Turks, under whoſe tyranny and indolence the whole country lies waſte.

The greateſt figure Palmyra ever made in hiſtory, was in the reign of Galliennus, under whoſe ſhameful indolence the Roman glory in the eaſt became conſiderably obſcured; when Odenathus, joining that emperor's party, collected the poor remains of the diſcomfited Romans in Syria, whom he led againſt Sapor the Perſian monarch, put his army to flight, and advanced with his victorious troops to Ctephiſon, the capital of the empire. On his return from this expedition, full of riches and honours, and revered by the Romans, he was unanimouſly proclaimed Auguſtus, and co-partner in the empire with Galliennus. Such of the accounts of Odenathus, as have reached poſterity, ſerve rather to heighten than gratify the human curioſity. He was a native of Palmyra, and ſo admirable a politician, that he for a while held the balance of power between the empire of Perſia and Rome. He drove the Goths out of Aſia Minor, where they had committed the moſt violent ravages; and this was his laſt great action, in which, it was apprehended, he was treacherouſly ſlain by Mæonis his kinſman. His ſon, Herodotus, ſoon afterwards ſuffered the ſame fate: nor did Mæonis long ſurvive, being cut to pieces by the ſoldiery.

The fortune of the beautiful Zenobia, queen of Odenathus, is well worthy the attention of our readers. The viciſſitudes which this lady experienced were various and ſurpriſing, her character great and extraordinary; though her memory is tarniſhed, with the ſuſpicion of her having been privy to the deaths of her huſband and ſon. The perſon of Zenobia was graceful and genteel; her complexion dark brown: her eyes black, ſparkling with uncommon luſtre; her teeth beautifully white; her countenance ſprightly; her air noble; and her voice clear and powerful. Her ſtrength was uſually great; ſhe inured herſelf much to fatigue, was fond of riding, and would ſometimes march on foot at the head of her troops. In council ſhe was circumſpect and prudent; in executing, bold and determined; ſhe could be open or reſerved, mild or ſevere, as occaſion required; ſhe was generous, but not profuſe, and obſerved inviolably the chaſteſt rules of female honour. No woman was better acquainted with hiſtory than this accompliſhed queen; ſhe was miſtreſs of the Greek and Egyptian tongues, as well as of the Latin, which ſhe tranſlated into the former. She boaſted herſelf deſcended from Ptolemy, and reckoned Cleopatra among her anceſtry. That Zenobia attended her huſband in the field there is not the leaſt doubt, ſince the emperor Aurelian paſſes the higheſt encomiums on her military proweſs. She aſſumed, after the death of Odenathus, the reins of government in the name of her children, and, renouncing all alliance with Rome, attacked, and totally routed the army of Heraclianus, the Roman general, who was ſent againſt the Perſians, he himſelf narrowly eſcaping from falling into her hands. She afterwards, while the exigency of public affairs called the attention of Claudius nearer home, aſſerted an hereditary right to the kingdom of Egypt, as being deſcended from Ptolemy; and having ſecured a ſtrong party there in her favour, ſhe ſent thither Zubdas, an experienced and gallant officer, who had ſerved under Odenathus; and he, defeating the Egyptian army, poſſeſſed himſelf of the province in the name of Zenobia. The Palmyrenes, however, were afterwards routed, and nearly driven from their new acquiſitions, but taking advantage of Probus, the Egyptian præfect, who, in endeavouring to cut off the retreat of the vanquiſhed, diſcovered his ignorance of the country, they totally defeated his army, and himſelf was taken priſoner; a diſgrace which he could not outlive; but, dying by his own hand, left Zenobia miſtreſs of Egypt. The ſucceſs of this heroic queen greatly alarmed Claudius, who being now near the ſecond year of his reign, reſolved to turn his forces againſt her, but was cut off by the plague at Syrmium in Pannonia. He was ſucceeded by Aurelian, who was not, however, ſecured in his power without ſome trouble, and who, before he thought of relieving the eaſtern empire, reformed the police at Rome, and reduced the Goths, Vandals, and Germans. Theſe great taſks being completed, he croſſed the Boſphorus at Bizantium, and having taken Tyana in Cappadocia, he proceeded to Antioch, of which he poſſeſſed himſelf by ſtratagem. By two battles, one fought here, the other at Emeſa, Aurelian recovered the eaſtern provinces, and forced the queen to ſhelter herſelf within the wall of her capital.

Having taken every neceſſary precaution to ſupply his army with proviſions, Aurelian proceeded to Palmyra, not, however, without being conſiderably harraſſed by the Syrian banditti. Arriving at length before the walls of the city he laid cloſe ſiege to it, and was gallantly reſiſted by the garriſon. Being wearied out with military operations, the emperor had recourſe to negociations, and made ſome offers to Zenobia, which ſhe moſt haughtily rejected, bidding him remember that her anceſtor Cleopatra preferred death to diſhonour. This enraging Aurelian, he re-attacked with redoubled vigour, and the beſieged being at length reduced to the laſt extremity, had no reſource but that of applying to their allies the Perſians for relief; and this reſolution being agreed on in council,

Zenobia

Zenobia herſelf undertook the carrying it into execution, and, mounting a dromedary, ſet out for Perſia, but was taken priſoner as ſhe was about to croſs the Euphrates. Palmyra now ſoon ſurrendered, and the emperor took poſſeſſion: he ſpared the inhabitants, but carried off the beſt part of their riches, leaving behind him a garriſon of ſix hundred archers, who, ſome years after, were cut off by the inhabitants, moſt of whom were, by the emperor's command, in conſequence of the maſſacre, put to death, and the city quite ruined. The emperor, at Emeſa, ſet on foot an enquiry into the conduct of Zenobia; and here it was that ſhe ſullied her great character, by betraying her beſt friends, among whom was Longinus, by whoſe advice it was that ſhe had rejected the terms of peace which the Emperor Aurelian propoſed: for this he was ordered to be executed; but his miſtreſs was preſerved to grace a Roman triumph. She afterwards married, and had children at Conche, on the road from Rome to the Tiber, where the emperor aſſigned her ſome lands, and the remains of her villa are at this day to be ſeen. Palmyra was afterwards governed by the Romans; and, from a Latin inſcripton ſtill extant, we diſcover that Hierocles was for the fifth time preſident of the provinces, when Dioclefian here erected ſome magnificent edifices. In the year of Chriſt 400 the firſt Illyſian legion was quartered here: but Procopius gives us reaſon to imagine that the place was ſo little regarded as to be ſometimes left without a garriſon. The Roman hiſtory makes no further mention of Palmyra. According to Benjamin Tudulenſis there were 2000 Jews amoug the inhabitants in the twelfth century. We ſhall conclude our account of this once grand and flouriſhing city with the following quo ation from an author on the ſubject: "That Palmyra was uſed as a place of ſtrength is evident from alterations which have been made in the caſtle on the hill, and the Temple of the Sun, which muſt have been intended for defence, and are not more than five or ſix hundred years old. The moſt perfect piece of antiquity is a mauſoleum, upwards of ſeventeen hundred years old, with the flooring intire, and an inſcription ſtill legible, informing us that it was built by Jambelicus, ſon of Mocimus, as a burial-place for himſelf and family, in the year 314, which anſwers to the third year of the Chriſtian computation.

PERSIA† includes all thoſe countries which were anciently celebrated and knewn by the names of Media, Parthia, part of Aſſyria, Aipcania, Colchis, Bactria, Iberia and Suſiana. It is bounded on the north by the Caſpian Sea, which ſeparates it from Ruſſia, and on the north-eaſt by the river Oxus, which divides it from Uſbeck Tartary; the north-weſt boundaries are the Daghiſtan Mountains, and the mountains of Ararat, which divide it from Circaſſian Tartary; India is the eaſtern boundary; the Indian Ocean, and the Gulphs of Perſia and Ormus, the ſouthern; and Arabia and Turkey, the weſtern. The prodigious mountains of Ararat and Caucaſus have long made a diſtinguiſhed figure in hiſtory: nor hath that known by the name of Tauris, which run quite through the empire, been leſs celebrated. From the diſtracted ſtate of Perſia for many ſucceſſive years, the political diviſion of the provinces cannot be aſcertained; but the moſt remarkable places in the empire are, Iſpahan, the metropolis, and reſidence of the ſophi; Schamachie, Ardehil, Sulthania, Caſwin, Rom, Reſchd, Derbent, Schiras, and the cities of Ormus and Gombroon, on the Perſian Gulph. Theſe laſt are much on the decline at preſent, though they were formerly places of great commercial conſequence. Moſt of the European nations, particularly the Engliſh, have eſtabliſhed factories at Gombroon, by means of which they carry on a trade with the Perſians, Turks, Tartars, Arabians, Armenians, Banyans, &c. The ſoil of Perſia is in moſt parts very fertile, producing various kinds of grain, cattle of all kinds, game, and plenty of the choiceſt fruits. The Perſian language is ſpoken in common throughout the whole empire, but more correctly in ſome provinces than others. The Turkiſh is the polite or court language, and the Arabic is the learned language, on which all the books on ſublime ſubjects are written. The ſciences flouriſhed in Perſia before they did in Europe, but the modern Perſians fall very ſhort of the Europeans in every branch of learning. The grand epocha, by which they date all events, is the Hegira, or flight of Mahomet from Mecca, which took place in the year 622. They reckon twenty-four hours to the day, but do not ſubdivide it into day and night as we do. As they begin their week on Saturday, Friday is their Sabbath. The year begins at the vernal equinox; their ſolar and lunar years differ in the ſpace of twelve days, becauſe they reckon but twelve moons to their lunar year. The moſt celebrated and ſingular antiquities in Perſia, are the ruins of Perſepolis, formerly a ſuperb city, till it was deſtroyed by Alexander the Great, to oblige the Grecian courtezan Thais. Theſe ruins are at about the diſtance of thirty Engliſh miles from the city of Schiras, They are ſituated in a fine plain which is about 120 miles in length, and only ſix or ſeven in breadth. This plain is overflowed with water ſeveral months in the year, which occaſions it to be ſo exceedingly fertile, particularly in rice, that it is covered with little villages, or hamlets, to the number, as the inhabitants aſſert, of 880, including thoſe which are ſituated in the adjacent mountains. The ruins appear like an amphitheatre, and are ſituated in a kind of ſemicircle formed by the mountains. The ancient palace of the Perſian monarchs, which was formerly called the houſe of Darius, and which the modern inhabitants term Chil-minar or the palace of Forty Pillars, is ſituated at the foot of a mountain, which hath for time immemorial been known by the name of the Royal Mountain. Near the mountains are two antient ſepulchres of Perſian monarchs, the fronts of which are ornamented with various figures. Near Derbent there are the ruins of a wall which extend 50 leagues in length, and the wall is ſaid to have reached from the Caſpian to the Euxine ſeas; and on one ſide of that city are above 6000 grave-ſtones, moſt of which have Arabic inſcriptions. There is not perhaps any kingdom or empire whatever which has undergone greater revolutions than that of Perſia, to recount which would be too extenſive to be here admitted. We ſhall therefore only mention the moſt recent, which was occaſioned by the celebrated Kouli Khan, who, in the year 1734 was ſo exceedingly ſucceſsful againſt the Turks and Tartars, as to conquer all the open country of Georgia and Armenia. In 1735 he deſtroyed great part of the Turkiſh army at Arpa Kavi. In 1736 the young Shah Abbas (the then emperor) died, when Kouli Khan convened the Perſian chiefs and nobles, and told them that they were at liberty to chuſe an emperor. They therefore unanimouſly begged him to accept of the crown, being indeed afraid to do otherwiſe. Having mounted the throne, he ruled the Perſians with a rod of iron, deſtroying many of the royal family, and putting to death all the nobility except thoſe who were deemed idiots, or whoſe underſtanding he deſpiſed. He then ſeized many eſtates, particularly the church lands, and having concluded a peace with the Turks and Ruſſians, marched into the territories of the great Mogul, defeated the armies of that monarch, made himſelf maſter of Delhi the capital of Hindoſtan, took the Great Mogul himſelf priſoner, put multitudes to the ſword, and plundered the empire of jewels, gold, and other valuables, to the amount of 87,500,000l. ſterling, a greater treaſure than any other monarch in any age or nation ever before poſſeſſed. Theſe immenſe treaſures he lodged in his hereditary principality of Chalat, but did not truſt the guarding of them either to Turks or Perſians, but to 12,000 Georgians, all of whom were Chriſtians. He then ſubdued the Uſbeck Tartars, and brought their country to be tributary to Perſia; after which he returned to Iſpahan, and ſeverely reprimanded his ſon for the mal-adminiſtration of affairs during his abſence. The year 1741 he ſpent in quelling ſeveral inſurrections. In all theſe expeditions he committed unheard-of cruelties. Among the rebels his eldeſt ſon proved one, for he attempted to murder him, but eſcaped till the year 1742, when he was brought as a priſoner to his father, who ordered his eyes to be put out. The Turks having in the year 1744 ſet up a pretender to the throne of Perſia, who gave

† The word Perſia is ſuppoſed to be only a corruption of the word Parthia, and that the modern Perſians derive their name from their progenitors the Parthians, the ancient inhabitants of the country: the word itſelf implies an horſeman, and the Perſians and Parthians have always been famed for their ſkill in that exerciſe.

out

out that he was a younger ſon of the late emperor Shah Thomas, Kouli Khan ſent one of his ſons at the head of an army againſt him. The pretended prince was defeated and taken priſoner. Kouli Khan being informed of this, in a temporary fit of humanity, gave orders that he might be permitted to eſcape; nevertheleſs he directed that 282 of his followers ſhould be beheaded. In the year 1745 he again marched againſt the Turks and defeated them; but in 1746 and 1747, he was entirely employed in quelling domeſtic broils and inteſtine rebellions. He was now generally looked upon to be in a ſtate of inſanity. His actions were uſually abſurd and always unaccountable; ſometimes a gleam of generoſity and humanity would ſeem to direct his intentions, but avarice and the moſt horrid cruelty at moſt times predominated. He was, however, on the ſecond of July 1747, aſſaſſinated by five of the principal officers of his guards. This event happened thus: the conſpirators entered his tent about one o'clock in the morning, when one of them ſtumbling over ſome of the cords that faſtened it, Kouli Khan waked, ſtarted up, ſeized his ſabre, and with one blow cut off the head of him who was next to him. He then ſtruck the next on the ſhoulder with ſuch force that the ſabre lodged in the ſpine or back bone, and ſtuck ſo faſt that before he could withdraw it, the remaining aſſaſſins diſpatched him, and cut off his head, which they took with them, and having buried their companions they retired. When the people heard of his death they were greatly rejoiced: they immediately put to death his blind ſon and his grandſon, and even all his women, leſt any of them ſhould be pregnant by him; ſo much did they deteſt the breed of this cruel and bloody tyrant, who ſeems to have thrown Nero and all the monſters of antiquity at a diſtance. Since the death of Kouli Khan all has been and ſtill is anarchy and confuſion in that unhappy country. Several of his family, as well as others, have been and are contending for the empire; but as their various ſucceſſes, and the late revolutions are not known in Europe, at leaſt not properly authenticated, we muſt here conclude our hiſtorical obſervations on this kingdom.

PELLA, in Macedonia, anciently called Bunemus, or Bunomia, was ſeated at the mouth of the river Actius, and was the birth-place of Philip, and his ſon Alexander the Great, which Philip was there educated. He therefore enlarged it, and made it the capital of Macedonia. It had in its neighbourhood the tomb of Euripides, the celebrated tragic poet. It now lies in ruins, and is by the Greeks called Palatiſia, i. e. the Little Palace. Fine marbles are daily dug out of its ruins.

PELUSIUM, now called the village Belbais, and ſituated on the Peluſian branch of the Nile, for which reaſon Damiata is often taken for Peluſium.

PENIEL, or PENUEL (which name ſignifies the ſight of God, ſo called by Jacob on receiving the bleſſing after his wreſtling with the angel), was a place near the brook Jaddok. It became afterwards a city of note, for we find Gideon pulled down one of its towers, becauſe they had denied him bread. It was rebuilt by Jeroboam, who likewiſe erected three. It ſtood by the river Jordan, and belonged to the tribe of Gad. Strabo mentions a city (near mount Libanus) adjoining to Tripolis, which was called by the ſame name.

PERGAMUS, was formerly the city of greateſt note in Aſia Minor; it became in proceſs of time, the metropolis of a ſeparate kingdom, ſaid to be founded about the year of Rome 47, and made a conſiderable figure, being ſeated on a ſpacious plain on the banks of the Caicus. It was the royal ſeat of the Attalic kings, and of Eumenes, and enriched with a library of 200,000 volumes, for the tranſcribing of which parchment was here firſt invented, and by the Latins thence called Charta Pergamena, or Pergamenum. Ptolemy, king of Egygt, gave occaſion to this uſeful contrivance, by prohibiting the exportation of the Papyrus, in order to defeat the deſign of Eumenes, which was to cauſe all the valuable books then extant to be carefully tranſcribed, and thereby make a collection that might vie with Alexander's famed library at Alexandria. Here were likewiſe invented thoſe coſtly hangings, by us called tapeſtry, by the Romans named Aulæa, from Aula a hall, becauſe the hall of Attalus, who invented them, was the firſt room adorned with this furniture. Galen the famed botaniſt and phyſician was born in this city, and here Eſculapius is ſaid to have practiſed phyſic. To ſpeak of it at preſent, Pergamos is not a very conſiderable town (in compariſon) of Phrygia in Aſia Minor; but the plain about it is ſo well watered by the Pitanus, as well as the Caicus, which fall into the Hermus, that it is one of the moſt fertile in this country, eſpecially in corn. At a ſmall diſtance is another river, ſmaller and more rapid, called by the ancients Selenus, which falls into the Caicus a little below the town, on the other ſide whereof is a ſtately moſque, formerly a Chriſtian church. The ancient cathedral was dedicated to St. John, but nothing is now left of it, except ſome of the walls. The Chriſtians here now are but ten or twelve miſerable families, who are allowed a church, but the Turks are ſaid to be between 2 and 3000 ſouls. On the eaſt ſide ſtand ruins of an ancient palace, and many other antiquities are here and there ſeen, ſuch as a parcel of fine marble columns, a noble bas-relief of a man on horſeback curiouſly carved, the remains of an aqueduct of which ſix arches yet ſtand over a brook; and ſix others with ſpacious vaults under them, far to the ſouthward.

PETRA, the chief city of Arabia Petrea, ſeems to have been denominated, by the Hebrews, Selah (2 Kings, xiv. 7). both which words are of the ſame import, viz. Rock, in Greek and Hebrew, Petra being but a tranſlation of Selah. St. Jerom intimates, that among the Syrians it went by the name of Rekem, and that the latter was the ſame town in the text juſt quoted, ſtyled Joktheel. Petra was the chief fortreſs of the Idumæans, Edomites, or Nabatheans, and derived its name from its rocky ſituation. It was acceſſible only by one narrow path, which, with the ſteepneſs of aſcent, rendered it almoſt impregnable. It was ſeated in a plain full of gardens, but ſurrounded with rocks, according to Strabo. Pliny ſays nearly the ſame, and that the Nabatheans inhabited the city of Petra, ſituated in a plain watered by a river, and encompaſſed by inacceſſible mountains. A great diverſity of opinions in this particular prevails among the moderns; but we ſhall only obſerve, that it is, by the approved judicious, allowed moſt probable that Errakim, or Arrakeh, a town in a north direction from Hagra near Caracha, ſeems to correſpond beſt with the Petra of the ancients. There were ſeveral other places which had the name of Petra; and particularly one in the third Paleſtine, but then, as Jerom and Euſebius extend Paleſtine as far as the Red Sea to Elath, Idumea and Arabia Petrea were comprehended in it.

PHASELUS, a very extenſive tower in Jeruſalem.

PHIALA. This lake ſituated not far from that called Samachonite Lake, in the Holy Land, and is now known to be the true ſource of the Jordan. That it was ſo was long diſputed; but the doubt was decided by Philip the Tetrarch, who caſting ſtraw or chaff into it, they came out at Panion; the name which ſignifies a *phial* was common to other waters of the ſame kind. It is ſituated in the midſt of a moſt delightful country, which is alſo ſo well adapted for the carrying on of buſineſs, that marts or fairs are held there by the neighbouring people all the ſummer.

PHILIPPI was ſituated on a riſing ground, abounding with ſprings, having on the north ſide ſeveral hills covered with woods, on the ſouth a marſh which reached to the Egean Sea, on the eaſt the ſtreights of Symbdon, and on the weſt a large plain extending to the Strymon. On this plain, the probable boundary between Macedon and Thrace, was the memorable battle between Brutus and Caſſius, and Antony and Octavianus, afterwards Auguſtus. Philippi properly belonged to Thrace, but is by moſt geographers placed in Macedon, purſuant to the diviſion ever ſince the time of Philip, father of Alexander, who having reduced the country between the Strymon (the ancient boundary of Macedon) and the Neſſus or Neſtus, added it to his hereditary kingdom, whence that tract was ever after looked on as a part of Macedon. It afterwards became a Roman colony. St. Paul preached in this city, converted many, and wrote to them from Rome the epiſtle we have in the New Teſtament by ſuch title. To ſpeak of it in its preſent ſtate, it is ſituated near the borders of Romania, about 190 miles from Conſtantinople. The Greeks, we are told, ſtill call it Philippige (Land of Philip). The

firſt

firſt thing apparent to travellers is the caſtle on a mountain, very large, and the walls almoſt entire. On the ſeveral hills which ſurround this mountain ſtand divers fortreſſes communicating with the caſtle, being encompaſſed with large walls which extend into the plain. Within the place are ſeveral heaps of free-ſtones and pieces of marble, but no footſteps of buildings. There are a great number of edifices half demoliſhed. It is natural to ſuppoſe here were ſtately temples of white marble, ſumptuous palaces, and magnificent monuments; the broken remains of all which afford beholders a grand idea of ancient architecture. This town is ſtill an archbiſhop's ſee, but is very thinly peopled, and retains nothing of its ancient ſplendor.

PTOLEMAIS, now uſually called Tolmeta. Ptolemy makes Ptolemais, and Barca in Cyrenia, two different cities, placing the former in the iſland, the latter on the coaſt.

R.

RABBATH, or Rabbah, the metropolis of the Ammonites, to diſtinguiſh it from the chief city of Moab, which bore the ſame name or epithet, was called Rabbah of the children of Ammon. This capital ſeems to have been diſtinguiſhed into two parts, Rabbah properly ſo called, and the City of Waters. Whence theſe waters were derived to it, whether from the Jabbok, or exuberant ſprings in or about it, is not determined. We have ſome authority to ſay, it was the moſt delightful part of the city, and that the king's houſe ſtood there, from whence this part may have been ſtyled the Royal City. This part (before which fell the brave Uriah) Joab took and then ſent to David, who came accordingly, with all his forces, and took the other part. Rabbah was alſo famous for being the place where the great iron bedſtead of Og, king of Baſhan, was ſeen. In proceſs of time, this city was called Philadelphia, from Ptolemy Philadelphus, who ſumptuouſly rebuilt it, and, for ages, was a city of eminence. The name Rabbath imports great and populous.

RAGABA, a fortreſs beyond Jordan, in the territory of the Geraſens.

RAPHIA. Strabo and Livy place this city in Phœnicia; Ptolemy in Samaria; and Pliny, in Idumæa: but as it ſtood near Gaza, between that and Rhinocolura, it is, by other geographers, counted amongſt thoſe of Paleſtine. It is particularly famous for the deciſive battle between Antiochus, king of Syria, and Ptolemy Euergetes, wherein the former was defeated, forced to quit all his conqueſts, and withdraw to Antioch.

REPHAIM. This valley, from a text in Joſhua, appears to lie near Jeruſalem, in the confines at leaſt of Judah and Benjamin. Travellers inform us, that the road from Jeruſalem to Bethlehem lies through it. Rephaim is famous for being the theatre of ſeveral victories obtained by David over the Philiſtines. As to the Rephaims, conſidered as a nation, race, or family, they are moſtly placed in Baſan, where reigned Og, the laſt monarch of their race. They were, as the name manifeſts, men of gigantic ſtature, that of Og himſelf being repreſented by the ſize of his bedſtead, &c. The Rephaims are reckoned as one of the ten nations, whoſe land was promiſed to the ſeed of Abraham, as recorded in the book of Geneſis.

RHINOCOLURA, now, we are told, called Pharamica, was ſtrongly fortified, during the holy war, to prevent the Turkiſh auxiliaries coming out of Egypt into Paleſtine, ſince which time it is gone to decay, and is an inconſiderable place. It was ſituate near the mouth of the Baſan (ſuppoſed that called in ſcripture, River of the Wilderneſs), and placed, by ancient geographers, ſometimes in Syria and in Egypt, to which laſt kingdom it once belonged.

S.

SABA, a country in Arabia Felix. The Sabæi ſeem to have poſſeſſed a conſiderable territory in the S. and beſt part of this peninſula, which was celebrated among the ancients for the vaſt quantity of frankincenſe it produced. Saba, its metropolis, according to ancient geographers, ſtood upon an hill, at no conſiderable diſtance from the Red Sea, being a large, opulent, and ſtrong city. It was defended by a caſtle, and, as has been ſuppoſed by many learned men, together with the Arab nation in general, the reſidence of the queen of Sheba. The Arabs aſſert both the town and diſtrict to have been ſo denominated from Saba the ſon of Jexhab, and grandſon of Joktan, whoſe name imports *to lead into captivity*, becauſe he was the firſt who reduced men to a ſtate of ſervitude. The aforeſaid Sheba is ſaid, beſides this city of her name, to have built that famous mound which formed the vaſt reſervoir about it, by means whereof, it receiving all the waters that came down from the mountains, the kings of Yaman did not only ſupply the inhabitants of Saba and their lands with water, but likewiſe kept the territories they had ſubdued in greater awe, for, by cutting them off from a communication with it, they could at any time greatly diſtreſs them.

SAMARIA, alſo called Sebaſtè, in the tribe of Ephraim, was ſituated 45 miles N. of Jeruſalem. It was the capital city of the kingdom, and royal ſeat of the kings of Iſrael, till a period was put to that kingdom. Hence Samaria often, in the Old Teſtament, denotes ſuch whole kingdom. Samaria, when under king Ahab, was twice beſieged by Benhadad, king of Syria, and other confederate princes, with an immenſe army; and, in the courſe of the latter ſiege, reduced to the direſt extremity; the army, however, at length, through a judicial terror, raiſed the ſiege with the utmoſt precipitation. In the year before Chriſt 721, Salmanazar, king of Aſſyria, took the city after three years, and carried away ten tribes of Iſrael (or moſt of them) into captivity, and ſo put an end to that kingdom after it had ſtood 254 years divided from that of Judah. The enemy committed the moſt horrid cruelties on their captives, ſo that Samaria was reduced almoſt to an heap of rubbiſh, and all the land laid waſte. This melancholy and fatal end of that kingdom happened in the 6th year of Hezekiah and 9th of Hoſea. After divers revolutions, it was at length taken by Ariſtobulus; and its region, together with Galilee, again reſtored to Judæa. Samaria was partly rebuilt by Gabinius, and now called Sebaſte, by Herod, who put the finiſhing ſtroke to it. It was made the metropolis of Paleſtine Secunda, under the Romans, and an archbiſhopric under the Chriſtians. Herod Agrippa obtained it of the emperor Caligula, and, ſiding with the Romans againſt the Jews under Veſpaſian, they at that time avoided the common calamity of the country: but afterwards, taking other meaſures, they were, together with the reſt of the Jews, extirpated out of Paleſtine by Adrian, and the city has ſince gone to decay. The melancholy fragments of this once famous city ſtand upon a long mount, of an oval figure, having firſt a fruitful valley, and then a riſing hill running about it. The Turks have erected a moſque here, into which, for a ſmall ſum, they admit any Chriſtian.

SAMOSATA, anciently the metropolis of Comagena Proper, was ſituated on the Euphrates, near the confines of Armenia Major. It was the reſidence of Antiochus Aſiaticus, after Pompey had confined his kingdom to this ſmall province, and ſtripped him of the reſt of Syria; and alſo the native place of the witty Lucian. At preſent, it is only a poor village, ſurrounded with an heap of ruins of the ancient city; and is called Scempſal.

SCYTHOPOLIS. See the article Bethsan.

SELEUCIA. Nine cities of this name were built by Seleucus, but diſtinguiſhed by ſome addition; ſeveral of the moſt eminent of which follow. Seleucia on the Tigris, ſo called from Seleucus Nicanor, its founder, who made it the metropolis of his empire beyond the Euphrates. Seleucia, ſurnamed Trachonitis, or Aſpera (an appellation well agreeing with the moun-

mountainous and rocky country of Cilicia, on which it ſtood), about 12 miles from ſea, on the banks of the Calicednus. Its biſhopric became ſubject to the patriarch of Conſtantinople, about the ninth century. Its modern name is Seleſchi. Seleucia, ſurnamed Pieria, on the north ſide of the Orontes, now reduced to a poor village, called Seluki Jelber. Seleucia Piſidiæ, called Seleucia ad Taurum, becauſe it ſtood on ſome part of that ridge of mountains; and Seleucia Ferrea, perhaps from iron mines, or manufactures, is now in a ruinated ſtate.

SEPPHORIS ſtood in the tribe of Zebulun, and was one of the firſt cities in Galilee, on the road from Ptolemais. It became, in time, the metropolis of that province, when the emperor gave it to young Agrippa. The younger Varus, the Roman general, taking it, he ſold the inhabitants by auction, ſet fire to the city, and reduced it to aſhes. Herod Antipater, having the territory of Galilee for his ſhare of the government, rebuilt it, and ſurrounded it with ſtrong walls, ſo that it became one of the beſt cities in that part of Judæa.

SHILOH, that part of Canaan in the tribe of Ephraim, where the tabernacle was ſet up, in which was kept the ark, and where it remained till juſt before the death of Eli. After the Philiſtines took the ark, Shiloh fell ſo to decay, that Jeremiah, foretelling the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, ſays, it would be brought into the ſame ruinous condition with Shiloh. Jerom ſays, that in his time nothing but the foundation of the altar of burnt ſacrifices was left remaining.

SICHEM, or SHECHEM, ſtood ten miles E. from Hyrcanion, was ſeveral times ruined and rebuilt, had been one of the cities of refuge given to the Levites, and was made the metropolis of Samaria, after the demoliſhing the city of that name. The proper and original name ſeems to have been Shalem, which in time grew out of uſe amongſt the Iſraelites, they calling it Shechem and Sichem, from Shechem the ſon of Hamor.

SIDON is, by ſome writers, ſtyled the metropolis of Phœnicia. It is ſaid to have been the greateſt of the maritime cities in general, having long enjoyed an inriching trade, which cauſed ſuch voluptuouſneſs in the inhabitants, that to live at eaſe and pleaſure is denoted in Judges xviii. 7. by living after their manner. The men, being ſhipwrights, were very famous for hewing timber (See 1 Kings v. 6.), and, therefore, Solomon had thence his principal workmen to build the temple. They are allowed alſo to have been excellent artificers in other trades, and ſaid to have been the firſt makers of cryſtal glaſs. It was taken by the Saracens in 636, and recovered, repaired, and fortified by the Chriſtians in 1103, and was held by the Teutonic knights, and had a fort guarded by the knight templars; ſince which the Turks, having made themſelves maſters of it, have let it run into decay. It is now named Said, or Sayd, and is ſituated in a fertile and delightful ſoil, though but a ſmall town. The haven is large, but unſafe, and the ſhips are forced to ride under a ſmall ridge of rocks, about a mile from ſhore on the northern ſide. Sidon is reckoned to contain about 6000 inhabitants. The Turks have 14 moſques; Roman Catholicks, and Greeks, each a church; and the Maronites a chapel. They carry on a conſiderable trade. Proviſions are very plenteous and cheap, and the air is ſo clear as to attract wild beaſts and birds in great numbers into the country adjacent.

SILOAH, otherwiſe SILOAM, in the valley of Jehoſhaphat, from which all the gardens of it are ſaid to be watered. The Turks hold this water ſo ſacred, that numbers of them waſh almoſt every day therein. Its waters are now ſaid to be an immediate cure for fevers. Solomon is ſaid to have kept his ſtrange wives over-againſt this fountain, on the other ſide of the valley, in the place called Siloe.

SIN. This wilderneſs, we read in Exodus, lay between Elim and Sinai. The Iſraelites firſt obtained manna from heaven in this deſert.

SINAI. There are many windings and difficult ways between the deſerts of Sin and Mount Sinai. The latter is a beautiful plain, more than one league broad, near three long, lying open to the N. W. but cloſed up to the ſouth by ſome of the lower eminences of the mount. In this direction, likewiſe, the higher parts of it make ſuch encroachments upon the plain, that they divide it into two parts, each of them capacious enough for the Iſraelites' whole encampment. There are now convents upon this ſpot.

SODOM is by many reckoned the chief of five cities; and the delightful plain or valley in which it ſtood allured Lot to pitch his tent near it, and afterwards to dwell in it; though ſo deteſtably infamous for that moſt odious and ſhocking crime againſt nature, which gave name to the city.

STRATON's TOWER. See the article CÆSAREA.

SUCCOTH. Hiſtory mentions two places of the name: that in Exodus was the place of the Iſraelites' firſt encampment after their departure from Rameſes; but little of the geography of this and ſome other places mentioned in the journal of the Iſraelites, is at this time known. This Succoth muſt not be confounded with that ſituated near the river Jordan, between that and the Jabbok, which Jacob called by that name when he came out of Meſopotamia.

SUSA, called in ſcripture SHUSAN (now Schouſter), was the metropolis of Suſiana. It was built on the banks of the river Eulæus (the Ulai of Daniel), by Memnon, as ſome ſay, who was ſlain by the Theſſalians in the Trojan war. Strabo and Pauſanias compare its walls even with thoſe of Babylon. It is called Memnonica, by Herodotus and others, from Memnon, its founder. In ſcripture it is commonly named the palace; but, beſides the king's palace, there was doubtleſs a city, as is plain from all the profane writers. Here Ahaſuerus kept his great feaſt 185 days. It is ſaid this city now lies in ruins.

T.

TARICHEA, ſituate on an eminence by the lake of Genezareth, over-againſt Gamala, is a town in Galilee. It having been beſieged by Titus, both by land and water, made a deſperate defence, till a diſſenſion happened within: it was at length taken by ſtorm by the Roman general.

TARSHISH. It is very probable Tarſhiſh the ſon of Javan ſettled in the eaſt part of the ſouth tract of Aſia Minor; for the name of Tarſus, the chief town of Cilicia, is thought to carry ſome probable marks of its being firſt founded by Tarſhiſh himſelf, or ſome of his deſcendents. It is affirmed, by an hiſtorian of credit, that the city was ſo called from Tarſhiſh, and that Cilicia was originally known by the name of Tarſhiſh. Indeed it is ſcarcely doubted that this was the Tarſhiſh ſo often mentioned by the prophets, on account of its trading with the Tyrians.

TARSUS, the capital of Cilicia, ſeems to have borrowed its name from Tarſhiſh. It was at firſt the metropolis of Cilicia, and alſo after Conſtantine's diviſion of Cilicia Prima. It was the native city of St. Paul; and, according to Strabo, in former times not inferior, for the ſtudy of philoſophy and polite literature, either to Athens or Alexandria. The inhabitants enjoyed the privileges of Roman citizens, agreeably to the Parthian law, which the apoſtle thought proper to claim and uſe upon ſeveral occaſions, as recorded in the Acts. It is, at this day, by the Greeks, called Terſia, or Teraſſa; by the Turks, Tarſow, and ſometimes Hernſa. It is now greatly reduced.

TAURUS, a very extenſive and famous mountain of Aſia, heretofore thought the greateſt in the world. It runs from weſt to eaſt under ſeveral names, through divers large kingdoms and countries, even to India, whereby all Aſia is divided into two parts, of which that on the north ſide is called *Aſia infra Taurum*, and that on the ſouth *Aſia extra Taurum*. It alſo paſſes between Armenia and Meſopotamia, and ſends forth many branches towards north and ſouth, under divers particular names.

THABOR.

THABOR (Mount). A modern traveller thus deſcribes it. "It has a plain area at top, moſt fertile and delicious, of an oval figure. This area is incloſed with trees on all parts, except to the ſouth. It was anciently environed with walls, trenches, and other fortifications, of which it exhibits many remains at this day." There was a city upon it called Itabyrion, or Itabyr, and Atabyrion, in the plain of Eſdraelon, in Judæa, not far diſtant from Nazareth. In the 7th century it is deſcribed to have been of wonderful regularity, verdant and florid.

TIBERIAS. See the article GENEZARETH.

Herod the Tetrarch of Galilee (Antipas), building a city on the north bank of Genezareth, and calling it Tiberias, in honour of Tiberius, the lake thence took this name alſo. The city was built on a ſpot full of ſepulchres: but the great privilege granted by Herod to people for becoming inhabitants, which overcame their ſcruple of conſcience as to pollution by dead bodies, &c. made it quickly become one of the principal cities of theſe parts. It is ſaid to have had in it 13 ſynagogues and an academy; that here was the laſt ſeſſion of the Sanhedrim, or chief council of the Jews, and here was collected the Talmud, or body of the Jewiſh civil and canon law.

TIMNAH. This was firſt aſſigned to the tribe of Judah, but afterwards to that of Dan. In the days of Euſebius and Jerom, a great town, named Thamnah, lay in the borders of Diapolis, towards Jeruſalem, which is ſuppoſed to have been the ſame with that called Timnah in ancient times.

TIRZAH. This place frequently occurs in ſacred hiſtory, as being long the regal city of the kings of Iſrael. From an expreſſion in the Canticles, it appears to have been beautiful and pleaſant to live in, but its ſituation is not aſcertained by geographers.

TRACHONITIS, a region of Judæa, which ſeems to have derived its name from two famous mountains which Strabo calls Trachones. The greateſt part of it had ſuch ridges of rocks and mountains, eſpecially on the ſides of Arabia and Iturea, that ſome of them had caverns large enough to lodge 1000 men. In the time of our Saviour, as in Luke iii. 1. it made one tetrarchy together with Iturea.

TRIPOLIS, called RUAD, by the Turks, and Tripolis in Syria, to diſtinguiſh it from others, ſtands on the Levant Sea, the ſame coaſt with Jamnia and Joppa above Sidon. It had its name from its forming three cities, each one furlong diſtant from the other, one whereof belonged to the Aradians, or ancient kingdom of Arad, the ſecond to the Sidonians, and the third to the Tyrians. It is ſtill divided into the upper and lower city, and is in a flouriſhing condition, being large, populous, ſtrong, adorned with mulberry-tree plantations for ſilk-worms, from which is drawn conſiderable profit. The walls are ſtrong, and fortified with ſeveral towers. The caſtle is the reſidence of the beglerbeg, and garriſoned by two hundred janiſſaries. It is a ſtrong fortreſs, ſituated on an eminence, and well ſtored with cannon. On account of its importance, it is deemed the metropolis of Phœnicia. The haven is rather an open ſea than an incloſed harbour, unleſs that it is partly defended by two ſmall iſlands, about two leagues from it. There are ſix ſquare towers, or caſtles, along the ſhore, well fortified with artillery. The town contains about 800 houſes and 60,000 inhabitants, who conſiſt of Turks, Jews, and Chriſtians. The river hath a good ſtone bridge over it, for the convenience of paſſengers, and the ſtream turns ſeveral mills. The air is extremely clear and healthy, the country about very rich and fruitful, and the town ſupplied with every thing deſirable. Among the handſome buildings is a great moſque, once a Chriſtian church, a large and ſtately edifice. The Chriſtians have ſome monaſteries and handſome chapels, and the Jeſuits an handſome college.

TROGLODYTES. The greateſt part of theſe people, in their manner of life, nearly reſembled the Libyan Nomades.—They were divided into tribes, but all under one head. A part of them fought with clubs, carrying before them round ſhields, made of raw ox hides; and many uſed bows and arrows in war.

TYRE, a celebrated city on the coaſt of Phœnicia Proper, and anciently named Sor. It is commonly called the daughter of Sidon, and ſtood alſo upon the ſea 200 furlongs to the ſouth of Sidon. It had two havens, one looking towards Sidon, the other towards Egypt, from whence it is plain that Tyre on the iſland, and old Tyre on the main, were conſidered as but one city after the Iſthmus was thrown up between them, and poſſibly there might have been buildings contiguous to each other. This famous emporium was never of very great extent, for which reaſon they built ſo very lofty, and with more ſtories, it is ſaid, than the houſes at Rome. The buildings in general were ſpacious and magnificent, and above the reſt appeared the temples built by king Hiram to Jupiter, Hercules, and Aſtarte. It is now called Sur, and is a mere Babel of broken walls, pillars, vaults, &c. there not being one entire houſe left. Its preſent inhabitants are only a few poor wretches, who harbour in vaults, and ſubſiſt chiefly by fiſhing. Tyre was beſieged 13 years together by Nebuchadnezzar, who at length ſubdued it, when he put all the inhabitants he could find to the ſword, and deſtroyed the ancient city. But many of the people had in time prudently retired, with the chief of their effects, to an iſland at ſome diſtance from the ſhore, where they built New Tyre, or Tyre on the Iſland. The city, however, at length ſubmitted to Nebuchadnezzar, who appointed Baal ſubordinate king thereof, under his own ſupreme authority. In the reign of Azelmic, Tyre was beſieged by Alexander the Great, and taken by ſtorm, after holding out ſeven months. After deſtroying the place, and murdering the inhabitants, he was very ſorry for his raſhneſs; and, like other men of the ſame precipitate diſpoſition, who become wiſe too late, determined to add one evil to another; in conſequence of which reſolution, he ſeized moſt of the artificers in the neighbouring countries, and having compelled them to rebuild the city, he obliged them to reſide in it, leſt he ſhould have a great city without any inhabitants.

Having thus rebuilt and re-peopled this ancient city, Alexander thought proper to ſtyle himſelf the Founder of Tyre, in order, it may be ſuppoſed, to prevent the people from recollecting that he had been the deſtroyer of Tyre. The city in time recovered its beauty and opulence, became confederate with the Romans, and was inveſted with the privileges of a Roman city, on account of its great fidelity. In the times of primitive Chriſtianity, it was made the metropolitan ſee for the province of Phœnicia. In 636 it was conquered by the Saracens, but in 1124 recovered by the Chriſtians. In 1280 it was finally ſubdued by the Turks, in whoſe hands it has continued ever ſince. Thoſe infidels took it ſoon after the reduction of Acra, or Acre, where they committed ſuch unheard-of cruelties, that the Tyrians, terrified with the report thereof, betook themſelves to their ſhips at midnight, and abandoned the city to their fury. They entered it the next day, and reduced it to the deplorable ſituation of which the diſmal ruins are ſtill a monument.

V.

VIENNE, about ſeven leagues from Lyons, at the foot of a mountain on the Rhine: it is the capital of the province of Viennois, has been a large, famous city, but now is not above a fourth of what it was, having its two old fortreſſes demoliſhed. The Allobroges are ſaid to have founded it, and it became a colony of the Romans, who adorned it with a palace, amphitheatre, and other magnificent works, the ruins whereof are yet ſeen. It was ſome time the capital of Burgundy. The cathedral is a ſtately pile, as are ſome other churches and public buildings. The inhabitants, by means of mills and engines, are expert in manufactures, particularly of plates of iron and ſteel, paper, &c.

UR, the country where Abraham was born, and whence he removed, at the divine call, to Charran, and ſo to Canaan.—

The

The word Ur ſignifies *fire:* the moſt probable opinion, therefore, is, that the city might be ſo denominated from its inhabitants being worſhippers of the ſun, and of fire, its emblem, and for having temples, wherein the ſacred fire was kept always burning. The Chaldees were famed for it, and, when they went to battle, carried it in great pomp at the head of their armies. It is called in ſcripture Ur of the Chaldees.

Z.

ZEBULON. Jacob, in his prophetic bleſſing of his ſon Zebulon, ſays, that he ſhall dwell at the haven of the ſea, and he ſhall be for an haven of ſhips, and his border ſhall be unto Sidon. And ſo it happened, that tribe's poſſeſſion being from the Mediterranean, on the weſt, to the lake of Genezareth, on the eaſt.

ZIPH. We find in Joſhua a city called Ziph, mentioned together with Carmel and Maon. We have alſo, in the hiſtory of David, mention made of Carmel and Maon as adjoining to Ziph: ſo that it is not to be doubted, but that by the wilderneſs where was David, and where was the hill Aſchelah, is to be underſtood Ziph near Carmel and Maon. This is eight miles eaſt from Hebron, according to Jerom.

ZOAR, or ZOAN. It was probably the moſt ancient royal ſeat of the Pharaohs; for the field of Zoan is the place where the miracles performed by Moſes and Aaron before one of them, are expreſsly ſaid in the Pſalms to have been wrought.

ZOBAH. It is evident, from 2 Sam. x. 6. that the country of Zobah pertained to the Syrians; for we there read expreſsly of the Syrians of Zobah: and, from their being hired by the Ammonites, it appears that Zobah lay in the parts adjoining to the Ammonites. The kingdom of Damaſcus is looked upon, by the learned, to have ariſen out of that of Zobah, or to be no other than one and the ſame kingdom which formerly had Zobah, and afterwards Damaſcus, for its capital city as the ſeat of its kings.

GENERAL INDEX

OF THE

PRINCIPAL TRANSACTIONS AND OCCURRENCES

RELATED IN THE

WORKS OF *FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.*

A.

AARON meets his brother Moſes, who communicates to him the divine will reſpecting the deliverance of the Iſraelites from their cruel bondage in Egypt, 46. Is declared high-prieſt, 59. His four ſons, 60. His rod buds, 69. Confirmed in the office of high-prieſt, ibid. His death, 70.

ABEL, the ſecond ſon of Adam and Eve, his pious diſpoſition, and acceptable ſacrifice to God, 10. Is murdered by Cain, his envious brother, ibid. See CAIN.

ABIJAH ſucceeds to the throne of Judah, 160. His addreſs to the armies of Judah and Iſrael, 161. Obtains a compleat victory over Jeroboam, ibid. His death and offſpring, ibid.

ABIMELECH, king of Paleſtine, falls in love with Sarah the wife of Abraham, 18. Is cautioned, in a dream, againſt having any criminal intercourſe with her, and excuſes himſelf, ibid. He concludes a treaty with Iſaac, Abraham's ſon, 25.

ABIMELECH, one of Gideon's ſeventy ſons, ſlays all his brethren except Jotham, who eſcapes by flight, 97. Seizes the government, and reigns in an arbitrary manner, but is, ſome time after, driven out of Shechem by the inhabitants of that city, in conſequence of a ſpeech pronounced by Jotham, ibid. He takes the outer town of Thebes by aſſault, but the garriſon retire to the caſtle, which they vigorouſly defend, ibid. He is ſmitten by a piece of mill-ſtone, thrown upon him from the walls by a woman, ibid. Is ſlain, at his own requeſt, by his armour-bearer, ibid.

ABNER eſpouſes David's intereſt, 128. Is treacherouſly ſlain by Joab, ibid.

ABRAM, his genealogy, 17. Extraordinary wiſdom, ibid. Becomes the firſt preacher, ibid. Removes to Canaan from Chaldæa, where he erects an altar, and offers ſacrifice, ibid. Goes into Egypt with Sarai his wife; diſplays his perſpicuity and eloquence, in a conference held with the learned there; and alſo introduces the ſciences of arithmetic and aſtronomy among the Egyptians, 18. Returns to Canaan, parts lands with and ſeparates from Lot his brother, ibid. Vanquiſhes the Aſſyrians, and reſcues Lot and his family, 19. Is entertained by Melchiſedek, whom

whom he preſents with ſpoils, ibid. God promiſes him a ſon by Sarah; after which he offers up ſacrifice, ibid. Prediction concerning his family, ibid. He entertains three angels, who confirm to him God's promiſe of a ſon, 20. Withdraws, with Sarah, to Gerar, 22. God tries his faith, by requiring him to offer up his ſon Iſaac as a ſacrifice, 23. Diſplay of his faith and obedience on that occaſion, ibid. The execution of the command prevented by a voice from heaven, ibid. His children by Cheturah, 24. Propoſes a marriage between his ſon Iſaac and Rebecca, daughter of Bethuel, ibid. What paſſed between his ſervant and Rebecca, with relation to that buſineſs, ibid. Marriage of Iſaac and Rebecca, 25. Abraham's death, and burial at Hebron, ibid.

ABSALOM, ſon of David, treacherouſly kills Amnon at a ſheep-ſhearing, in revenge for his ill-treatment of his ſiſter Tamar, 136. Flies to Geſhur, ibid. Joab, by a ſtratagem, obtains leave for him to come into the king his father's preſence, 137. Goes to Hebron, on a pretended vow, and prevails on the people to declare him king, 138. His horrid wickedneſs, in compliance with Ahithophel's advice, 139. His army defeated, and himſelf ſlain by Joab, 141.

ACHAR, his tranſgreſſion of the divine command, 86. Exemplarily puniſhed with death, ibid.

ADAM, his creation, and whence ſo called, 9. Names the living creatures, ibid. Is enticed by Eve to taſte the forbidden fruit, ibid. Shrinks, through guilt and ſhame, from the preſence of his Maker, who conſigns him to labour all his days, as a puniſhment for his crime, and expels him from Paradiſe, 10. His age and death, 11.

ADONIBEZEK, the Canaanitiſh commander, defeated and taken priſoner by the Iſraelites, who cut off his thumbs and great toes, in retaliation for his cruelty of the like kind, which he had exerciſed on 70 captive kings, 89.

ADONIJAH, eldeſt ſon of David, aſpires to the throne, 147. Is put to death by Solomon, 150.

AGRIPPA, ſon of Ariſtobulus, account of hss profeſſion, and the honours conferred on him by the Romans, 337. His application to Antonia for obtaining Eutychus an hearing of Tiberias, to which the emperor conſents, 338. Is ignominiouſly dragged to priſon, and loaded with chains, 339. He is ſet at liberty, and high honours conferred on him by Caius, who alſo beſtows on him the tetrarchy of Lyſanias, 341. Is favoured by Claudius, who continues him in his government, 364. His great liberality to the inhabitants of Berytus, 367. Endeavours, in a copious and elegant oration to the Jews, to diſſuade them from making war with the Romans, 458. His elaborate epiſtle to Caius Cæſar, on hearing of the dedication of his ſtatue in the temple of the Jews, 617. His magnificence and death, 367, 368. See alſo 457 & ſeq.

AHAB, king of Iſrael, his wickedneſs and idolatry, through the ſeduction of his wife Jezebel, 162. God's favour to him on his humiliation, 164. Severely reprehended and threatened by Elias, for the cruelty and perjury exerciſed againſt Naboth; but the judgment is mitigated as to himſelf, in conſequence of his contrition, ibid. Is reproved by the prophet Micaiah, for his clemency to Benhadad, and threatened with a heavy puniſhment, 166. His death foretold by the prophet, ibid. Is ſlain in battle, 167.

AHAZ, king of Judah, his impious conduct, 178. His dominions ravaged by the Aſſyrians, ibid. Concludes an alliance with the king of Aſſyria, rewards the ſervices of Tiglath Pileſer, joins in the idolatry of the Aſſyrians, ſhuts up the temple, and ſuppreſſes the divine worſhip, 179.

AHAZIAH, ſon and ſucceſſor of Ahab king of Iſrael, his league with Jehoſhaphat king of Judah, in conjunction with whom he fits out ſhips for the gold trade, which were loſt either by tempeſt, or the bad conſtruction of the veſſels, 168.

AHIMELECH, the high-prieſt, entertains David, and gives him the ſword of Goliath, 119. His defence to Saul for his conduct, ibid. Is put to the ſword, with his family, 120.

AHITOPHEL, David's counſellor, who revolted to Abſalom, on finding his advice to the latter rejected, goes home and hangs himſelf, 140.

ALEXANDER conquers Darius, and purſues his victories, 200. Takes Tyre by aſſault, ibid. Goes againſt Jeruſalem, which he enters, and confers great favours on the Jews, ibid. Partition of the empire at his death, 201.

ALEXANDER JANNÆUS, ſucceſſor of Ariſtobulus, being raiſed to the throne, undertakes an expedition againſt Ptolemais, 226. Beſieges and takes Gadara and Gaza, 228. Is overcome by Demetrius, who retires from the ſeat of war, 229. Defeats the rebellious Jews, and practiſes the moſt horrid cruelties, ibid. Makes ſeveral conqueſts, 230. His death, ibid. See alſo p. 405.

ALEXANDER, one of the ſons of Herod, his addreſs and defence before Cæſar, 281.

ALEXANDER, a ſpurious one, impoſes on the Jews, 323. Sent to the gallies, 324.

ALEXANDRA obtains the favour and intereſt of the Phariſees, and holds the reins of government nine years, 230, 231. Her death and character, 232.

ALEXANDRIA, formerly a celebrated city in Egypt, now poſſeſſed by the Turks, deſcription of it, 759.

ALEXANDRIA, a dreadful tumult there between the Jews and Greeks, in conſequence of which no leſs than 50,000 of them were ſlain by the Romans, without diſtinction of age or ſex, 464.

ALI's ſon, Abdalla, traverſing Judæa, commands the Chriſtians to ſhave their beards, and wear long caps, 664. He orders the Jews and Chriſtians at Jeruſalem to be marked in the hand, to diſtinguiſh them from Muſſulmans, ibid.

ALTAR of incenſe, 57. Of ſtones, raiſed by Joſhua, 85. Between Gerizim and Gebal, 88.

AMALEKITES, account of their war with the Iſraelites, by whom they are defeated, and their camp taken and plundered, 53.

AMAZIAH ſucceeds Joaſh king of Judah, and begins his reign well, 176. His expedition againſt the Amalekites, ibid. Lapſes into idolatry, and is reproved by a prophet, ibid. Makes war upon Joaſh, who takes him priſoner, enters Jeruſalem in triumph, and riſles the palace and temple, ibid. Is ſlain by conſpirators, 177.

AMNON raviſhes his ſiſter Tamar, 135, 136. Is ſlain at a feaſt by Abſalom's contrivance, ibid.

AMRAM, father of Moſes, his prayer and viſion, 41. He is aſſured of the divine protection, and favoured with a divine revelation, ibid.

ANANUS, high-prieſt of the Jews, is put to death by the Idumean ſoldiers in Jeruſalem, 499. His excellent character, ibid.

ANTEDILUVIANS, longevity of them, 12.

ANTIGONUS put to death at the deſire of Herod, 250.

ANTIOCH, formerly the metropolis of the eaſt, its ancient and preſent ſtate deſcribed, 760.

ANTIOCHUS, his expedition againſt Jeruſalem, 222. His favourable conduct towards the Jews, 223.

ANTIOCHUS DIONYSIUS, king of Damaſcus, is ſlain in battle by Alexander, and his army routed, 229, 230.

ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES, his addreſs to Eleazar, whom he threatened with torments, if he did not conſent to eat ſwine's fleſh, 583. His ſpeech to the ſeven pious ſons and their mother, on the ſame occaſion, and their heroic anſwers, 585, 586. Reflections and commendation of their noble conſtancy, 588, &c.

ANTIPATER, father of Herod, ſtirs up the Jews againſt Ariſtobulus, in favour of Hyrcanus, 233. Applies to Aretas in behalf of Hyrcanus, whom he attends to the court of Arabia, ibid. Taken off by means of Malichus, who is put to death by Herod, 241.

ANTIPATER, his progeny and amiable character, 237. Aſſiſts Cæſar in the conqueſt of Egypt, 238. Gives ſignal proofs of his valour, in reſcuing Mithridates, &c. ibid. Honours conferred on him, ibid. Repairs the walls of Jeruſalem; reſtrains the ſeditions there by promiſes and menaces; and promotes his ſons Phaſael and Herod, 239. Incurs the envy of the principal Jews, who accuſe him and his ſons to Hyrcanus, ibid. See alſo p. 411, & ſeq.

ANTIQUITY, claim of the Jews to it aſſerted, and the origin and cauſe of the calumnies raiſed againſt that people, 387.

ANTONIA, caſtle of, taken by aſſault, and burnt by the ſeditious Jews, 460. Unſucceſsful attack upon it by the Romans, 545. The Romans get poſſeſſion of it in the night-time, ibid. See alſo 760.

APION, his writings againſt the Jews examined, and proved to be dark, fabulous, and erroneous, &c 389, 391, & ſeq.

ARABIA, three eaſtern countries ſo called, an ample deſcription of them, 760.

ARCHELAUS, ſon and ſucceſſor of Herod in the government of Judæa, grants the requeſt of the people, by making ſatisfaction for Herod's miſdemeanors, 315. Sends a powerful body of forces to reſtrain the ſedition raiſed by the people at the feaſt of the paſſover, 316. Accuſed before Cæſar, by Antipater, 317. An information preferred againſt him to the emperor, and defence of him by Nicolaus, ibid. He is again complained of to Cæſar, who baniſhes him to Vienne, 325.

ARETAS overcomes Ariſtobulus, and aſſaults him in the temple, 233.

ARISTOBULUS, ſucceſſor of Hyrcanus, aſſumes the title and dignity of king, 225. His cruelty to his mother and three of his brethren, ibid. His death, acts, and character, 226.

ARK, conſtructed by Noah, remains of it ſaid to be preſerved in Armenia, 13.

ARK (of the teſtimony) frame and figure of it, 57. Carried in proceſſion before Jericho, 85. Taken by the Philiſtines, on their defeating Saul's army, 105. Carried to and depoſited in the temple of Dagon, ibid. The Philiſtine idol falls before it, ibid. Plague attending their detention of it, ibid. Reſtored to the Iſraelites, with preſents, 106. Removed to Kirjath-jearim, ibid.

ARTAXERXES marries Eſther the Jeweſs, 195. His mandate for reſcinding the former law againſt the Jews, 198. Effects of the reſcindatory mandate, and execution of Haman and his ten ſons, ibid. Favours the eaſtern Jews, 199.

ASA, ſucceeding to the throne of Judah, effects a national reformation, 161. His military preparations, and expedition againſt the king of Ethiopia, whom he defeats, ibid. Pious exhortation and encouragement from the prophet, when threatened by the enemy, ibid.

ASINÆUS and Anilæus, two runnagate Jews of Nearda in Babylon, an account of their exploits, 346, 347.

ASPHALTITIS, lake, particular account and deſcription of it, and of the bituminous matter it contains, 761.

ATHALIAH vows vengeance againſt the houſe of David, 173. She is diveſted of her honours, and put to death, 174.

B.

BAASHA, king of Iſrael, his acts and character, 162. The prophet denounces God's judgments againſt him, but he ſtill remains incorrigible, ibid. His death, and extirpation of his race, ibid.

BABEL, tower of, built, 15. Sybil's prophecy concerning it, ibid.

BABYLONISH captivity, prediction and accompliſhment of it, 186, 188.

BALAAM and Balaak, their deſigns againſt the Iſraelites, by the interpoſition of Divine Providence, fruſtrated, and Balaam's remarkable prophecy, 72, 73.

BANKS, or mounts, account of four raiſed by the Romans, for annoying the beſieged in Jeruſalem, 546.

BAPTISM of a Jew proſelyte with ſand, 649.

BAPTIST, John the, honourable character given of him by Joſephus, 334.

BARCHOCHEBAS, a celebrated Jewiſh impoſtor in the reign of Adrian, an account of him and his enterpriſes, 645. Taken priſoner by the Romans in the city Bither, and ſlain, 646.

BARZILLAI, his noble and princely conduct towards David, 140.

BATHSHEBA ſolicits the ſucceſſion to the kingdom for her ſon Solomon; and ſucceeds, 148.

BENHADAD, king of Aſſyria, forms a conſpiracy againſt Ahab, who rejects his exorbitant demands, and, by the divine favour, defeats the Aſſyrian army, 165. His army, agreeable to the aſſurances of the prophet, vanquiſhed a ſecond time, ibid. Honourable treatment of his army, at the inſtance of Eliſha, 166. He beſieges Samaria, from which he retires with precipitation, leaving his camp to the plunder of the Iſraelites, ibid. Is murdered by Hazael, his general, 171.

BENJAMIN, the youngeſt ſon of Jacob, by Rachael, origin of his name, 31. Is carried by his brethren to his brother Joſeph in Egypt, 37.

BENJAMITES are routed, and 600 of them invited back again from the mountains, 92. War between them and the other Iſraelitiſh tribes concluded, ibid.

BEROSUS, the Chaldean hiſtorian, mentions Noah's ark, 13. Gives an honourable teſtimony of Abraham's piety, 17.

BETHEL, deſcription of it, 762, 763.

BETHLEHEM deſcribed, 763.

BOAZ receives Naomi and Ruth kindly, 102. Takes Ruth to wife, 103.

BONDAGE of the poſterity of Abraham, in Egypt, foretold, 20.

BOOKS, number of them in beſt repute among the Jews; which they eſteem as divine, and are careful to preſerve in their original purity, 386.

C.

CAIAPHAS depoſed from the high-prieſthood, and Jonathan choſen in his ſtead, 332.

CAIN, Adam's eldeſt ſon, his ſacrifice not being accepted of God, he murders his brother Abel, 10. Is baniſhed, and has a mark ſet upon him, 11. Invents weights and meaſures, and builds a city called Enoch, ibid.

CAIUS Julius Cæſar, the Roman emperor, honours Hyrcanus and Antipater, 238. Permits the walls of Jeruſalem to be rebuilt, ibid. Murdered, 240.

CAIUS, the emperor of the Romans, orders his ſtatue to be ſet up in the Jewiſh temple, and what enſued thereupon, 343. His death, 345. Further account of him, and his depraved diſpoſition perſiſted in, 593, &c. His cruelty to Sylvanus, his father-in-law, and others, 597. His impiety, vanity, and arrogance, 599. Tyranny to the Jews, 350, 603. He perſecutes them at Alexandria, ibid. His baſeneſs and cruelty to Philo, and other deputies from the Alexandrian Jews, 609.

CALIGULA, Caius, the Roman emperor, various inſtances of his outrages and cruelties, 343, & ſeq. Aſſaſſinated by Chæreas and other conſpirators, 356. His death avenged by the guards upon ſeveral of the aſſaſſins, and an account of the conduct of Chæreas afterwards, ibid. His wife and daughters maſſacred by order of Chæreas, 359. Character of him, ibid.

CALIPHS, account of their conduct towards the Jews and Chriſtians, 664.

CANAANITES, their origin, 16. Famine in their land, 18. Divided into two parts, in order to accommodate the two tribes and an half, 89. Their cities taken by the Iſraelites, ibid. March againſt the Iſraelites, headed by Adonibezek, but are defeated by them, ibid.

CHERUBIMS, placed over the ark of the tabernacle, ſome account of them, 57.

CHUTHITES, an heatheniſh people, originally compoſed of five nations, their origin, 180. Inſtructed in the Jewiſh religion, ibid.

CIRCUMCISION inſtituted by Abraham in his family, in compliance with the divine injunction, 20.

CLAUDIUS advanced to the empire, after the death of Caligula, 359. What paſſed between him and the ſenate on the occaſion, 361, &c. Sends an edict to Alexandria and Syria, in favour of the Jews, 364. His death, and account of his family, 377.

CLEOPATRA, her inſatiable avarice, cruelty, and injuſtice, 256. Is honourably received in Judæa by Herod, who afterwards deſigns her death, but is therein oppoſed by thoſe about him, 257.

CORAH raiſes a faction againſt Moſes, 68. The earth cleaves, and ſwallows him up, with his ſeditious companions, by fire from heaven, ibid.

CRASSUS, plunders the temple in Jeruſalem, 237. His army defeated, and himſelf ſlain, by the Parthians, ibid.

CREATION of the world in ſix days, with the different operations of each day, 8, 9.

CYPRUS, iſland of, geographical and hiſtorical deſcription of it, 764, 765.

CYRUS acknowledges the true God, and is zealous for rebuilding the temple, 193. His orders for that purpoſe, ibid.

D.

DAMASCUS, the capital of Syria, particular deſcription of, 765, 766.

DANIEL, and his companions, ſingular reſpect ſhewn them at the court of Babylon, 189. He diſcovers to Nebuchadnezzar his dream, and interprets that and another, 190. Interprets to Belſhazzar the hand-writing againſt him, 191. Caſt into the den of lions, where he is miraculouſly preſerved, and his accuſers deſtroyed by them; whereupon Darius publickly acknowledges the true God, 192. Honourable teſtimony concerning him, ibid. Explanation of his viſion concerning the four great empires, ibid.

DARIUS entertains a friendly diſpoſition towards Daniel, 191. Iſſues a proclamation that his ſubjects ſhould acknowledge the God of Daniel as the true God, 192.

DATHAN, with Abiram and their rebellious train, ſwallowed up alive in the earth, 68, 69.

DAVID anointed and privately proclaimed king by the prophet Samuel, 114. Is ſent for by Saul to court, and greatly honoured by him, ibid. Is ſent by his father to the camp, with neceſſaries for his brothers; and hearing of the proud challenge of Goliath the Philiſtine, is diſpoſed to accept it, but is diſcouraged and oppoſed by his elder brother Eliab, ibid. His courage the effect of a divine impulſe, and zeal for the honour of God, 115. He overcomes and kills Goliath with a ſtone from his ſling, and afterwards cuts off his head with his own ſword, ibid. Incurs the hatred of Saul, who, envious at the praiſes beſtowed on him, endeavours to procure his death by expoſing him to dangers, 116. Saul gives him his daughter Michal to wife, as a reward for fulfilling the conditions he propoſed to him, namely, killing 600 Philiſtines, ibid. He overcomes the Philiſtines a ſecond time, which again excites the envy and jealouſy of Saul againſt him, 117. His wife Michal aſſiſts him in his eſcape from Saul, who endeavours to ſlay him with his own hand, and afterwards applies to the prophet Samuel at Ramah, to whom he relates Saul's deſigns againſt him, 118. Renews his covenant of amity with Jonathan, 119. Goes to Abimelech the high-prieſt at Nob, ibid. Flies afterwards to Gath, and eſcapes from the Philiſtines by feigning himſelf mad, ibid. Hides himſelf in a cave near the city of Adullam, where his friends and relations join him, ibid. He applies to the king of Moab, whom he ſolicits to take his aged parents under his protection, who receives him very cordially, ibid. The Ziphites give intelligence of him to Saul, whoſe purſuit he eludes, 120. Sends meſſengers to Nabal, requeſting from him a ſupply of proviſions, who churliſhly rejects his demand, 121, 122. His wrath againſt Nabal is appeaſed by Abigail, whom, on her huſband's death, he marries, 122. Enters Saul's tent in the night-time, and takes his ſpear and pitcher of water from his bed-ſide, ibid. Obtains from Achiſh, king of Gath, a ſafe conduct for himſelf and his men, who alſo gives him the town of Ziklag for his reſidence, 123. Invades and plunders the territories of the Amalekites, &c. ibid. Leaves the Philiſtines, and marches againſt the Amalekites, whom he defeats, and recovers the ſpoil and priſoners they had taken, 125. His ſalutary law, reſpecting an equitable diviſion of plunder taken in war, ibid. He laments Saul's death, and is particularly afflicted for the loſs of Jonathan, 127. Conditions of the treaty between him and Abner, the late king's general, ibid. His lamentation for the death of Abner, who was treacherouſly killed by Joab, and the funeral honours he beſtowed on him, 128. Commands the murderers of Iſhboſheth, Saul's ſon, to be put to death, 129. Is anointed king over all Iſrael, ibid. Takes Jeruſalem, which he calls the City of David, and totally diſcomfits the Philiſtines and their allies in two engagements, ibid. Brings the ark to the houſe of Obed-Edom, and afterwards removes it, in a ſolemn manner, to Jeruſalem, 130. His reply to Michal his wife, who tauntingly upbraided him for what ſhe deemed his mean behaviour, in dancing before the ark, 131. Nathan's meſſage from God to him, and his praiſe to the Almighty, for his numerous favours conferred upon him, ibid. His chief officers of ſtate, and kindneſs to Jonathan's ſon, 132. Obtains a complete victory over the Ammonites, 133. Story of his adultery with Bathſheba, and ſubſequent murder of her huſband Uriah, 133, 134. Marries Bathſheba, by whom he has a ſon; ſoon after which he is convinced of the heinouſneſs of his crime, by means of an allegorical relation addreſſed to him by the prophet Nathan, 134. The divine vengeance being denounced againſt him, he repents, and is forgiven by the Almighty, but is heavily puniſhed in his family, 135. Takes Rabbah, the Ammoniti ſh city, by aſſault, and puts thoſe who had held out againſt him to the moſt exquiſite torments, ibid. His ſon Abſalom rebels, and attempts to dethrone him, 138. Laments the untimely death of his ſon, 142. Routs the Philiſtines, 145. Liſt of his worthies, ibid. Prompted by pride, he numbers the people; but, on God's judgments being denounced againſt him by the prophet Gad, he repents, and is forgiven, but his people afflicted with a grievous peſtilence, 146. Builds an altar on Araunah's threſhing-floor, ibid. Reſolving to erect a temple, he provides an immenſe quantity of materials for that end; but afterwards gives Solomon his ſon a charge to ſee the building completed, 147. Gives orders for anointing and proclaiming Solomon king, 148. Wiſe inſtructions and advice to Solomon, 149. His death, burial, and excellent character, ibid.

DEBORAH, a famous propheteſs, ſends for Barak to take upon him the command of the Iſraelitiſh army, which he at firſt declines, but afterwards accepts, 94. Prevails on him to ſtand a battle, with promiſes of the divine aſſiſtance, in which the Canaanites are intirely defeated, 95. Their deaths, and the diſtreſſes of the Iſraelites afterwards, ibid.

DECREES of the council of Elvira againſt the Jews in Spain, 656. Excellent Chriſtian ſentiments contained in thoſe of the council of Toledo, 667.

DELUGE brought upon the earth in conſequence of the general depravity of mankind, when it happened, and the effects thereof, 12, 13. Teſtimonies of Pagan authors concerning it, 13.

DEMETRIUS vanquiſhed, and ſent priſoner to Parthia, where he dies, 229.

DINAH, daughter of Jacob, her chaſtity violated by Shechem, and the cruel revenge taken by the ſons of Jacob, on the Shechemites, for that injury, 30.

DISPERSION of the Jews into various parts of the world, ſince the time of Joſephus, hiſtorical account of it, 641, & ſeq.

DOEG, the groom, overhearing what paſſed between David and Ahimelech the prieſt at Nob, informs the ſervants of Saul of the particulars, whereupon that prince commands Ahimelech and his family to be ſlain by Doeg, 120. Reflections on Saul's cruelty, in extirpating the ſacerdotal race, ibid.

E.

EGLON, king of the Moabites, ſubdues and oppreſſes the Iſraelites, 93. Is ſlain by Ehud, ſon of Geron, a Benjamite, ibid.

EGYPT, particular deſcription of it, 767, 768.

EGYPTIAN falſe prophet in Judæa, account of him, and the defeat of his party by the ſoldiers of Felix, 378. Brief deſcription of the country, the port of Alexandria, and Iſle of Pharos, 767.

EHUD, a judge in Iſrael, delivers his countrymen from the bondage of the Moabites, by killing their king, and afterwards enjoys the government 80 years, 93. His death, and excellent character, 94.

ELAH, ſucceſſor of Baaſha king of Iſrael, aſſaſſinated by Zimri, 162.

ELEAZAR, the Jewiſh general, his extraordinary valour and death, 211.

ELEAZAR, a bold and enterpriſing Jew, hiſtory of him, 569.

ELEAZAR, a Jewiſh prieſt of extraordinary virtue and conſtancy, his noble ſpeech, in reply to the menaces of Antiochus, 583. His cruel execution, and pious prayer at his death, 584.

ELI ſucceeds Samſon as judge or governor of the Iſraelites, 103. God, by the mouth of Samuel, denounces his wrath againſt him and his family, for the enormous wickedneſs of his ſons, which he ought to have reſtrained, 104. He and his two ſons are cut off in one day, ibid.

ELIAS (Elijah) the prophet, foretells a three year's drought, 163. Fed by ravens, ibid. Reſtores the widow's ſon to life, ibid. Foretells a fall of rain, and his prediction fulfilled, 163. Confirms the true religion by a miracle from heaven, and then cauſes the falſe prophets of Baal to be ſlain, 163, 164. God viſits and encourages him in his retirement, 164. His prophecy accompliſhed upon Ahab, 167.

ELISHA, the prophet, multiplies the widow's oil, and appriſes the king of Iſrael of the ſnares laid for him by the Syrians, 169. Benhadad ſends to apprehend him, from whoſe violence he experiences a wonderful deliverance, and draws the Syrian forces to Samaria, ibid. Promiſes plenty of proviſions to the beſieged Iſraelites in Samaria, who accordingly obtain them, 170. Foretells the death of Benhadad, 171. His death and magnificent funeral, 176. A dead man reſtored to life, on touching his bones, ibid.

ENCAMPMENT of the Iſraelites in the wilderneſs; its form, order, and mode, 82.

ENGINES, Roman, for caſting ſtones at the ſiege of Jeruſalem, ſome account of them, 522. A deſperate attack of the Jews upon thoſe who had the direction of them, 523. In great danger of being totally deſtroyed by the Jews, ibid.

ENOCH, the firſt city built by Cain, and ſo called from the name of his eldeſt ſon, 11.

EPHESUS, city of, its ancient and preſent ſtate deſcribed, 769, 770.

EPHORUS, a celebrated Greek hiſtorian, a notorious error of his detected by Joſephus, 388.

ESAU, ſon of Iſaac, born, 25. His wives, ibid. Is ſupplanted by his brother Jacob, 26. Marries an Iſhmaelitiſh woman, ibid. Amicable meeting of him with his brother Jacob, 31.

ESDRAS (Ezra) obtains the ſanction of Xerxes for rebuilding the temple, and reſtoring the Jewiſh worſhip, 194. Is accompanied from Babylon to Jeruſalem by great numbers of the Jews, and ordains a faſt, 195. His death, ibid.

ETHIOPIA, how anciently divided, and deſcription of its inhabitants, 770, 771.

EVE, wife of Adam, her creation, and why ſo called, 9. Being deceived by the ſerpent, ſhe diſobeys the divine command, ibid. Endeavours to exculpate herſelf, by attributing her crime to the ſubtle ſuggeſtions of the ſerpent, 10. Her peculiar puniſhment, and expulſion, with Adam's, from paradiſe, ibid.

F.

FACTION of Corah againſt Moſes, account of it, and the dreadful puniſhment inflicted on the offenders, 67, 68.

FACTIONS, three in Jeruſalem, headed by Eleazar, John and Simon, during the laſt calamitous ſiege of that city by the Romans, commanded by Veſpaſian and Titus, and an account of the ſhocking enormities and outrages committed by them, 514.

FAMINE in Jeruſalem, during the ſiege of it by the Romans, with the horrid circumſtances and miſeries attending it, 531. Further accounts of the lamentable effects of it, 535.

FESTIVALS of the Jews, particularly that of the jubilee, and the nature of the ſeventh year's ſabbath, 64.

FELIX, procurator of Judæa, deſtroys a ſeducer and his followers, 378.

FESTUS puts to death an impoſtor and his adherents, 380. His death, ibid.

FLORUS, Geſſius, appointed by Nero to ſucceed in the government of Judæa, his avaricious and cruel diſpoſition, 383. Inſtigates the Jews to take up arms againſt the Romans, which laid the foundation of that war which paved a way to the deſtruction of their nation, ibid. His great depravity and tyrannical conduct towards the Jews, 453, 454. The people ſolicit permiſſion from Agrippa to ſend deputies to Nero, with a complaint againſt him, 457.

FORGING invented by Tubal ſon of Lamech, 11.

FUNERALS, ordinances of the Jews concerning them, 306.

G.

GAAL protects the Shechemites againſt their enemies; but is at length repreſented as a coward, by Zebul, and expelled the city, 97.

GABINIUS, a Roman general, his ſucceſsful exploits in Syria, 236.

GALATIANS ſaid to be deſcended from Gomar, of the offſpring of Japhet ſon of Noah, 15.

GALILEE, formerly a province in Judæa, deſcription of, 771.

GAMALA, a city oppoſite Taricheæ, upon the lake, its ſituation deſcribed, and ſiege by Veſpaſian, 490. Vigorous defence of the beſieged, who deſtroy many of the Romans, ibid. Taken, and entered by Titus, and the deſtruction and diſtreſs of the Romans there, 491.

GATH, in Paleſtine, formerly a capital city of the Philiſtines, deſcribed, 771.

GAZA, a celebrated city of the Philiſtines, ibid.

GEDALIAH being ſet over the remnant in Judæa, the diſperſed Jews come to him, who deals candidly with them, 88. He, with his gueſts, are barbarouſly ſlaughtered by Iſhmael and his party, ibid.

GENEZARETH, lake of, an encounter upon it between the Jews and the Roman forces, in which the former ſuſtain a terrible ſlaughter, and 30,400 of them ſold for ſlaves, 489. A particular deſcription of this lake, 772.

GIBEONITES terribly alarmed at the conqueſts made in Canaan by the Iſraelitiſh army under Joſhua, and particularly by their reducing Jericho and Ai, ſend deputies to Joſhua, and, by a ſubtle artifice, are admitted into an amicable alliance with the Iſraelites, 86. The fraud being ſoon after diſcovered, they are condemned to be perpetual ſlaves, 87. The neighbouring princes confe-

confederating againſt them, in order to deſtroy them for making a ſeparate treaty with their common enemy, they apply to Joſhua for relief, who marches againſt the Canaanites, defeats them, and takes the kings priſoners, ibid.

GIDEON, ſon of Joaſh, is viſited by an angel, who encourages him to take upon him the command of a body of men, and aſſures him of ſucceſs againſt the Midianites, 95. The angel appears a ſecond time to him, and directs him in what manner to attack the Midianites, whom he overthrows with great ſlaughter, and takes two of their kings priſoners, 96. Governs the people 40 years, and dies in a good old age, 97.

GISCHALA, a ſmall city of Galilee, beſieged by Titus, who addreſſes the inhabitants in a ſpeech, by whom he is received with acclamations, and acknowledged as their benefactor and preſerver, 494, 495.

H.

HAGAR, Abraham's hand-maid, having deſpiſed her miſtreſs, and being given up to her reſentment, flies from her into the wilderneſs, where ſhe is viſited by an angel, who perſuades her to return, and be obedient to her miſtreſs, 20. Is at length baniſhed from Abraham's houſe, and retiring into the wilderneſs with her infant ſon Iſhmael, is there accoſted a ſecond time by an angel, who relieves her diſtreſs, and preſerves the child's life in a wonderful manner, 22.

HAM, one of the ſons of Noah, account of his deſcendents, 16. Has a curſe entailed on his poſterity, ibid.

HAMAN, envious of the Jews, plots their deſtruction, and obtains a decree for their extirpation by a general maſſacre, 196. Erects a gibbet for the execution of Mordecai, to whom he is afterwards enjoined to do honour, 197, 198. Eſther accuſes him to the king, who retaliates his horrid deſign upon himſelf, 198.

HEBREWS, account of their origin, 17.

HEBREWS, various occurrences relating to them, 71. Conquer the Amorites, and poſſeſs their land, ibid. Totally rout the Midianites, and obtain from them an immenſe booty, 74, 75. Encamp on the borders of Canaan, 85. Miraculous paſſage for them over the river Jordan, and their numerous conqueſts in Canaan, ibid.

HEBRON, in Judæa, a city of great antiquity, ſuppoſed to have been the reſidence of Abraham, 773.

HELEN, queen of Adiabena, and Izates her ſon, who embraced the Jewiſh religion, account of them, 370.

HEROD, ſtyled the Great, oppoſed by Antigonus, whom he totally routs, 241. Accuſed by the Jews, 242. Applies to the king of Arabia; is repulſed; goes to Egypt, and at length arrives at Rome, where he relates his whole adventures to Antony, who, together with Auguſtus, eſpouſes his cauſe, 244. Reduces Joppa, raiſes the ſiege of Maſſada, takes Roſa, and advances towards the city of Jeruſalem, 245. Sends his brother into Idumæa, takes Sepphoris, and ſupplies the Roman army with proviſions when diſtreſſed by Antigonus, 246. Is honourably received by Antony, and wonderfully preſerved from imminent danger, 248, 249. Prevents the deſolation of Jeruſalem, when taken by the Romans, 250. Promotes his adherents, and revenges himſelf on thoſe of Antigonus, 251. Plunders the city of its wealth, ibid. Overthrows the Arabians in two battles, 259. Commits the government to the care of his brother Pheroras, 262. He is confirmed in the government of Judæa, and entertains Cæſar ſumptuouſly at Ptolemais, ibid. Acquires great popularity among the Romans, 263. His magnificent palace and other works, 271. Rebuilds the temple, and deſcription of it, 275, 276. His journey to Rome, and gracious reception by Cæſar, 277. Mutual friendſhip between him and Agrippa, 278. Sets up Antipater in oppoſition to his brothers, who at length obtain his favour, 280. Builds ſeveral cities, and rebuilds the temple of Apollo, 289. Rifles the ſepulchre of David, 285. Diſturbances in his family, 285, 286. Tortures to death the friends of Alexander, 290. His miſerable condition, 291. Is reconciled to his two ſons, and afterwards undertakes an expedition againſt the Arabians, many of whom he puts to the ſword, 292, 294. Cæſar, incenſed at him, rejects his embaſſy, but is afterwards reconciled to him 295, 300. His barbarity to his ſons, &c. ibid. Antipater, his ſon, meditates his deſtruction, 303. Fortifies himſelf againſt the Trachonites, 305. Artful correſpondence between him and Antipater, who, being accuſed, makes his defence, 306. Is ſeized with a diſtemper, and makes his will, 311. His golden eagle pulled down from the front of the temple by Judas and Matthias, and what enſued thereupon, ibid. Increaſe of his diſtemper, and torture, but, nevertheleſs, he continues to exerciſe his cruelty, 313. His death, and pompous funeral, 314. Particular account of his progeny, 335. See alſo p. 415, & ſeq.

HEROD, the tetrarch, his tranſactions, with Philip his colleague, in Judæa, 327, 328. Builds the city Tiberias, in honour to the emperor Tiberius, 328. Hoſtilities between him and Aretas, by whom his army is defeated, 334. Impriſons and afterwards puts to death John the Baptiſt, ibid. He goes to Rome with Herodias his wife; but Agrippa, counteracting his deſigns, he is baniſhed, with Herodias, to Lyons, during his life, by the emperor Caius, 342. His death, 375.

HEZEKIAH aſcends the throne of Judah, and ſets about a reformation in religion, 179. His extraordinary exertions for reclaiming the Iſraelites from idolatry; he alſo puts the temple in order, ibid. He ſubdues the Philiſtines, 180. Implores the divine aid againſt the Aſſyrians, applies to the prophet Iſaiah, and obtains aſſurance of ſucceſs, 181. Falls into a dangerous illneſs, and has his prayer granted for a prolongation of his life, 182. His death, ibid.

HIGH-PRIESTS, Jewiſh, number, and ſucceſſion, of them, 383.

HIRAM, king of Tyre, ſends embaſſadors to Solomon, to congratulate him on his acceſſion to the throne, 151.

HOSEA ſlays Pekah king of Iſrael, and uſurps the throne, 179. Is vanquiſhed, and laid under contribution by the king of Aſſyria, ibid.

J. I.

JACOB, ſon of Iſaac, and twin-brother of Eſau, his birth, 25. Perſonates his brother, whom he ſupplants, and obtains his father's ſpecial bleſſing, 26. Sets out for Meſopotamia, to treat about a match with the daughter of Laban, 27. His viſion of the ladder, and ſubſtance of the addreſs of the Almighty to him, ibid. His promiſe of a ſacrifice to God, and vow to him, ibid. His ſervice to Laban of ſeven years for Rachel, but, being deceived by her father, he ſerves ſeven years more for her, 28. Names of Jacob's ſons by Leah, ibid. Vindication of his conduct, in ſecretly departing from Laban, 29. Enters, on parting, into a ſolemn covenant with his father-in-law, ibid. Sends a friendly meſſage to his brother Eſau; and afterwards has a viſion, and wreſtles with an angel, 29, 30. Salutation between him and Eſau, from whom he meets with a kind reception, ibid. All his ſons, except Benjamin, ſent into Egypt, to buy corn, 35. Remarkable adventure which enſued thereupon, 36, &c. Is, after much difficulty, perſuaded to ſend Benjamin to Egypt, 37. Goes into Egypt, on the invitation of his ſon Joſeph, the governor, and his reception there, 39. Account of the prophecies concerning him and Eſau, 723. And his poſterity, 724. His death, 40.

JAPHET, his progeny, 15. Said to be founder of the Median nation, ibid.

IDUMÆANS, a body of 20,000 of them admitted by the Zealots into Jeruſalem, and commit horrid barbarities there, 499. Horrid cruelties committed by them, 499, 500. Being diſguſted at the infamous character of the Zealots, they return ſuddenly home, 501.

JEHOAHAZ, king of Iſrael, an abandoned prince, 179. Implores and obtains the divine aid and protection, ibid. His death, ibid.

JEHOIADA, the high-prieſt, his wiſe government and regulations, 173. Anoints and proclaims Joaſh king, 174. Deſign of repairing the temple, &c. and death, 175.

JEHOIAKIM, king of Judah, made tributary to Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, 185. Put to death by him, ibid.

JEHORAM, brother of Ahaziah, ſucceeds him in the throne of Iſrael, and engages in an expedition againſt the Moabites, 171. His profligacy, cruelty, impiety, and death, ibid.

JEHOSHAPHAT, king of Judah, his wife and virtuous conduct and policy, 166. Imprudently joins with Ahab in the expedition againſt the Syrians, 167. Promotes the practice of religion, and the exerciſe of juſtice, and is miraculouſly delivered from the hoſtile attempts of the Moabites and their confederates againſt him, 68. His death, 69.

JEHU anointed king by Eliſha, 172. Cauſes Ahab's ſons to be ſlain, 173. Projects and executes a ſcheme for the deſtruction of Baal's falſe prophets and prieſts, ibid.

JEPHTHA, by the divine appointment, takes the command of the Iſraelitiſh army, 98. Overthrows the Ammonites, and reſcues the Iſraelites from bondage, ibid. Performance of his vow, by ſacrificing his daughter, ibid. His death, ibid.

JEREMIAH foretells the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and the Babyloniſh captivity, 186. Is tortured and impriſoned; counſels the multitude; is caſt into a miry pit, and delivered by means of an Ethiopian, 187. His advice to Zedekiah, and fulfilment of his predictions, ibid. Releaſed, and treated with reſpect, 188. Enjoins the Jews not to go into Egypt, ibid.

JERICHO and the circumjacent country deſcribed, 774.

JEROBOAM is promiſed the ten tribes, which he obtains, but ungratefully ſets up idolatry, 159. Becomes totally abandoned, 160. His meſſage to Ahijah the prophet, to enquire concerning the recovery of his ſon, ibid. Circumvents the army of Abijah, but is defeated by him, 161. His death, ibid.

JERUSALEM beſieged, and the lower town taken, by the Hebrews, 89. Siege raiſed, ibid. Its deſtruction foretold by Jeremiah, 186. Taken by Nebuchadnezzar, 187. The city, temple, and palace, deſtroyed, 188. Taken by Antiochus, and the temple rifled, 205. Inveſted by Antiochus, 222. A peſtilence there, 266. A tumult, followed by great calamities, there, in which the books of Moſes are deſtroyed, and many Jews periſh, 375. Affecting relation of its internal miſeries from the factious parties, 514. Deſcription of it, as it appeared in the time of Joſephus, 520. Taken by the Romans, 549. Portentous ſigns which preceded its deſtruction, 553.

JESUS, or JASON, ſucceeds Onias in the pontificate, 205. Honourable teſtimony of Jeſus Chriſt, 330.

JEWS, decree obtained by Haman for their extirpation, 196. Eſther undertakes to intercede with the king in their behalf, 197. Avenge themſelves on their enemies, 198. Diſgraced for their ſacrilege, ibid. Favour ſhewn them by Ptolemy the ſon of Lagus, and by Ptolemy Philadelphus, 202. Decree of Ptolemy for ſetting them at liberty, and his exceſſive bounty to them, ibid. Privileges granted to them by Seleucus Nicanor, and further favours conferred on them by Marcus Agrippa, 202, 203. Diſtreſſed by the Samaritans, 206. Maſſacre of them on the ſabbath day, ibid. Oppreſſed by famine, 213. Alexander the Great decides a diſpute in their favour, 216. Decree of the Roman ſenate in behalf of them, 223. Stipulations in their favour, ibid. Horrid maſſacre of that people, 247. The city and temple taken by Herod and Soſius, and a horrid maſſacre enſues, 250. Their embaſſy to Auguſtus Cæſar, and his decrees in their behalf, 322. Fifty thouſand of them cut off by the confederated Greeks and Syrians, 350. Their quarrel with the Samaritans, and its conſequences, 376. Alexander exerciſes the moſt horrid cruelties upon his priſoners, 405. Fifty thouſand ſlain, 464. Above 20,000 of them maſſacred at Cæſarea, and others ſent in chains to gallies, by order of Florus, 462. Their infatuated conduct expoſed, and great ſlaughter of them at Scythopolis, by the inhabitants of that city, 463. They make a furious ſally upon the Romans on the ſabbath day, and kill upwards of 500 of the enemy, 465. They inſult the embaſſadors of Agrippa, who adviſed them to treat of an alliance with the Romans, 466. Harraſs the Roman army in their march to Bethoron, 467. Ten thouſand of them maſſacred at Damaſcus, 468. A great ſlaughter made among them by the Romans, 471, 472. They make a vigorous ſally upon the Romans, whom they force to abandon their camp, 479. Many of the Romans ſlain by them, ibid. They overcome the Romans, in an encounter before Jeruſalem, 517. The Arabians and Syrians in Jeruſalem rip up 2000 of them, to get the gold they had ſwallowed, 537. Dreadful ſlaughter and maſſacre of them, after the taking of Jeruſalem, 552. Grievouſly oppreſſed by taxes under their enemies, and their abject wretchedneſs under Adrian, the Roman emperor, 646. Their humble ſtate and condition in the reign of that prince, 647. Privileges granted them by Antoninus Pius, who becomes a proſelyte to the Jewiſh religion, ibid. Thoſe in the eaſt rebel againſt Marcus Aurelius, who ſubdues them, 648. Are favoured by Severus and Caracalla, the Roman emperors, 652. One million one hundred thouſand of them periſhed, and 97,000 of them made priſoners, on the conqueſt of Jeruſalem by the Romans, 580. Heliogabalus meditates a perſecution of them, but is prevented by death, 653. Their learned men in Perſia, &c. ibid. Some of their doctors that flouriſhed in the eaſt, 654. The circumciſed among them are perſecuted by Conſtantine, whoſe conduct againſt them, on that occaſion, is vindicated, 655. Rebel againſt Conſtans, who iſſues edicts againſt them, 657. Their ſynagogues deſtroyed by the Chriſtians in the empire of Theodoſius, 659. Excite a tumult in Alexandria, 660. Sufferings by the war between Niger and Severus, 652. Perſecuted in Perſia, 663. Cruelly perſecuted by Iſdigerdes king of Perſia, who deprives them of their ſynagogues, 664. The ſevere edicts of Juſtinian againſt them cauſe an inſurrection and revolt in Paleſtine and Cæſarea, ibid. Cruelties exerciſed by them on the Chriſtians at Antioch, 666. Ordinances and regulations concerning them in different countries, and are greatly perſecuted in France, ibid. Greatly favoured by Lewis Le Debonnair, 667. Cruelly perſecuted by the cruſaders, 671. Protected by the Pope Innocent II. but perſecuted in Spain and France, ibid. Perſecuted at Toledo in Spain, and cruelly maſſacred by the cruſaders, 674, 678. They are countenanced by Alphonſo king of Caſtile, under whoſe protection many of their learned men flouriſhed, ibid. Dreadful maſſacre and deſtruction of them in Languedoc and other parts of France, 676. Perſecuted by Henry III. king of Caſtile, and oppreſſed with heavy taxes in Arragon, 677. Favoured by the popes, ibid. Oppreſſive decrees againſt them by the council of Vienna, ibid. Perſecuted afreſh in Languedoc, 678. Further ſufferings in England, 679. Purchaſe their ſecurity of Henry III. of England, but are heavily taxed there, ibid. Accuſations againſt them in Germany, and their perſecutions there, 680. Perfidy of Emanuel, king of Portugal, towards them, ibid. Their flagrant diſſimulation in Spain expoſed, ibid. Horrid maſſacre of them at Iſpahan, &c. 681. Set up a printing preſs at Sapheta, 683. They are powerful in Egypt and Africa, 685. Great numbers of them at Venice, where they printed a Hebrew Bible, and had many celebrated rabbies, 689. Enjoy much peace among the reformed, 690. Inveterate enmity between the Chriſtians and Jews at Prague, ibid. State of them in Holland, and their ſettlement in Portugal, 690. Pope Pius IV. iſſues rigorous edicts againſt them, and Pius V. expels them from the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, 688.

JEZEBEL, wife of Ahab, king of Iſrael, trodden under foot, and torn by dogs, as was foretold, 172.

INDEX, geographical and deſcriptive, of the principal places mentioned in Joſephus, 759, & ſeq.

JOAB perfidiouſly ſlays Amaſa, 144. Beſieges and takes the city Abel Maacha, ibid. Is ſlain, by the command of Solomon, 150.

JOASH,

JOASH, ſon of Jehoahaz, raiſed to the throne of Judah by Jehoiada, the high-prieſt, 174. His degeneracy after the death of Jehoiada, 175. He is ſlain by the friends of Zechariah, whom he had baſely murdered, notwithſtanding the great favours he had received from his father Jehoiada, ibid.

JOHN, leader of the factions in Jeruſalem, inflames the people of that city againſt the Romans, and perſuades them to proſecute the war, 495. His infamous character and practices, 497. Is made priſoner by the Romans, on their taking Jeruſalem, and confined for life, 560.

JONAH, the prophet, ſent to denounce God's judgments againſt Nineveh, his diſobedience of the divine command puniſhed, 177. Goes to Nineveh and executes his commiſſion, ibid.

JONATHAN, the ſon of Saul, king of Iſrael, obtains a complete victory over the Philiſtines, 110. His generous reſolution, and incurs the curſe of his father, 111. Proves David's firm and faithful friend, when perſecuted by Saul, 117. Renews his profeſſions of affection to David, and their league of friendſhip, 128, 129.

JONATHAN, ſucceſſor of Judas Maccabeus, defeats, by ſtratagem, the plot Bacchides had formed againſt him, 214. Applies himſelf to political regulations, and receives propoſals of a league and alliance with Demetrius, 215. Epiſtle of Alexander to him, ibid. Great honours conferred upon him, 216. He takes Joppa, engages and defeats Appollonius, and burns the temple of Dagon, 217. Carries on the ſiege of the citadel of Jeruſalem, ibid. Is highly honoured by Antiochus, whoſe intereſt he eſpouſes, 219. Sends embaſſadors to the Romans and Lacedæmonians, ibid. Ravages Arabia, is taken priſoner, and his people maſſacred, 220. His death lamented by the people, ibid.

JONATHAN, ringleader of the Sicarii, firſt ſcourged, and then burnt alive, by order of Veſpaſian, 580.

JOPPA taken and deſtroyed by Ceſtius the Roman general, and all the inhabitants, to the number of 8000, put to the ſword, 465. Deſcribed, 486. Alſo 775.

JOSEPH, the ſon of Jacob, by Rachel, his remarkable dreams excite the envy of his brethren, who ſeek to take away his life, but are reſtrained by his brother Reuben, 31, 32. They let him down into a pit, and afterwards ſell him to the Iſhmaelites, who diſpoſe of him in Egypt, where he is advanced in the ſervice of Potiphar, 33. He is tempted to lewdneſs by his own miſtreſs, but ſpurns at her overtures with abhorrence, ibid. Being falſely accuſed by his miſtreſs, he is committed to priſon, where he preſerves his integrity, and is favoured by the keeper, ibid. Expounds the dreams of Pharaoh's butler and baker, and interprets them, 34. Interprets Pharaoh's dream, and adviſes the king of Egypt by what means to preſerve his country from the fatal effects of a ſeven years famine foretold by him, 35. Acquires great reputation in Egypt, for his extraordinary wiſdom, and is appointed prime miniſter there, ibid. His ſtern behaviour to his brethren, on their arrival in Egypt to buy corn, 36. Inſiſts on their fetching his brother Benjamin to him, and in the mean time detains Simeon as an hoſtage, ibid. His ſcheme to prove his brethren's attachment to Benjamin, on whoſe arrival Simeon is releaſed, 36, 37. Diſcloſes himſelf to them, 38. Sends his brethren with many preſents, to bring their father to him, 39. His excellent policy with reſpect to the inhabitants, 40. Makes a magnificent funeral for his father, 00. His death, and excellent character, ibid.

JOSEPHUS, the Jewiſh hiſtorian, made governor of both the Galilees, and of the ſtrong fortreſs of Gamala, 468. His wife and political conduct, and the number of his army, ibid. On the approach of Veſpaſian towards Galilee, his ſoldiers deſert him, which occaſions him to decline his warlike purſuits, and retire to Tiberias, 476. Stratagems made uſe of by him to elude the hopes of the Romans reſpecting the reduction of Jotapata, 477. His dreams and revelations, touching the calamities that were to befal his countrymen, 484. His ſpeech to the Jews, tending to diſſuade them from ſuicide, ibid. Remarkable circumſtance of his caſting lots with the Jews for their lives, ibid. His prophetic ſpeech to Veſpaſian reſpecting his ſucceſſion to the Roman empire, &c. 485. Is releaſed from priſon, by order of Veſpaſian, after his advancement to the empire, 512. His exhortation to the Jews in Jeruſalem, when beſieged by the Romans, 527. Is wounded in a deſperate ſally made by the Jews, 536. He exhorts them, in a ſpeech, to ſave the city, &c. 543. Being accuſed by the Jews, he is favoured by Veſpaſian, and diſcharged, 579.

JOSEPHUS, account of his hiſtory, and defence of it, 387. His life, 695, & ſeq. His wiſe method of government, and detection of the treacherous deſigns of his enemies againſt him, 699, 700. Inſtances of his extraordinary moderation and generoſity, 701, &c. His remarkable dream, and active zeal for the ſervice and protection of the Jews in Galilee, 706. Is greatly careſſed and favoured by the people, ibid. Eſcapes a ſnare craftily laid for him by Jonathan and his colleagues, 707. A deſperate faction againſt him in Tiberias, 709. Treacherous deſign ſet on foot by John and Jonathan to deſtroy him, but is ſcreened from their rage by the multitude, 711. Beſieges Tiberias, which he enters, and ſends moſt of the authors of the revolt priſoners to Jotapata, 712. His expoſtulatory letter to Juſtus, wherein he defends himſelf from the falſe aſſertions of his enemies, 713. Makes uſe of a ſtratagem, in order to preſerve the Sepphorites from ruin, 715. His army routed and put to flight by Sylla, the Roman general, who laid an ambuſcade for him, 716. He receives extraordinary marks of favour, and is highly honoured by Veſpaſian, Titus, and Domitian, 717.

JOSHUA appointed general of the Iſraelites, 84. Sends ſpies to Jericho, and puts the army in readineſs to march againſt the place, ibid. Marches with his army to the banks of Jordan, 85. Sacrifices upon an altar of ſtones, and celebrates the paſſover, ibid. His prayer and expoſtulation with the Divine Being, on account of the repulſe the Iſraelites met with from their enemies, 86. Takes Ai, ibid. Enters into a league with the Gibeonites, who deceive him, 87. Diſcovers his miſtake, and puniſhes them for the impoſture, ibid. Relieves the Gibeonites at their requeſt, gains a complete victory over the enemy, and defeats the confederate kings, ibid. Marches from Gilgal to Siloe, and erects an altar there; alſo at Shechem and Mount Gerizim, 88. Calls an aſſembly, and reminds them of the divine favours vouchſafed to them, ibid. Sends commiſſioners to ſurvey the country of Canaan, which he divides among the tribes by lot, ibid. Gives them a ſtrict and ſolemn charge to extirpate the Canaanites; and addreſſes his troops that come beyond Jordan, 89. Retires to Shechem, calls a general aſſembly, and delivers his laſt exhortation, ibid. His death and character, ibid.

JOSIAH, ſon and ſucceſſor of Manaſſeh king of Judah, his zeal for the cauſe of true religion, and attention to the morals of the people, 183. Repairs the temple, re-eſtabliſhes divine worſhip, extirpates idolatry, and celebrates the paſſover, 184. Is mortally wounded, in conſequence of his oppoſition to Pharaoh-Necho, king of Egypt, 185.

JOTAPATA, extraordinary bravery of the Jews in defence of it, and the methods practiſed by them to annoy and repel the Romans, 481. Taken by Veſpaſian and demoliſhed; 40,000 of the inhabitants being ſlain, and 1200 taken priſoners, 483.

JOTHAM, ſon of Uzziah king of Judah, proves a pious and victorious prince, and lays the Ammonites under contribution, 178.

ISAAC promiſed, 19. His birth, 22. Reſignation to the divine command, 23. When about to be ſacrificed by Abraham, a ram ſupplies his place, 24. Marries Rebecca, 25. Goes to Gera, ibid. Sends Eſau to hunt for veniſon, that he may bleſs him, 26. Death, 31.

ISHBOSHETH, Saul's ſon, proclaimed king by Abner, 127. Is ſlain by treacherous Joab, 128.

ISHMAEL born, 20. His progeny, 22. Are the progenitors of the Arabians, ibid. Prophecies reſpecting him, and their fulfilment, 725.

ISRAELITES, their origin, 28. March out of Egypt, under the conduct of Moſes, 48. Murmur againſt Moſes, 49. Are appeaſed by him, ibid. Paſs through the Red Sea, in ſight of the Egyptian army, who, following them, are drowned, ibid. Murmuring again, they are miraculouſly delivered from periſhing by famine, by a flight of quails, and afterwards by the deſcent of manna, 51. Rout the Amelekites, 53. Wage war with the Canaanites, contrary to the advice of Moſes, and are defeated, 67. Mutiny againſt Moſes and Aaron, ibid. Directions how to govern themſelves when in the land of Canaan, 75. Worſted at Ain, 86. Prayer and humiliation, ibid. Relent towards the Canaanites, 87. Diſpenſe with the divine command, ibid. Take an oath not to intermarry with the Benjamites, 91. March againſt them, and are twice defeated, ibid. Draw them into an ambuſh, 92. Their total degeneracy, and conſequent puniſhment, 93. Oppreſſed by Eglon, and delivered by Ehud, ibid. Hardened in iniquity, 94. Slaves to the Canaanites, ibid. Delivered by Deborah and Barak, 95. In bondage to the Philiſtines 40 years, 99.

JUBAL, brother of Cain, the inventor of muſic, 11.

JUDÆA greatly oppreſſed under Caſſius and Herod, 240. A grievous famine there, ſucceeded by a peſtilence, 269. Infeſted with robbers, 451. Its deſolated and wretched condition, 638.

JUDAS, ſucceſſor of Matthias, defeats the Syrian army, and ſlays their general in ſingle combat, 208. Slays Seron, and routs his army, ibid. Defeats, by ſtratagem, the Syrian army, commanded by Lyſias, ibid. Gains a ſecond victory over the Syrians, repairs to Jeruſalem, and purifies the temple, 209. Repels the attacks of his enemies, extends his conqueſts, and twice puts Timotheus to flight, 210. Beſieges and takes the city of Ephron, and afterwards advances to engage Antiochus, ibid. Is defeated by Nicanor, and flies to Jeruſalem, but afterwards gains a complete victory over the Aſſyrian forces, and Nicanor is ſlain, 212. Succeeds Alcimus in the prieſthood, and forms a league with the Romans, ibid. His magnanimous reſolution, noble death, and character, ibid. See alſo p. 400.

JULIAN, a Roman centurion, account of a brave exploit performed by him, in which he is ſlain, 542.

JULIAN, the apoſtate, in order to augment the enemies of Chriſtianity, and promote Paganiſm, grants protection to the Jews, 658.

K

KING, deſired by the Iſraelites, and Saul choſen, by the divine appointment, 108.

L

LABAN receives Jacob with the moſt ſolemn aſſurances of ſupport and protection. 28. His deception, and ſpecious apology for it, ibid. Overtakes Jacob in his flight, and chides him for his clandeſtine departure; but, being warned of God in a dream, refrains from hurting him, 29. Is reconciled, and makes a league with him, ibid.

LAW, Jewiſh, tranſlation of it finiſhed by order of Ptolemy Philadelphus, 202.

LAWS of the Hebrews, abſtract of them, 76. Thoſe for ſacrifices, 61. For feaſts, 62. For the regulation of prieſts, and other civil, political, and religious matters, 63.

LAWS among the Greeks, their origin, 394. Vindication of the Jewiſh, 395.

LEAH, daughter of Laban, obtruded upon Jacob, inſtead of Rachel, for whom he ſerved ſeven years, 28. Her children by Jacob, 31.

LEGISLATORS, heathen, their abominable propenſities and practices cenſured, 398.

LEVITE, hiſtory of the abuſe of his wife by the inhabitants of Gibeah, and an account of the deſtructive war which enſued between the tribe of Benjamin and the other tribes thereupon, 90.

LEVITES, being dedicated to God's immediate ſervice, are exempted from military offices, that they might attend without interruption to the duties of their function, 69.

LONGEVITY of the antediluvians, cauſes of it accounted for, 14.

LOT, the brother of Abraham, having aſſiſted the inhabitants of Sodom in repelling an invaſion of the Aſſyrians, is vanquiſhed and taken priſoner by them, 18. Is reſcued by Abraham, 19. Entertains two angels, who warn him to depart the city, which was devoted to deſtruction for its enormous wickedneſs, 21. The Sodomites offering violence to him, he withdraws from the city, ibid. His wife's puniſhment for diſobeying the divine injunction, ibid. Goes to Zoar, where his daughters enſnare him to commit inceſt, and the iſſue of that contrivance, ibid.

LONGINUS, of the equeſtrian order, and an officer in the army of Titus, a remarkable inſtance of his courage, 524.

M

MACCABEES, hiſtorical account of their martyrdom, 580, & ſeq.

MAGISTRACY, Jewiſh, its inſtitution, 77.

MAN, account of his origin, formation, and firſt reſidence, 9. His fall by tranſgreſſion, and puniſhment, 10. Duration of his life limited to 120 years, 12.

MANASSEH, ſon and ſucceſſor of Hezekiah king of Judah, proves a profligate and abandoned prince, 182. Is overcome and carried into captivity by the Chaldæans; but, upon repentance, is reſtored to his kingdom, and effects a reformation in religion and manners, 183. Dies, and is ſucceeded by his ſon Amon, who is cut off in the fourth year of his reign, ibid.

MANNA providentially ſent from heaven, to relieve the Iſraelites from the famine they ſuſtained in the wilderneſs, 51.

MANOAH, an Iſraelite of the tribe of Dan, makes ſupplication to God for a lawful heir to ſucceed him, 99. His requeſt granted, and has a ſon named Samſon, ibid.

MARIAM (or Miriam) ſiſter of Moſes, watches him when floating on the water, 42. Her death, 83.

MARIAMNE, wife of Herod, conceives a ſtrong antipathy to him, 263. Behaves to him with a cold indifference, which greatly agitates and tortures the mind of Herod, who nevertheleſs is afraid to give full ſcope to his reſentment, ibid. Reproaches Herod for having murdered her father and brother, 264. Is put to death by him, and behaves with extraordinary courage and intrepidity, 265. Her character, ibid.

MASSACRE, a dreadful one of the Jews, on the taking of Jotapata by the Romans, 483. Horrid maſſacres in Jeruſalem by the Idumeans, 499. A maſſacre of them by the Syrians, 696. See JEWS.

MASSADA, a ſtrong hold in the poſſeſſion of the Romans, ſurpriſed by the Jews, who put the garriſon to the ſword, 438. Seized upon by Eleazar, 461.

MATTHIAS and his ſons, their zeal and reſolution for the religion of their country, 206. Dying exhortation of Matthias to his ſons, 207.

MELCHISEDEC, king of Solyma, his excellent qualifications both for king and prieſt, 19. Entertains Abram and his followers, and receives from that patriarch the tenth of the ſpoils he had taken from the Aſſyrians, ibid. Said to be the firſt founder of Jeruſalem, 561.

MENAHEM, king of Iſrael, his horrid barbarity and death, 178.

MESSIAH, prophecy of Moſes concerning him cleared up, and demonſtrated to mean only Jeſus Chriſt, the Saviour of mankind, 755. Similitude between him and Moſes pointed out, ibid.

MISHNAH, Jewiſh, its maxims and rules introduced into the deciſion of Aſce, 662.

MOABITES and the confederate kings, overcome by Jehoſhaphat, 168.

MOSES,

MOSES, the celebrated Jewiſh legiſlator, and ſon of Amram, is put in a wicker cradle, and caſt into the river three months after his birth, in conſequence of the cruel edict of Pharaoh king of Egypt, but wonderfully preſerved by the king's daughter, 42. His eminent mental qualities and perſonal attractions, ibid. The Egyptians, at the inſtance of the oracle, appoint him their leader in a war they were engaged in with the Ethiopians, 43. He obtains a complete victory over them, 44. Tharbis, the king of Ethiopia's daughter, becomes paſſionately enamoured of him, ibid. The Egyptians conſpire againſt his life, whereupon he eſcapes to the city of Midian, where by his kind offices, he gains the good-will of the daughters of Raguel, 44, 45. Is made overſeer of the flocks of Raguel, who gives him his daughter Zipporah in marriage, ibid. Has a wonderful viſion, and a moſt auſpicious oracle from the burning buſh, and receives a commiſſion from God to go into Egypt, and to reſcue the Iſraelites from their Egyptian bondage, 45. For other remarkable incidents reſpecting this eminent lawgiver, including his death and excellent character, our readers are requeſted to conſult from p. 46 to 84 inclusive.

N.

NABOTH baſely murdered at the inſtance, and by the iniquitous contrivance of Jezebel, wife of Ahab, 165.

NADAB, with Abihu his brother, ſons of Aaron, conſumed by judicial fire, for tranſgreſſing the divine inſtitution, 60.

NAHUM, his prophecy of the deſtruction of Nineveh, 178.

NAOMI and her daughter-in-law Ruth return to Bethlehem, where they are entertained by Boaz in an hoſpitable manner, 102. Her contrivance for bringing about a match between Boaz and Ruth, ibid.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR, king of Babylon, takes Jeraſalem, and afterwards orders the city, with the temple, to be ranſacked and burnt, 187, 188. He ſhews favour to Jeremiah, 188. Treats Daniel and his companions with ſingular reſpect, 189. His remarkable dreams, 189, 190. His death, 190.

NEHEMIAH, the Jewiſh prophet, obtaining leave to go to Jeruſalem, takes meaſures to people Jeruſalem, 195. His death and character, ibid.

NERO proclaimed emperor of the Romans by the ſoldiery, 377. His horrid cruelties, ibid. Sketch of his character, 452.

NICOLAUS, his pleading in behalf of the Jews, 279. He ſpeaks in defence of Archelaus, Herod's ſon, 318. Excuſes Herod and Archelaus, ibid.

NIMROD, the grandſon of Ham, Noah's ſon, introduces a tyrannical government, 14. Perſuades his adherents to aſſiſt him in erecting the tower of Babel, 15.

NOAH repreſents to the people the enormity of their crimes, and enforces, though ineffectually, the neceſſity of a general reformation, 12. He obtains the favour of his Maker, who gives him directions for building an ark, wherein himſelf and family are wonderfully preſerved from the ravages of the deluge, ibid. His genealogy, ibid. Sends a raven from the ark, which returns, 13. See alſo p. 14.

O.

OBADIAH, the prophet, his conference with Elijah, 163. His kindneſs towards the Lord's prophets, when perſecuted by Jezebel, ibid.

OBED, the ſon of Boaz and Ruth, from whom ſprang Jeſſe, the father of David, 103. The ſignification of his name in the Hebrew, ibid.

OBSERVATIONS and remarks, the evidences and citations produced in favour of the teſtimonies of Joſephus concerning Jeſus Chriſt, John the Baptiſt, &c. 633—641.

OLIVET, Mount, (or Mount of Olives) deſcription of it, 777.

OMAR, the ſecond caliph, and ſucceſſor of Mahomet, remarkable inſtance of his equitable conduct towards a Jew, 684.

OMRI declared king of Iſrael by the army, 162. His abominable practices and death, ibid.

ONIAS, the high-prieſt, offends the king of Egypt, for refuſing to pay taxes, 203. Epiſtle of Arius, king of the Lacedæmonians, to him, 205.

ONIAS, a righteous man, ſtoned to death, for his piety and philanthropy, 233.

P.

PALESTINE, a diſtrict between Gaza and Egypt, poſſeſſed by Miſraim and his eight ſons, whence ſo denominated, 16.

PALESTINE, or JUDÆA, its ſituation, extent, climate, &c. deſcribed, 777.

PALMYRA, the Tadmor of the ancients, deſcription of it, 777, 778.

PARADISE, a delightful garden in the eaſt, prepared and appointed by the Creator for the habitation of our firſt parents Adam and Eve, 9. Deſcription of the four great rivers which ſurrounded it, ibid.

PARTHIANS, at the inſtance of Antigonus, enter Judæa, and are joined by a number of Jews, 242. They plunder the palace of Jeruſalem, 244.

PASSOVER of the Hebrews, its inſtitution, 48. Import of the term, ibid.

PAULINA, a Roman lady, and wife to Saturninus, ſtory of Mundus's criminal intercourſe with her, by a crafty contrivance, in the temple of Iſis, which is demoliſhed on that account, 330.

PETRONIUS, his letter to the inhabitants of Doris, reproving them for their conduct in profaning the Jews' ſynagogue, by ſetting up Cæſar's ſtatue there, 365.

PHARAOH, king of Egypt, afflicted with great calamities, for his deſign upon Sarai the wife of Abram, 18. Exculpates himſelf, and diſmiſſes the patriarch with a coſtly preſent, ibid. See alſo from p. 34 to p. 49.

PHILIPPI, a city properly belonging to Thrace, but placed by moſt geographers in Macedon, deſcription of it, 780.

PHINEHAS, ſon of Eleazar the high-prieſt, his zeal in the cauſe of Moſes, and the religion of his country, 74.

PLAGUES, account of the ten inflicted in Egypt, by the inſtrumentality of Moſes, upon Pharaoh and his ſubjects, 47.

PLURALITY of deities among the Greeks condemned by their moſt admired writers, 397.

POMPEY marches to Jeruſalem, which he takes by aſſault, and ſlays 12,000 of the Jews, 408.

PONTIUS Pilate ſucceeds Gratus in the government of Judæa, 328.

POPES, their different treatment of the Jews, 686, & ſeq.

PRIESTHOOD, Jewiſh, qualification for it, 395.

PRIESTS, Jewiſh, their veſtments, 58. Revenue, 70. Office and authority, 395.

PRINCES of the captivity, ſome particulars concerning them, 662.

PROPHECIES reſpecting the deſtruction and downfall of heathen nations, 737, & ſeq. Fulfilled concerning Nineveh, ibid. And Babylon, 739. Reſpecting Tyre, 742, Fulfilled, 744. Reſpecting Egypt, ibid.

PROPHECY of an Hebrew child that ſhould curb the Egyptians, 41.

PROPHETS, Jewiſh, illuſtration of their predictions concerning the Jews, 727, & ſeq.

PTOLEMAIS, a city of Galilee, deſcribed, 448.

PTOLEMY, king of Egypt, reſtores to freedom 120,000 Jews, 201. Appoints ſeventy-two elders to interpret the law, &c. ibid. His great liberality and munificence to the Jews, ibid.

Q.

QUAILS providentially ſent to the Iſraelites, for their food and nouriſhment, 51.

QUESTIONS ſuppoſed to take place in the mind of one of the ſeven brothers, who were put to a cruel death by Antiochus, had he been fearful of death, or inordinately fond of life, 587.

R.

RABBIES, Jewiſh, and doctors, account of ſome celebrated ones in the eaſt and weſt, 652, 669.

RACHEL becomes the wife of Jacob, after fourteen years ſervitude

vitude to her father Laban, 28. Longs for the apples of mandrake, which Reuben, Leah's son, brought to his mother, and the condition on which she obtained them, ibid. Carries off her father's images, which occasions a pursuit, 29. Dies in child-birth, 31.

RAGUEL, a priest, his seven daughters rescued by Moses from the insults of the shepherds, 45.

RAHAB, an inhabitant of Jericho, conceals the spies sent thither, and favours their escape, 84, 85. She is promised protection, with her family, when the city should be taken, 85. Is saved, with her friends, and rewarded for her services, ibid.

RAINBOW, fixed in the heavens, as a covenant token that God will not destroy the world a second time by water, 14.

REBECCA, daughter of Bethuel, son of Abram's brother, demanded in marriage, 24. Her hospitality commended by Abram's messenger, ibid. She becomes Isaac's wife, 25.

REBELLION of the Jews under Adrian, account and cause of it, 646, 647.

REFLECTIONS on the accounts of Tacitus and Suetonius, concerning divers particulars relative to the Jewish nation, 630.

REHOBOAM succeeds his father Solomon on the throne of Israel, 158. Fatal effects of his imprudent conduct, ibid.

REUBEN, one of the sons of Jacob, intercedes with his brethren in behalf of Joseph, whom he dissuades from murdering the youth, 32. His eloquent apology before Joseph, for himself and brethren, 36.

ROBBERS and assassins, a desperate and blood-thirsty band of them in Jerusalem, 519. Some account of their insolence, rapine, and barbarity, ibid.

ROMAN army, their policy, order of discipline, and mode of encamping, described, 473, 474.

RUTH accompanies her mother-in-law Naomi into her own country, where they are both entertained in an hospitable manner by Boaz, 102. Follows her mother's instructions, by laying herself in the night at the feet of Boaz, ibid. Is married to him, and their respectable descendents, 103.

S.

SABA, in Arabia Felix, inhabited by the Sabæi, who are said to have possessed a considerable territory in the south, &c. See Geog. Index. Its metropolis Saba supposed to have been the residence of the queen of Sheba, ibid. Account of the town, ibid.

SABBATH, so called, because on that day, being the seventh, God rested or ceased from his work of creation, 9.

SABBATH and Sabbo, explanation of those words and their difference shewn, 389.

SACRIFICES, laws respecting them, and what flour, &c. to be used, 61, 62.

SAMARIA besieged and taken by the Assyrians, who subvert the government of Israel, and transplant the ten tribes, 180. Description of its situation, fertility, and population, 473. See also an historical account of it, 781.

SAMARITANS, meditating a revolt, many of them are put to the sword by the Romans, 482.

SAMSON, son of Manoah, a Danite, his birth, 99. Becomes enamoured with and contracted to a Philistine damsel at Timnath, though his parents disapproved of the match, ibid. Encounters and kills a lion, in whose carcass, some time after, he finds a swarm of bees, ibid. Propounds a riddle to his thirty Philistine companions, which they are unable to unfold, 100. For a further account of him see p. 101, 102.

SAMUEL, son of Elkanah and Peninnah, his birth, and early dedication to the service of the tabernacle, 103. Inspired with the power of prophecy when only thirteen years of age, and reveals to Eli the judgments God had denounced against him and his family, for the wickedness of his sons, 104. Obtains the divine promise of a complete victory over the Philistines, whom he overthrows, and recovers the countries they had taken from the Israelites, 106, 107. See also p. 108, 113, 121.

SARAH, wife of Abraham, admits Hagar to her husband's bed, but afterwards, being incensed at her contemptuous behaviour, causes her to flee into the desert, with her son Ishmael, 22.

SATURNINUS, his oration to the senate in favour of a republican government, after the assassination of Caligula, 359.

SAUL, son of Kish, anointed king of Israel by Samuel the prophet, and the circumstances immediately preceding that event, 108. Incurs the divine displeasure, and that of Samuel, for disobedience, 113. See also from p. 116 to 126, and 145.

SCALIGER, Julius, his honourable testimony of Josephus, as a faithful and accurate historian, 628.

SCAURUS, the Roman general, comes into Judæa, receives an embassy from Hyrcanus, and Aristobulus, and espouses the interest of Aristobulus, 233, 234. Account of his wars with Aretas king of Arabia, 234.

SECTS, Jewish, account of them, 326, 327. Of several, by Hegesippus, Justin Martyr, and Scaliger, 649, 650.

SENNACHERIB, king of Assyria, besieges Jerusalem, 181. Great part of his army destroyed by a pestilential distemper, and himself afterwards murdered in the temple by his sons, 182.

SEPTUAGINT version of the Old Testament, why disallowed by the Jews, 651.

SERPENT (personated by Satan) envious of the felicity of our first parents, seduces Eve from her innocence, who entices her husband, Adam, to participate in her crimes, 9. His punishment, 10.

SETH, the son of Adam, distinguished for his virtues, 11. His descendents invent the science of astronomy, ibid.

SHEM, one of the sons of Noah, his progeny, and the empires they found d, 16.

SHIMEI, a Benjamite, curses David, who forbears to punish him, 139. He is put to death by Solomon, 150.

SHISHAK, king of Egypt, his expedition against Judæa, 159. Takes Jerusalem, and plunders the temple, ibid.

SICARII, a band of ruffians in Judæa so called, their principles, and shocking depredations, 502, 503. Their turbulent disposition, and irreconcileableness to the Romans, 503, 572.

SIEGE of Jerusalem by the Romans, account of the number that perished in it, and the prisoners taken, 560.

SIMON, formerly a servant of Herod, aspires to the crown, 320. Is suppressed by Gratus, ibid.

SIMON, the son of Gioras, head of a band of free-booters, commits horrid outrages in Acrabatena, and its neighbourhood, 470. Further account of him, 507, & seq. Gets possession of Idumæa, 507. Enters Jerusalem, and assaults the temple, but is repulsed with loss by the Zealots, who take his wife prisoner, 507, 508. Taken and reserved for a triumph to the Romans, 563. Suffers an ignominious death, 567, 572.

SISERA, general of the Canaanites, slain in his tent by Jael the Kenite, 95.

SODOM, its destruction foretold, on account of the wickedness of the people, 21. Consumed, with its circumjacent towns, by fire from heaven, ibid.

SODOMITES defeated by the Assyrians, 18. Their flagrant impiety and enormous wickedness punished, 20, 21.

SOLOMON, the son of David, succeeds his father in the throne of Israel, 149. His wise choice approved, and granted, 150. His epistle to Hiram king of Tyre, whose liberality he acknowledges by presents, 151. Begins to build the temple, and description of it, ibid. and seq. His excellent prayer, on the dedication of the temple, and address to the people, 154.

SPINOSA, a Portuguese Jew, his life, and an account of his tenets, 691, 692.

STRABO, the historian, his testimonies concerning the Jews, 237.

SUN, by the divine appointment, stands still at the command of Joshua, &c. 87.

SYRIA, dreadful ravages and disorders there, with the destruction of vast numbers of Jews, 462.

TABER-

T.

TABERNACLE, deſcription of one, and its appurtenances, as erected by Moſes in the wilderneſs, 55.

TABLES of the Jewiſh meaſures, months, money, &c. 758.

TALMUD, Jewiſh, a full account of it, and by whom compiled, 652. Ordered it to be tranſlated into Arabic, by Haſchem II. king of Corduba, 669. Cauſed it to be burnt by Julius III. 688.

TALMUD, Babyloniſh, method of compiling it, and by whom it was compiled, 662.

TAURUS, a remarkable great and extenſive mountain in Aſia, deſcription of it, 782.

TAX for the ſervice of the tabernacle, levied by Moſes on the Iſraelites, 59.

TEMPLE of Solomon, account of it, 151, 152, &c.

TEMPLE of the Jews, the ſecond, rebuilding of it obſtructed by the Chuthites, 194. Finiſhed, and ſervice performed in it, ibid. Pillaged by Craſſus, 237. Burnt to the ground by the ſeditious Jews, 326. Defiled by the Samaritans, 328. Rendered a ſcene of ſlaughter by the factions in Jeruſalem, 500. Plundered by John of Giſchala, 537. Set on fire by the Jews, 546. Alſo by a Roman ſoldier, who, contrary to the will and command of Titus the Roman general, conſumed it entirely, 551.

TEN tribes of the Jews, a city in Perſia, which was ſaid to be inhabited by only a part of them, 658. Severe prophecies of Iſaiah concerning them, 734.

THABOR, Mount, account of its ancient and preſent ſtate, 783.

THARBIS, daughter of the king of Ethiopia, falls in love with Moſes, 44. He accedes to the propoſal of marrying her, on condition of their delivering up Saba, their metropolis, to which he laid ſiege, into his hands; which being agreed to, their nuptials are conſummated, ibid.

THERMUTHIS, daughter of Pharaoh, orders Moſes to be taken from off the water, and commits him to the care of an Hebrew nurſe, 42. Adopts him for her heir, preſents him to her father, and what enſued thereupon, 42, 43.

TIBERIAS, a city ſo called in honour of Tiberius, and built by Herod on the north bank of Gennezareth, account of it, 783.

TIBERIUS, the Roman emperor, orders the Jews to be baniſhed from Rome, 332. His treatment of Agrippa, 337. Death and character, 341.

TITUS, ſon of Veſpaſian, the Roman emperor, account of his animating ſpeech to the Romans under his command, 488. Marches with the Roman army towards Jeruſalem, and a deſcription of his route, 515. His miraculous preſervation, when expoſed to imminent danger, 517. Remarkable proofs of his reſolution and fortitude, 518, 520, 522, 540, 549, 557, 559, 567.

TONGUES, confuſion of, at Babel, 15.

TOWER of Babel, prophecy of the Sybil concerning it, 15.

TYRO and Tryphon, accuſed with fomenting a conſpiracy againſt Herod, and ſtoned to death by the people, 434.

V.

VARUS liberates the legion beſieged at Jeruſalem, and puniſhes the ringleaders of the ſedition there, 321.

VENTIDIUS, the Roman general, his entrance into Judæa, and ſeizure of the treaſures of Antigonus, 418.

VESPASIAN ſends ſuccours to the people of Sepphoris, and receives a reinforcement from his ſon Titus, 473. Marches towards Gadara, which he takes by aſſault, ſets fire to the city, and puts the inhabitants to the ſword, 476.

VESTMENTS of the Jewiſh high-prieſts and prieſts, 58.

VINDICATION of the teſtimonies of Joſephus concerning our Saviour, John the Baptiſt, the Apoſtles, &c. 627, 628, &c.

VITELLIUS, rival of Veſpaſian for the empire, is defeated by Antony, and his army deſtroyed, 513.

VOLOGESES receives with kindneſs, the ſons of Antiochus king of Comagene, after their encounter with the Romans, 571.

U.

UNBELIEF of divine revelation the main ſource of all the calamities ſuffered by the Jews, 692. Their conſequent calamities, and uſeful reflections thereupon, 693.

UNLEAVENED bread, feaſt of, time and cauſe of its inſtitution, manner of celebration, &c. 62.

URIAH, a faithful and valiant officer of David, cut to pieces by the Ammonites, in purſuance of an expreſs order communicated for that purpoſe by the king to Joab, 134.

UZZAH puniſhed for putting his hand upon the ark to ſave it from falling, he not being of the prieſthood, and therefore guilty of profanation, 130.

UZZIAH, king of Judah, overjoyed by proſperity, uſurps the prieſt's office, and is ſmitten with leproſy, 177.

W.

WALL, built by Titus round Jeruſalem, in order to prevent the excurſions of the Jews, and facilitate the taking of the city, 534.

WALLS of Jericho, their downfall to the ground before the Iſraelites, on their blowing, on the ſeventh day, with rams horns, 85.

WALLS of the city of Jeruſalem, the firſt taken poſſeſſion of by the Roman army under Titus, 524. The ſecond gained by him, 526.

WAR of the Jews with the Romans, originating from the former having rejected the Roman ſacrifices, 458. Diſapproved of by many perſons of the firſt rank, who endeavour to diſſuade the ſeditious Jews from engaging in it, but in vain, ibid. Beginning of it in the city, ibid.

WOMAN, her wonderful formation, and why called Eve, 9. Is allured by the ſerpent to diſobey the command of God, and involves Adam, her huſband, in the crime and penalty, ibid. Her puniſhment for diſobedience, 10.

WORLD, its creation in ſix days, 8. Deſtroyed by a deluge, for its enormous wickedneſs, only eight perſons, Noah and his family, being ſpared, 13.

X.

XERXES, his favour to the Jews, in allowing them the free exerciſe of their religion, 194.

Y.

YEAR of Jubilee, or liberty, among the Jews, deſcription of its nature and intent, 64.

YOUTHS, ſeven, with their mother, account of their amazing conſtancy and fortitude, 585, 586, &c.

Z.

ZALOTS, deſcription of this hypocritical faction in Jeruſalem, and the ſpeech of Ananus, who encourages the people to oppoſe them, 496 499. They find means to introduce the Idumean army into the city, ibid. Inſtances of their horrid impiety, and outrageous cruelty, 499.

ZEBULON, in Judea, conſumed with fire by the forces commanded by Agrippa and Ceſtius, 465.

ZECHARIAH, king of Iſrael, his murder by Shallum, who uſurps the government afterwards, 177, 178.

ZENOBIA, kind and favourable to the Jews, 654.

ZERUBBABEL, a principal officer of Darius, who purſuant to his order, and the directions of Cyrus, undertakes the rebuilding of Jeruſalem and the temple, which he performs accordingly, 194.

ZIBA, ſteward to Mephiboſheth, ſon of Jonathan, who obtains his maſter's eſtate by falſe accuſation, 143.

ZIMRI, his treacherous means of advancing himſelf to the throne of Iſrael, 163.

THE END

DIRECTIONS for placing the PLATES.

FRONTISPIECE, to Face the TITLE

The ARK of GOD RETURNING HOME - - page 106

SOLOMON's firſt Interview with the QUEEN of SHEBA - 156

SOLOMON's Judgment - - - - 150

PHARAOH's Birth Day - - - - 34

SAUL and the GHOST of SAMUEL - - - 124

JOSEPH grants an Audience to his Brethren - - - 37

AMASA ſlain by JOAB - - - : 144

DAVID anointed KING - - - - 114

The BURIAL of JACOB - - - - 40

SAUL caſting a Javelin at DAVID - - - 117

JONAH declares the Deſtruction of NINEVEH - - 177

The DEATH of SAMPSON - - - 102

SUSANNA bathing - - - - 189

ABRAHAM's Faith - - - - 23

T.

TABERNACLE, description of one, and its appurtenances, as erected by Moses in the wilderness, 55.

TABLES of the Jewish measures, months, money, &c. 758.

TALMUD, Jewish, a full account of it, and by whom compiled, 652. Ordered it to be translated into Arabic, by Haschem II. king of Corduba, 669. Caused it to be burnt by Julius III. 688.

TALMUD, Babylonish, method of compiling it, and by whom it was compiled, 662.

TAURUS, a remarkable great and extensive mountain in Asia, description of it, 782.

TAX for the service of the tabernacle, levied by Moses on the Israelites, 59.

TEMPLE of Solomon, account of it, 151, 152, &c.

TEMPLE of the Jews, the second, rebuilding of it obstructed by the Chuthites, 194. Finished, and service performed in it, ibid. Pillaged by Crassus, 237. Burnt to the ground by the seditious Jews, 326. Denied by the Samaritans, 328. Rendered a scene of slaughter by the factions in Jerusalem, 500. Plundered by John of Giscbala, 537. Set on fire by the Jews, 546. Also by a Roman soldier, who, contrary to the will and command of Titus the Roman general, consumed it entirely, 551.

TEN tribes of the Jews, a city in Persia, which was said to be inhabited by only a part of them, 658. Severe prophecies of Isaiah concerning them, 734.

THABOR, Mount, account of its ancient and present state, 783.

THARBIS, daughter of the king of Ethiopia, falls in love with Moses, 44. He accedes to the proposal of marrying her, on condition of their delivering up Saba, their metropolis, to which he laid siege, into his hands; which being agreed to, their nuptials are consummated, ibid.

THERMUTHIS, daughter of Pharaoh, orders Moses to be taken from off the water, and commits him to the care of an Hebrew nurse, 42. Adopts him for her heir, presents him to her father, and what ensued thereupon, 42, 43.

TIBERIAS, a city so called in honour of Tiberius, and built by Herod on the north bank of Gennezareth, account of it, 783.

TIBERIUS, the Roman emperor, orders the Jews to be banished from Rome, 332. His treatment of Agrippa, 337. Death and character, 341.

TITUS, son of Vespasian, the Roman emperor, account of his animating speech to the Romans under his command, 488. Marches with the Roman army towards Jerusalem, and a description of his route, 515. His miraculous preservation, when exposed to imminent danger, 517. Remarkable proofs of his resolution and fortitude, 518, 520, 522, 540, 549, 557, 559, 567.

TONGUES, confusion of, at Babel, 15.

TOWER of Babel, prophecy of the Sybil concerning it, 15.

TYRO and Typhon, accused with fomenting a conspiracy against Herod, and stoned to death by the people, 434.

V.

VARUS liberates the legion besieged at Jerusalem, and punishes the ringleaders of the sedition there, 321.

VENTIDIUS, the Roman general, his entrance into Judæa, and seizure of the treasures of Antigonus, 418.

VESPASIAN sends succours to the people of Sepphoris, and receives a reinforcement from his son Titus, 473. Marches towards Gadara, which he takes by assault, sets fire to the city, and puts the inhabitants to the sword, 476.

VESTMENTS of the Jewish high-priests and priests, 58.

VINDICATION of the testimonies of Josephus concerning our Saviour, John the Baptist, the Apostles, &c. 627, 628, &c

VITELLIUS, rival of Vespasian for the empire, is defeated by Antony and his army destroyed, 513.

VOLOGESES receives with kindness, the sons of Antiochus king of Comagene, after their encounter with the Romans, 571.

U.

UNBELIEF of divine revelation the main source of all the calamities suffered by the Jews, 692. Their consequent calamities, and useful reflections thereupon, 693.

UNLEAVENED bread, feast of, time and cause of its institution, manner of celebration, &c. 62.

URIAH, a faithful and valiant officer of David, cut to pieces by the Ammonites, in pursuance of an express order communicated for that purpose by the king to Joab, 134.

UZZAH punished for putting his hand upon the ark to save it from falling, he not being of the priesthood, and therefore guilty of profanation, 130.

UZZIAH, king of Judah, overjoyed by prosperity, usurps the priest's office, and is smitten with leprosy, 177.

W.

WALL, built by Titus round Jerusalem, in order to prevent the excursions of the Jews, and facilitate the taking of the city, 534.

WALLS of Jericho, their downfall to the ground before the Israelites, on their blowing, on the seventh day, with rams horns, 85.

WALLS of the city of Jerusalem, the first taken possession of by the Roman army under Titus, 524. The second gained by him, 526.

WAR of the Jews with the Romans, originating from the former having rejected the Roman sacrifices, 458. Disapproved of by many persons of the first rank, who endeavour to dissuade the seditious Jews from engaging in it, but in vain, ibid. Beginning of it in the city, ibid.

WOMAN, her wonderful formation, and why called Eve, 9. Is allured by the serpent to disobey the command of God, and involves Adam, her husband, in the crime and penalty, ibid. Her punishment for disobedience, 10.

WORLD, its creation in six days, 8. Destroyed by a deluge, for its enormous wickedness, only eight persons, Noah and his family, being spared, 13.

X.

XERXES, his favour to the Jews, in allowing them the free exercise of their religion, 194.

Y.

YEAR of Jubilee, or liberty, among the Jews, description of its nature and intent, 64.

YOUTHS, seven, with their mother, account of their amazing constancy and fortitude, 585, 586, &c.

Z

ZALOTS, description of this hypocritical faction in Jerusalem, and the speech of Ananus, who encourages the people to oppose them, 496 499. They find means to introduce the Idumean army into the city, ibid. Instances of their horrid impiety, and outrageous cruelty, 499.

ZEBULON, in Judea, consumed with fire by the forces commanded by Agrippa and Cestius, 465.

ZECHARIAH, king of Israel, his murder by Shallum, who usurps the government afterwards, 177, 178.

ZENOBIA, kind and favourable to the Jews, 654.

ZERUBBABEL, a principal officer of Darius, who pursuant to his order, and the directions of Cyrus, undertakes the rebuilding of Jerusalem and the temple, which he performs accordingly, 194.

ZIBA, steward to Mephibosheth, son of Jonathan, who obtains his master's estate by false accusation, 143.

ZIMRI, his treacherous means of advancing himself to the throne of Israel, 163.

THE END

DIRECTIONS for placing the PLATES.

FRONTISPIECE, to Face the TITLE

The ARK of GOD RETURNING HOME - - page 106

SOLOMON's firſt Interview with the QUEEN of SHEBA - - 156

SOLOMON's Judgment - - - - 150

PHARAOH's Birth Day - - - - 34

SAUL and the GHOST of SAMUEL - - - 124

JOSEPH grants an Audience to his Brethren - - - 37

AMASA ſlain by JOAB - - - : 144

DAVID anointed KING - - - - 114

The BURIAL of JACOB - - - - 40

SAUL caſting a Javelin at DAVID - - - 117

JONAH declares the Deſtruction of NINEVEH - - 177

The DEATH of SAMPSON - - - 102

SUSANNA bathing - - - - 189

ABRAHAM's Faith - - - - 23